

THE
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
DANIEL O'CONNELL

Volume VIII

1846-1847

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OF
DANIEL O'CONNELL

VOLUME VIII

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Volume VIII

1846-1847

with Supplementary Letters

and Series Indexes

Series Indexes

Edited by

Michael R. O'Connell

Professor of History

University of Illinois

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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DANIEL O'CONNELL

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Fordham University



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Acknowledgement

The early development of joint-stock banking in Ireland owes much to the support of Daniel O'Connell. He became Chairman of The National Bank Limited in 1836 and had encouraged the establishment of The Hibernian Bank Limited in Dublin in 1825.

These two banks subsequently played very important roles in the development of the commercial life in Ireland. The Hibernian Bank Limited and the Irish business of The National Bank Limited are now integrated with the Bank of Ireland.

The Bank of Ireland is pleased, therefore, to sponsor the publication of this volume of the Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell.

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Abbreviations

<i>Boase</i>	Boase, Frederic, <i>Modern English Biography</i> . . .
<i>Cath. Ency., 1912</i>	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i> (U.S.A.), 1912 edition
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>DEM</i>	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
<i>DEP</i>	<i>Dublin Evening Post</i>
<i>Ency. Brit.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>
<i>FJ</i>	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
<i>Gillow</i>	Gillow, Joseph, <i>A Literary and Biographical History</i> ... of the English Catholics
<i>NLI</i>	National Library of Ireland
<i>New Cath. Ency.</i>	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> (U.S.A.)

Note

In the footnotes the journals of the House of Lords and House of Commons are usually not cited when they are the sole authority for a statement. They are always cited when combined with other authorities.

Contrary to the former decision (see Vol. I, page viii) O'Connell's letters to Jeremy Bentham have been published in the Supplementary Letters in Vol. VIII.

Books cited in abbreviated form in footnotes:

- | | |
|---|---|
| Conroy, <i>Railways in Ireland</i> | Conroy, John Charles, <i>A History of Railways in Ireland</i> , (London, 1928). |
| Duffy, <i>Young Ireland</i> | Duffy, Charles Gavan, <i>Young Ireland: a Fragment of Irish History 1840-1850</i> , (London, 1880). |
| Edwards and Williams, <i>Great Famine</i> | Edwards, R. D. and Williams, T.D., <i>The Great Famine Studies in Irish History 1845-52</i> , (Dublin, 1956). |
| Gwynn, <i>Young Ireland</i> | Gwynn, Denis, <i>Young Ireland and 1848</i> , (Cork University Press, 1949). |
| O'Connell, <i>Bianconi</i> | O'Connell, Mrs, Morgan J., <i>Charles Bianconi: a Biography, 1786-1875</i> , (London, 1878). |

Volumes I-VIII

List (by short title) of books and pamphlets in the letters, and when significantly mentioned, in the footnotes (for newspapers and periodicals see the subject index):

- Anonymous, *Recent Scenes in Ireland*, 1020
 Barber, Rev. Samuel, *Remarks on a pamphlet*, 431
 Barrington, Sir Jonah, *Historic Anecdotes of the Union*, 2043, 2456
 Barrington, Sir Jonah, *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, 2043, 2059
 Bathurst, Rev. Henry, *Memoirs of Bishop Bathurst*, 2466
 'All Jeremy Bentham's works you find,' 1704
 Bentham, Jeremy, *Protest against Law Taxes*, 3404
 Bentham, Jeremy, *Rationale of Judicial Evidence*, 3407, 3410, 3416
 Blackstone, William, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 2154
 Byron, Lord, *Vision of Judgment*, 1082
 Carleton, William, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 3008
 Cobbett, William, *Protestant Reformation*, 1209, 1576
 Carey, Matthew, *Vindiciae Hibernicae*, 2007
 Daunt, William J. O'Neill, *Saints and Sinners*, 3108
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 Dens, Pierre, *Theologia*, 2260a
 Dickens, Charles, *American Notes*, 3005a
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 Dryden, John, *Hind and the Panther*, 2455, 2914
 Ensor, George, *Irish Affairs at end of 1825*, 3408
 Godwin, William, *Mandeville*, 724
 Hall, Francis, *An Appeal to the Irish Nation*, 819
 Hall, Samuel C. and Anna M., *Ireland*, 3008
 Hamilton, Joseph M. J. G., *Royal Code*, 1463
 Hamilton, Joseph M. J. G., *Reflections upon Duelling*, 1463
Hansard, 1445, 2289
 Horton, Wilmot, *Protestant Securities Suggested*, 1485
 Kempis, Thomas a, *Imitation of Christ*, 1136
 Law Students books listed, 12
 Lawless, John, *History of Ireland*, 2292
 Leland, Thomas, *History of Ireland*, 2007
 Lingard, John, *History of England*, 2881, 3008
 Loudon, Margracia, *Philanthropic Economy*, 2239
 McDermott, William C., *Criminal Code of Ireland*, 3332
 MacNevin, Thomas, *Great Men and Duties of Patriotism*, 3225
 Maistre, J. M., de, *Spanish Inquisition*, 2564a
 Messmer, Sebastian, *Works of John England*, 1052, 1262
 Miller, John, *Memoirs of General Miller*, 3416
 Moore, Thomas, *History of Ireland*, 2292
 Moore, Thomas, *Lalla Rookh*, 701
 Moore, Thomas, *Love of the Angels*, 983

- Moore, Thomas, *Captain Rock*, 2456
- Moore, Thomas, *Twopenny Postbag*, 1183
- Morgan, Lady (Sidney Owenson), *Florence McCarthy*, 1312
- O'Callaghan, John C., *The Green Book*, 2855, 2857
- O'Connell, Daniel, *Memoir on Ireland*, 2431, 2456, 2569, 2989, 2994, 3008, 3069
- O'Flaherty, John T., *History of Limerick*, 660
- Ordo Recitandi Divini Officii*, 2246
- Owenson, Sidney, *see* Morgan, Lady
- Pastorini's Prophecies*, *see* Walmsley, Rev. Charles
- Phillips, Charles, *The Queen's Case Stated*, 845
- Pinnock, William, *Manuals of popular instruction*, 1023
- Plowden, Francis Peter, *Historical Review*, 2059
- Porter, Grey, *Ireland – the Union*, 3116
- Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von, *Political History of England*, 2358
- Reeve, Joseph, *History of the Bible*, 1071
- Rheims *New Testament*, 2263b
- Schlegel, Frederick von, *Philosophy of History*, 2363
- Scott, Sir Walter, *Quentin Durward*, 1022-3, 1042
- Scott, Sir Walter, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, 964, 968
- Scott, Sir Walter, *The Monastery*, 835
- Scott, Sir Walter, *Peveril of the Peak*, 990
- Scott, Sir Walter, *St. Ronan's Well*, 1065
- Scully, Denys, *Statement of the Penal Laws*, 314, 385
- Sheil, John Barclay, *History of Temperance*, 2997
- Sheil, Richard Lalor, pamphlet of, 833
- Somers, Mrs. B., *Modern Poets of France*, 3179
- Spear, Charles, *The Punishment of Death*, 3133
- Staunton, Michael, *Hints for Hardinge*, 1728, 1951
- Staunton, Michael, *Lights for Littleton*, 2009
- Tait, William, *Ireland and O'Connell*, 2474a
- Taylor, John Sydney, a history of Ireland but apparently not published; 2292
- Trimmer, Sarah, *Concise History of England*, 1102
- Walmsley, Rev. Charles, *History of the Catholic Church*, of which excerpts were published as *Pastorini's Prophecies*, 2956
- Whelan, Rev. J. and Walsh, Rev. R., *History of Dublin*, 3206
- Whelan, William J., *Exposition of the Law of Parliament*, 2389
- Wiseman, Rev. Nicholas, *The Real Presence*, 2358
- Woodward, Rev. Richard, *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, 431
- Wyse, Thomas, *History of the Catholic Association*, 2292, 3416

Supplementary List of Published Sources

NEWSPAPERS

The Nation

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. XXIX (1918) pp. 259-61.

Supplementary List of Manuscript Sources

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Library of the Representative Church Body of the Church of Ireland, Braemor Park, Rathgar, Dublin 14

Clogher Diocesan Archives

Ita M. d'Arcy, 155 London Road, High Wycombe, Bucks HP 11 1BT

Professor John Dillon, Drumnigh, Portmarnock, Co. Dublin

Dromore Diocesan Archives

David Feldman Ltd., 102 Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin 6

Adrian FitzGerald, 16 Clareville Street, London SW7, Knight of Kerry Papers

Arthur French, 85 Abingdon Villas, London W8

Haddo Papers. Marquess of Aberdeen, Haddo House, Aberdeen

Records of the Archdiocese of Hobart. Morris Miller Library, University of Tasmania

Irish College, Rome

Jesuit Fathers, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin

Richard Colles Johnson, 'Notes on the Family of Colles', the Newberry Library, Chicago

Manchester Public Libraries, Archives Department, Central Library, Manchester

Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission, 24 Brunswick Street,
Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia

The Brookes Collection belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of
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Errata and Addenda

VOLUME I

- p. xvi Mrs. Anne Smithwick. For 'Birchgrove' read 'Birchfield'.
- p. 26 letter 24, note 1. Captain O'Connor was William Jeremy O'Connor (1769-?), captain in 4th (O'Connell's) and then the 2nd (Walsh's) Regiments of the Irish Brigade. (I am indebted to John L. Garland, Rayleigh, Essex, for this information).
- p. 394 index, O'Connell, Dr. Rickard Charles. For '90' read '89'.

VOLUME II

- p. 189 letter 758, note 5. Bolivar did not die in Spain. He died on December 17, 1830 near Santa Marta, Colombia.
- p. 260 letter 838, note 4, This is probably James Murphy, Devereux's lawyer.
- p. 388 letter 961, line 5. 'from Bordeaux' should read 'for Bordeaux'.
- p. 439 letter 998, line 14. Delete full-stop after 'I hope'.
- p. 536 index, George IV. For '814' read '815'.
- p. 539 index. Insert Murphy, James, 838.
- p. 539 index, Murphy, William (Smithfield). Delete '838'.

VOLUME III

- p. 6 letter 1078, note 3. Nicholas Mahon Power was son of Nicholas Power, J.P., of Ballinakill near Waterford, not of Snowhill, Co. Kilkenny.
- p. 53 letter 1112, last line. 'Monday, March the 15th, Limerick.' should appear before the paragraph commencing 'Darling, I spent . . .'
- p. 78 letter 1132, note 2. Figure '2' should appear in footnote before sentence commencing 'The Cork dinner. . .'

VOLUME IV

- p.16 letter 1524a. For date of letter [Spring, 1829] read [postmarked 12 May, 1829].
- p. 217 letter 1718, line 38. For 'episcopacy' read 'episcopacy'.
- p. 471 letter 1938, note 2. The person identified here should be Daniel Griffin, M.D. (1801-63) who was a brother of Gerald Griffin.
- p. 487 index, For Griffin, Gerald, substitute Griffin, Daniel, 1938.

VOLUME V

- p. 83 letter 2018, line 4. For 'borthor' read 'brother'.
- p. 112 letter 2051, line 10. For 'cemetry' read 'cemetery'.
- p. 136 letter 2072, line 15. For 'opporutnity' read 'opportunity'.
- p. 162 letter 2097, line 1. For 'FtizPatrick' read 'FitzPatrick'.
- p. 187 letter 2117, note 4. For 'Cobett' read 'Cobbett'.
- p. 208 letter 2141, line 18. For 'matter' read 'manner'.
- p. 340 letter 2288. Delete two lines before note 3.
- p.356 letter 2313, line 5. For 'Rathven' read 'Ruthven'.
- p. 424 index, Wyse, Thomas. For '2155' read '2156'.

VOLUME VI

- p. 1 letter 2369a, and p. 2, letter 2369b. The recipient of both of these letters should almost certainly be Rev. Francis Joseph Nicholson since his name is written on the Papal rescript granting the portable altar as mentioned in letter 2369a, note 1.
- p. 32 letter 2397, note 4, line 9. For '*Birtish*' read '*British*'.
- p. 76 letter 2443, note 5. For 'Undidentified' read 'Unidentified'.

- p. 80 letter 1133, note 3. The footnote following the tomb inscription should be omitted since, judging from the letter, it is likely that O'Connell composed the inscription.
- p. 109 letter 1165, note 1. For 'Chapel' read 'Capel'.
- p. 111 letter 1167.
- p. 129 letter 1180, note 4. For 'a' read 'at'.
- p. 130 letter 1181, note 1. William Hickie was born in Cork in 1782 and died in Lisbon.
- p. 189 letter 1249. *Derrynane* is the address from which the letter was written. The heading should read '*From his wife to Carhen*'.
- p. 201 letter 1263a. Lord Darnley's identification is as follows: 'John (Bligh), fourth earl of Darnley (1767-1831). A Whig, he was the absentee owner of a large estate in Co. Meath.'
- p. 205 letter 1264b, line 17. 'Sunday, the 27th . . .' should start a new paragraph.
- p. 236 letter 1294, line 6. For 'with' read 'wish'.
- p. 269 letter 1337, line 19. For 'Tallaght' read 'Tullow'.
- p. 348 letter 1418, line 2. For 'Cathoic' read 'Catholic'.
- p. 378 letter 1455. The original MS, the property of Adrian FitzGerald, shows that the date is a misreading. It should read 29 March.
- p. 404 letter 1483, line 22. For 'shold' read 'should'.
- p. 410 letter 1485, note 6. Kilclooney and Quarrymount are one and the same place.
- p. 437 index, 'O'Connor Don, *see* O'Connor, Owen'. Delete.
- p. 440 index, 'Vane, Charles William, 3rd marquís of Londonderry'. Insert 1192.

- p. 103 letter 2474a, note 3. Close parentheses after *DNB*.
- p. 124 letter 2491, 3rd last line. For 'wtih' read 'with'.
- p. 165 letter 2542, last line. For 'by God' read 'be God'.
- p. 180 letter 2557, 8th last line. For 'as a' read 'is a'.
- p. 230 letter 2603, 4th last line. For 'want' read 'went'.
- p. 234 letter 2606, note 3, line 1. For 'has been' read 'had been'.
- p. 284 letter 2662, line 7. For 'yours' read 'your'.
- p. 301 letter 2681, line 8. For 'tha' read 'that'.
- p. 303 letter 2683, line 1. For 'if' read 'is'.
- p. 303 letter 2683, line 8. For 'intrdouce' read 'introduce'.
- p. 304 letter 2684, line 3. For 'reutrnr' read 'return'.
- p. 304 letter 2684, last line. Close parentheses after *Sun*.
- p. 306 letter 2686, note 2. *Parl. papers* should be italicised.
- p. 364 letter 2749. For letter number '2479' read '2749'.
- p. 409 index, Nicholson, Rev. Francis Joseph. Insert '2369a' and '2369b'.
- p. 412 index, Unknown Correspondents. Delete '2369a' and '2369b'.

VOLUME VII

- p. 147 letter 2954, last line. For 'Botzen' read 'Bozen'.
- p. 363 index, O'Connell, Morgan P. (son). Delete '3088'.
- p. 363 index, Insert O'Connell, J. Morgan (Liverpool), 3088'.

To Charles Bianconi

[late 1845 or 1846]

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Clonmel,

Mr. John O'Farrell, who is already most favourably known to many of the directors of the Waterford and Limerick Railway, and who possesses every quality that renders a man respectable in character and trustworthy in conduct, seeks for the professional appointment of engineer¹ to the company. He will be strongly supported by the Mayors of Waterford and Limerick; and I, the late Lord Mayor of Dublin, *command* you, foreign carman and worthy Mayor of the central town of Clonmel, to give him your support, vote and interest² and by your so doing you will much oblige your sincere and affectionate friend.

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: O'Connell, *Bianconi*, 196-97

- 1 It is possible *engineer* was an error for *solicitor* since a John O'Farrell had by 1847 become the Limerick solicitor to the railway.
- 2 Bianconi was a director of the Waterford and Limerick railway.

From his son Maurice

Draft

Derrynane, 4 January 1846

My dearest father,

I send herein my comments on Foster's letter of the 20th December. You shall have those on *Russell*¹ as soon as possible.² The enclosed are *long* but I hope you will find that there is nothing unnecessary in them. The calculations took a good deal of time as I had to send to Hillgrove³ for the old rent books and to have every page therein gone over, line by line, to take out the items.

You had better get the enclosed copied by Tighe⁴ of the Association. If it be 'manifolded', pray let Ray send me one of the manifold copies.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 William Howard Russell (1820-1907), the celebrated Crimean war correspondent. Born at Lily Vale, Tallaght, Co. Dublin, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin he was a reporter in Ireland for the *Times* during part of the Repeal campaign. Knighted in 1895.

- 2 As manager of his father's property in Kerry Maurice had published in the *Times* of 20 December 1845 a lengthy reply to Foster's attacks. Another letter from Foster, dated Killarney 20 December, together with a report from Russell, dated Killarney 19 December, were published in the *Times* of 25 December 1845. A further reply from Maurice, dated 4 January, appeared in the *Pilot* of 14 January 1846 but did not appear in the *Times*. Russell's letter gave substantial support to Foster's charges.
- 3 Home of O'Connell's former land agent, John Primrose, Jr.
- 4 An official of the Repeal Association, probably James Tighe.

3184

From his son Maurice

Draft

Sunday Evening, 4 January 1846

My dearest father,

I received yours this morning. I also got one from Gray, stating that he would be in Cahirciveen on Tuesday. I go thither tomorrow to the fair, and will remain until I have seen Gray, and act as you desire.¹ I send by this post my comments² on Foster. I have worked hard since Thursday at them. I hope they will please you. The calculations took up much time but their result is triumphant. I will of course be ready for London. I purpose going by Cork and Bristol. I could leave *this* on Sunday, the 18th, after Mass, go to Killarney that night, to Cork next day. The steamer leaves for Bristol on Tuesday the 20th at 8½ in the morning and I should be in London either on Wednesday evening or Thursday morning. If you require me in Dublin before I go over, let me know; and let me know also where you will stay in London as I shall, if I go by Cork, in all probability arrive at least as soon as you do from Dublin. I am much wearied, having sat up till three this morning at the comments on Foster. [P.S.] All well and going on well here, thank God. The weekly return³ is enclosed.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Dr. John Gray, a proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, published an impression of his visit to the O'Connell property in Kerry in the *Pilot* of 19 January 1846. In this, he defends O'Connell against the allegations of the *Times'* commissioner.
- 2 See letter 3183, n2.
- 3 Probably of subscriptions to the Repeal Association.

3185

From Thomas Lyons, Cork, 6 January 1846

On behalf of the officials of the board of directors of the Cork, Blackrock and Passage Line, he asks O'Connell's help in the new session of parliament and asks his advice so that the railway may be built.¹

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 The Cork, Blackrock and Passage line was originally sanctioned in 1837. The powers of its promoters, which had expired, were renewed in 1846. The railway was opened in 1850 (Conroy, *Railways in Ireland*, 21-2). No evidence has been found to show whether O'Connell took any part in favour of the project.

3186

From Daniel Molony, Dundalk, 7 January 1846

Begs O'Connell to decide whether he wishes his son Daniel to stand for Dundalk. The Repeal Club unanimously agreed to ask O'Connell to nominate Daniel. O'Connell's delay has caused dissension locally to the sneers of the Whig party. An early decision from him would put an end to faction.¹

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 In his reply, dated 9 January, to the Repeal Club of Dundalk, O'Connell said that Daniel was at present on the continent but he [O'Connell] felt sure he would accede to the club's request. It would be mischievous, he added, to the cause of Irish nationality, if his son were to stand and be defeated at the next election. He suggested, therefore, a requisition 'addressed to my son through me and, signed by as many registered voters as are willing to pledge themselves to vote for my son at the ensuing election.' (Fitz-Simon Papers).

3187

From Edmund Burke Roche

Kilshannig [Fermoy, Co. Cork], 17 January 1846

My Dear Sir,

As you may naturally expect me on Monday at the Hall¹ I take up my pen to inform you that unhappily both my father and mother are confined to their beds, and as my sister has gone with her husband² to the Limerick dinner,³ I am left quite alone to attend to the old people. I cannot therefore be with you in Dublin nor can I stir from home until my mother at any rate is recovered.

I trust in God that a few days will restore my mother and then if you think I can be of any service either in London or elsewhere don't spare.

P.S. ... Our registration progresses slowly but very *surely*.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 Conciliation Hall.

2 Frances Maria, wife of James Kelly, M.P., Limerick city.

3 A dinner in honour of the representatives of the county and city of Limerick, which took place on 21 January. O'Connell excused himself for non-attendance on the ground that he had to be in parliament on 22 January to support the 'cheap bread bill' (i.e. the anti-corn law bill) which he expected either Russell or Peel would shortly introduce (O'Connell to the mayor of Limerick, 31 Dec. 1845, *Pilot*, 5 Jan. 1846; see also, *Pilot*, 23 Jan. 1846).

3188

From James Perry,¹ Obelisk Park, Dublin, 26 January 1846

Copy

On alterations in his plan concerning the passing of railway bills through parliament and the hearing of evidence to be put before the House of Commons by concerned parties in Ireland.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 A former member of the board of the Dublin and Kingstown Railway Co.

3189

To ?

British Hotel, Jermyn St., London, 7 February, 1846

My dear Sir,

I shall be most happy to act upon any suggestion of yours, at all practicable. On this you may rely, that there is not the least prospect of retaining the duty upon foreign butter, I am only surprised that Peel did not abolish the entire, instead of only one-half¹. I believe he would have done so, but in that case he would have been obliged to take off also, the entire duty upon foreign cheese. It is not for love of us, he leaves on the one-half duty on the butter, but from an unwillingness to quarrel too deeply and bitterly, with the English cheese producers.

You are aware that I am a free trader in provisions of every kind. I am so from the most thorough conviction. I should be acting against my principles if I were to talk of keeping up protection for Irish butter; I should also be laughed at, as consulting my own interests, it being *now known*, that my own rents are paid to me by the produce of that article.²

It is with great regret I feel myself compelled to decline complying with your suggestion but I think you may be quite convinced that the House will never listen to any attempt to continue the present duty upon foreign butter.³

SOURCE: NLI MSS 17070

- 1 These proposals were made by Peel in his budget on 27 January (*Annual Register*, 1846, 31).
- 2 This emerged from the public controversy sparked off by the *Times* concerning the management of O'Connell's lands in Kerry (see letter 3171 n2).
- 3 This letter is written by another and signed by O'Connell.

3190

*From Humphry Linehan, Macroom, Co. Cork, 10 February 1846**Copy*

He states that his father sacrificed a farm and the under agencies of Lord Bantry and of 'Hedges Eyre, Macroom Castle' because of voting for O'Connell and Edmund Burke Roche at the last (1841) election for Co. Cork. His father met persecution from the landlord of his present farm near Macroom, once when the landlord claimed

£28 'being the tithes of the 4 or 5 previous years' and, again, when the writer spoke to the toast of O'Connell in Macroom. The writer is a student for the bar and asks O'Connell to procure some job for him in the cause of Repeal which will keep him and enable him to continue his studies. He feels sure O'Connell will help him 'when I reflect how many an otherwise helpless young man carved his way to that Bar under your fostering auspices'.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3191

To William Smith O'Brien

British Hotel, Jermyn St., London, Saturday, 21 February 1846
My Dear O'Brien,

I enclose you in this parcel my address to the Electors of Mayo. If the Association approve of it, you can move that it be printed and distributed through that county. Perhaps you would be pleased to add another address from yourself. It would be eminently useful.¹

SOURCE: Smith O'Brien Papers, NLI MSS 436

- 1 There was a vacancy for Co. Mayo owing to the retirement of Mark Blake. An address from O'Connell to the electors of Mayo, dated 21 February, supporting the candidacy of Joseph Myles McDonnell, was read to the Repeal Association on 23 February. Smith O'Brien moved that this letter be printed and circulated as a hand-bill among the Mayo electors (*Nation*, 28 Feb. 1846). McDonnell was elected on 2 March, defeating the Whig candidate, a Catholic, George Henry Moore after 'a fierce struggle', the final count being 477 to 417 (*Times*, 7, 11 Mar. 1846).

3192

To James Dwyer

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, 26 February 1846
My dear Sir,

Your letter has pleased me much: it is written in a spirit which I like — amicable and kind. Be assured that I reciprocate those sentiments. There is one thing in which you wrong me: you attribute to me feelings of personal hostility towards you which are quite foreign to my mind. I have not the least personal hostility towards you, not a particle of it. It is quite true that with your political opinions I

differ most strongly. You, indeed, have the same right to your opinions that I have to mine but in that mutual freedom of thought we each possess the power of condemning as well as of approval. For instance, any countenance that you could have given to Sir Robert Peel in 1841 would have appeared to me an act of treason against your country and your creed but it would not justify or palliate any individual enmity on my part. I pray you to be thoroughly assured that there is not the slightest tinge of any such feeling in my mind towards you.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 370-1

3193

*From Louisa Moore*¹

Moore Hall [Co. Mayo], 26 February 1846

Private

Sir,

I beg to address you in behalf of your fellow creatures in this country many of whom, unless you exert yourself, will probably become victims to the fury to which I lament to say the priests of our religion are exciting them in this country. I send you the copy of a letter² received here this day. I do not attempt to interfere with your plans as to the representation of this county. All I implore of you is to use your influence with Doctors McHale and McNicholas to restrain those priests in their respective dioceses who seem so heedless of the consequence of their harangues. The hero of the above letter is a Mr. Curly³, curate to Mr. Gibbons⁴ of Castlebar, a most excellent clergyman but who has not strength of nerve equal to controlling this belligerent pastor.

Mr. Coghlan,⁵ who has patronised Mr. McDonnell⁶ in his speech at Swinford, says "It is not in *tens* nor in *hundreds* but in *thousands* that you should go to the hustings and prevent anyone from voting for Moore."⁷

Now sir, it is not in *my* name that I address you but in the name of humanity that I implore you to put a stop to projects which, if carried [into] effect, must cause bloodshed and entail disgrace and a curse on the patrons of Mr. McDonnell. *I* of course tremble for the life of my only remaining child.... Is he to be sacrificed too? I trust, Sir, that *you* will endeavour to escape such dreadful responsibility.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Louisa Moore, a Catholic; daughter of Hon. John Browne and grand-

daughter of the first earl of Altamont.

- 2 This letter is from a person (probably Lieut.-Col. John Browne, J.P.) writing from 'Braeffey, Tuesday morning,' stating that on the previous Sunday the priest spoke to the congregation at Mass against George Henry Moore. 'Is it not enough to make humanity shudder in contemplating that a man professing himself a minister of God should at the altar hold the Bible in one hand and a dagger in the other and there encourage his deluded flock to acts of bloodshed if not of murder. . . .' The priest also told his congregation that George Moore was becoming a Protestant as he solicited the vote of a strict Protestant.
- 3 Rev. Michael Curly (died 11 Aug. 1874), C.C. Eglish, Ballyhane and Breaghwy, (Castlebar) 1846-54; P.P. Kilgeever, 1854-74.
- 4 Rev. Richard Gibbons (1792-1847), educated at Maynooth College; P.P. Eglish, Ballyhane and Breaghwy (Castlebar) from 1825 to 1847.
- 5 Probably Rev. John Coghlan, (died 25 June 1863) C.C. Kilfree, Boyle, Co. Roscommon, P.P., Kilmovee, Ballaghaderreen from 1846.
- 6 Joseph Myles MacDonnell (1796-187?), sometime J.P., eldest son of Myles MacDonnell of Doo Castle, Ballaghaderreen, Co. Mayo. M.P. for Co. Mayo March 1846 to 1847.
- 7 George Henry Moore J.P. (1811-70), M.P. for Co. Mayo 1847-57 and 1868-70; father of George Moore, the novelist. See *DNB*.

3194

To Archbishop MacHale

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, Friday, 27 February 1846
My revered Lord,

I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter and to enclose you a cheque for £250.¹ Anyone you give it to will get money for it at the Tuam Bank. Will you be so good as to answer this letter, acknowledging receipt with its contents, without further specification.

SOURCE: Cusack, *Liberator*, 745

- 1 M.F. Cusack has published as a footnote to the figure £250, the words: 'Mr. O'Connell — £250 Election Fund', the election being that for Co. Mayo (see letter 3191 nl).

From his son Maurice

Merrion Square, Wednesday, 4 March 1846

My Dearest Father,

I write by this post to Dan Leahy¹ about the contribution from Lord Cork's fund to the sea wall at Derrynane. . . .

The oatmeal has been bought and is in store in Cork waiting for the sloop which I hope to find in harbour there on my arrival. Tom Fitzgerald mentions that he had to pay £15 per ton as there was a rise from the time of my writing and his receipt of my letter. The present price is £15.10.0 and he states that it is still *rising*. In fact the demand is only commencing.

. . . It would be well if you could let me have the letter for John Primrose telling him that you have determined to put the collection of *all* your rents into my hands in the course of next week. You might state therein that, having established a credit for me as your agent at the Tralee bank, you deemed it expedient in order that any advances thereon might be regularly met to put the entire collection into my hands and accordingly that he was to hand over the books etc. to me. He has leases and muniments of title of yours in his custody which it would be well that he handed over also. Pray direct him further to give me a list of the annual payments he used make on your account for head rents, pensions, interest of money etc. I would feel gratified if you further stated to him that you intended to continue to allow him his salary of £100 per annum, and that I would pay him same in the usual manner and that when you came to the country you would go over and close accounts with him.

It is *absolutely necessary* for your interests that you should take the charge of any portion of your property out of his hands. You would have to do it shortly and probably in a manner anything but agreeable to him while by doing it *now*, in the mode I suggest, you avoid giving unnecessary pain to his feelings and secure yourself from further loss. He has the September and November gales of 1845 nearly collected, and as the 25th March is approaching, would soon be dipping into that gale of the college lands. . . .²

I shall see the Knight's and Blennerhassett's agents at the assizes and get the year's rent of the College lands forwarded to the Bursar. [P.S.] Direct to me to *Tralee*, care of *Ellen Connor*.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Land agent to the earl of Cork who was the head landlord of O'Connell's Derrynane property.
- 2 The lands held on lease by O'Connell from Trinity College, Dublin.

To his son Maurice, Derrynane

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, 26 March 1846

My dearest Maurice,

I enclose you the letter to Primrose to your fullest satisfaction. Deliver it to him open and insist upon its being carried into full effect.

Do not lose sight for one moment of the sea-bank. It is absolutely necessary to have it erected if it was nothing else but to prevent the shifting sands from *silting up the little harbour*.

Do everything that is necessary to get the grant of the £200 in addition to our £200, I mean Lord Cork's and mine. Also do whatever you think right about the repairing of the chapel. If it was worth while asking for a grant of the money to repair it, say one-half, I think it would be a legitimate mode of giving the people employment. You may if you choose consult Sir David Roche¹ on the point.

Is the sloop gone to Cork? Treat Furness² and his family with the greatest kindness though we should be obliged to get rid of him, or rather, he may choose to get rid of us.

What think you if the sloop be still in Cork of getting a ton or two of maize? If the people did not like it, it would save potatoes and meal from being consumed in the Kennel especially when mixed with some bran, which you could get from Cahirciveen mill. The dogs must not be fed to the detriment of the poor and we must, at all events, secure our own tenants from destitution. You will of course let them know that any money they necessarily lay out for provisions will be allowed as part of their rent. . . .

You must be here for the second reading of the Coercion Bill³ immediately after the Easter recess.⁴ It is impossible to dispense with your presence *and* of all things you must not omit bringing up your little girls⁵ to the Convent.⁶ It is essentially necessary for them at their time of life to be in the Convent.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Roche was the land agent for Edward Bouchier Hartopp's estate part of which lay in the neighbourhood of Derrynane.

2 Unidentified.

3 This measure, a bill for the protection of life and property in Ireland, had been introduced by the government on 24 February. On its second reading, on 26 June, it was defeated by a combination of Whigs, Protectionist Tories and forty-eight Irish members including O'Connell. The defeat brought about the resignation of Peel's ministry and the coming into office of a Whig government under Lord John Russell.

- 4 Maurice O'Connell spoke against the coercion bill on 1 May (*Hansard*, 3rd Series, LXXXV, 1353-6) and voted against it on 1 May and 26 June.
- 5 Frances (Fanny), who died unmarried in 1878, and Mary who married Daniel McCartie, Headfort, Co. Kerry in 1858.
- 6 A boarding school conducted by the Loreto Sisters in St. Stephen's Green Dublin. Maurice O'Connell's marriage had broken up.

3197

*To his son Maurice, Derrynane*¹

British Hotel, Jermyn St., London, Friday, 27 March 1846
My dearest Maurice,

I am sorry to tell you that you must be ready to come off at a moment's warning.² It cannot be helped. It must be done.

I will write again tomorrow or the next day at farthest so be quite ready for a *start*.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 This letter is written by another and signed by O'Connell.
- 2 To parliament, to oppose the coercion bill. See letter 3196 n4.

3198

From Bishop F.J. Nicholson to London

Corfu [Greece], 31 March 1846

Mon très cher ami,

. . . I am now sending a few lines to a valued friend of mine and who *contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus*¹ esteems you, I enclose him this little note for you as I wish to express to you how happy your speech in defence of religious orders² made me. I expected such a speech from you but my expectations have [sic] been so admirably realized gave me sincere delight. I was also highly gratified with Lord Morpeth's speech.³ You will have the satisfaction, please God, of seeing erased from the statute book, before you close your eyes to this world, every law that has hitherto disfigured it by unjustly interfering with the conscience of Christians. This alone will be an ample compensation for your continuous labours during your long . . . and eventful life. If Lord Morpeth, and his friends are restored to power, then indeed your useful exertions will be more speedily and more permanently crowned with success. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 *Despite all differences.*
- 2 A bill for the further relief of Catholics from penal enactments, and especially for the relief of regular clergy from certain restrictions still in force, was introduced in the Commons on 5 February by William Henry Watson, M.P. for Kinsale (*Times*, 6 Feb. 1846). O'Connell's speech, delivered on the second reading on 11 March, was primarily concerned with defending the Jesuits particularly against the contemporary French historian, Jules Michelet (*Times*, 12 Mar. 1846). The bill was not carried to a third reading.
- 3 Morpeth also spoke on the second reading of the bill, declaring it his wish that the Jesuits should find in England as secure a haven as they did in the United States: 'I desire our soil to be as safe and inviolate an asylum for the proscribed in religion as for the proscribed in politics' (*Times*, 12 Mar. 1846).

3199

An undated, unaddressed letter found to be 1848 and probably addressed to John O'Connell.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

3200

To Archbishop MacHale

Merrion Square, 15 April 1846

My ever revered Lord,

Excuse me for giving you the trouble of procuring the enclosed £50 to be distributed among the wretched tenants of Ballynglass.¹ I received the money in London in an anonymous letter written to me to be applied to those evicted tenants, 207 in number, a very small sum for each but my mission will be fulfilled when I procure the distribution. I know not how to do so unless your Grace assist me. It strikes me that your secretary can easily discover the parish priest and procure him to take charge of the distribution.

In respect to the Mayo election nothing can be more satisfactory than your Grace's letter. Nothing but the strictest economy could keep down the expenses to the sum which your Grace mentions. It was indeed a great triumph at very little comparative cost. It was a bold undertaking and would have been fatal if unsuccessful. Your Grace's energy and all-commanding influence, aided by the patriotic clergy, have achieved the most valuable triumph for Ireland since

the Clare election.

As your Grace is coming to town in a week I will leave with my daughter, Mrs. Ffrench, a cheque for your Grace for £128. It will be in a sealed letter and, if you will take the trouble of sending to P.V. FitzPatrick to procure for you a letter left by me with Mrs. Ffrench, he will take care to hand your Grace the letter; but, as it is no affair of his, he need not know anything more about it than merely getting the letter and handing it to your Lordship. With respect to the balance you may rely on its being paid in three weeks. I hope the short delay will not prove inconvenient.

SOURCE: Cusack, *Liberator*, 745.

- 1 On 13 March John N. Gerrard, Gibbstown, Co. Meath, had evicted a large number of small farmers on the estate of his wife (née Netterville) at Ballinglass, Mountbellew, Co. Galway (*Roscommon Journal*, 21 Mar. 1846). The evictions led to a request for official information by Lord Londonderry in the Lords on 19 and 30 March and by William Smith O'Brien in the Commons on 2 April, both of whom expressed concern at the apparent injustice of the ejectments. The government agreed to investigate the matter (*Times*, 20 and 31 Mar., 3 Apr. 1846). On 31 March Gerrard wrote a letter to *Saunders' News-Letter* (published on 1 April) in defence of the evictions.

3201

From William Ford, 43 Dame Street, Dublin, 23 April 1846, to British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London

On the case of Rush's charity and the decree concerning it given in the case of *Read-v-Hodgens*. The problem arises because Bishop Cantwell does not wish to endorse the dividends since such action would mean his giving recognition to the board of charitable bequests. The bishop wishes to know if he can obtain the principal without giving such recognition.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

To Charles Haliday, Chamber of Commerce, Dublin¹

British Hotel, Jermyn St., London, 25 April 1846

My dear Sir,

I thought you were too old a soldier to take any notice of what the newspapers report respecting private business in the House, instead of examining the votes to ascertain the fact accurately. If you had done so, you would have spared yourself the trouble of writing to me. For you would have found in the votes on Tuesday the 21st (it is number 58 of the votes) at page 1216 the following entries:-

"30. *Dublin Cemeteries Bill*² be read *secundo* on Wednesday, 6th of May."

"31. *Dublin Markets Bill*³ be read *secundo* on Wednesday 6th of May."

I had promised to postpone the second Reading of those Bills for a fortnight, and although I admit that the members of the "Chambers of Commerce, Dublin" are the very wisest men in the Kingdom of Gotham,⁴ yet I think neither they nor you as an old friend ought to accuse me of breaking my word without examining the real facts of the case.

I *conjecture* that the Markets Bill will not be further persevered in but I cannot at present pledge myself.

SOURCE: Royal Irish Academy

- 1 This letter is written by another but completed and signed by O'Connell.
- 2 A petition from the managing committee of Golden Bridge and Glasnevin cemeteries for leave to bring in a bill for their maintenance, and for the creation of a perpetual succession among the committee or governing body, was presented on 6 February. O'Connell was the framer of a bill which he presented in the Commons on 20 March in accordance with the petition. The bill was enacted on 7 August (9 & 10 Vict. c. 361).
- 3 A petition from the mayor and corporation of Dublin for a bill for the better regulation of fairs and markets in that city, and the prevention of frauds therein, was presented on 6 February. O'Connell was in charge of a bill in accordance with this petition which he presented on 20 March. It did not reach a second reading.
- 4 The people of Gotham were proverbial for their foolishness.

From William Smith O'Brien

Monday, 28 April 1846 [*Monday was April 27*]

My Dear Mr O'Connell,

As some move must be made today in reference to my *default*¹ I shall be glad if you can attend the House from four to five o'clock so that I may have one skilful adviser at hand in case of necessity.

I cannot believe that the House will enter into a contention which must be attended with great inconvenience in regard to public business as well as to its results upon public feeling in Ireland.

I therefore expect that a motion will be made without parade to substitute another member in my place on the Committee.²

I hope that you will be prepared (in case any of our speakers waver and that consequently a division should take place tonight) to speak to your amendment.³ You ought to be ready for it but I trust that we shall be able to keep the debate alive until Friday night.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 O'Brien's 'default' arose out of the determination of Repeal members of parliament to absent themselves from Westminster. It was arranged that, as a test, John O'Connell should stay in Ireland, claiming the right to remain among his constituents, while Smith O'Brien undertook the more perilous duty of going to London and openly defying the usual summons to attend parliament. In June 1845 John O'Connell and O'Brien had accordingly refused summonses to attend but it was then too late in the session for any further action. In April 1846, though the same pledge still held, O'Brien found to his amazement that John O'Connell was attending as a member of a railway committee. Summoned to attend a committee, O'Brien refused and was imprisoned in the Clock Tower of the House of Commons (Gwynn, *Young Ireland*, 59-62).
- 2 On 27 April O'Brien was reported absent from the railway committee, and a demand was made that he attend the committee on the following day. O'Brien denied the right of the House to compel him as an Irish member, and stated that he would not attend (*Times*, 28 Apr. 1846). On 28 April it was moved that O'Brien's refusal put him in contempt of the House. O'Connell opposed this resolution, stating that neither at common law nor by the provisions of the Act of Union did the House possess such jurisdiction over Irish members, and that O'Brien could be held guilty only 'of a violation of the secondary and subsidiary jurisdictions of the Committee of Selection' (*Times*, 29 Apr. 1846). The House then voted O'Brien in contempt by 133 to 13. A motion to commit him to custody of the sergeant-at-arms was debated on 28 April and carried without a division on 30 April. On that day O'Connell stated that O'Brien had declared himself dissatisfied with the manner in which he (O'Connell) had put his case to the House: 'He does not think I argued its merits as I ought to have done, and he conceives that at the present moment he is really unheard' (*Times*, 28

(*Nation*, 9 May 1846). This was a watered down version of the resolution which O'Brien's supporters originally intended to pass. (See letter 3208nl).

- 3 William Joseph Gernon (born 1820), called to the bar 1844, fourth son of James Gernon of Athcarne Castle, Co. Meath.
- 4 James Coleman FitzPatrick (c. 1818-80), a native of Tipperary. Called to the bar, 1842. Appointed chief justice of the Gold Coast 1857. See *Boase*.
- 5 Richard O'Gorman, Jr.
- 6 Michael Joseph Barry (1817-89), 8 Lr. Dominick Street, Dublin, a native of Cork: called to the bar 1839, a Young Irishman. He was a nephew of John England, bishop of Charleston.
- 7 Edward Clements.
- 8 O'Connell complied (see O'Connell to Ray, 2 May 1846, read at the meeting of the Association on 4 May, *Nation*, 9 May 1846). In this O'Connell, while praising Smith O'Brien's stand, expressed the hope that he would soon be free to lend his services in fighting the coercion bill. He said nothing as to how the Association should conduct itself with regard to O'Brien's case.
- 9 Patrick James Smyth (1823-85), son of James Smyth, Dublin, tanner; educated at Congowes Wood College; joined the Repeal Association in 1844. A Young Irishman, he escaped to the United States after the 1848 insurrection; planned and carried out the escape of John Mitchel from Van Dieman's Land in 1853; M.P. for Co Westmeath 1871-80, for Co. Tipperary 1880-82. See *DNB*.
- 10 Thomas Francis Meagher (1823-67), the Young Irishman. Made a famous speech against O'Connell's peace resolution in 1846 for which he was named 'Meagher of the Sword'; transported to Van Dieman's Land, 1849 for his part in the 1848 insurrection; escaped to America, 1852; became brigadier-general in U.S. Federal army, 1862; secretary of Montana territory, 1865 and temporary governor, 1866. See *DNB*.
- 11 O'Brien was instrumental in getting up a national subscription under the auspices of the Repeal Association for a monument to Davis. Both Repealers and non-Repealers subscribed to the project, the outcome of which was a statue by John Hogan (Gwynn, *Young Ireland*, 48, 51).

3205

From Archbishop MacHale

Tuam [Co. Galway], 30 April 1846

My dear Mr. O'Connell,

I have received the Bank order for one hundred and twenty-eight pounds which you had the kindness to leave for me with Mrs. Ffrench, for which I beg you to accept my best acknowledgements. It will not, I trust, be without making a due impression on the people of Mayo who, no doubt, will persevere in their assertion of the Repeal cause. They must however be brought to contribute better to its funds.

... My sincere congratulation on the late eloquent and masterly vindication of Ireland addressed to the British Senate by the member for Kilkenny.¹ Well may you rejoice in such a son.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 A reference to the lengthy speech by John O'Connell in the Commons on 24 April in the adjourned debate on the state of Ireland (*Times*, 25 Apr. 1846; *Nation*, 2 May 1846).

3206

From P.V. FitzPatrick

Dublin, 7 May 1846

My Dear Liberator,

In consideration of the weightier matters at present occupying your attention I have advisedly abstained from encumbering you latterly with the 'burthen of my correspondence.'

Two communications from Rev. Dean Meyler,¹ in one of which as you will perceive he is personally and *intensely* interested, render it indispensable for me to inflict this letter upon you.

I enclose a copy of a letter just obtained by the Dean from his Grace, Dr. Murray, to whom it was addressed, with the contents of which you should be made acquainted without loss of time. The writer, Rev. Mr Fahy,² 'is a Dominican friar who was strongly recommended to the Archbishop for the mission of Buenos Aires. He is a clergyman of excellent character and to be entirely relied on,' I quote Dr. Meyler's words respecting him.

In any reference you may make to the subject of Mr. Fahy's letter it may be as well *not* to mention the names of Dr. Murray or of Dean Meyler for particular reasons.

The Dean has just been apprized by his brother, Mr. Robert Meyler, Manager of the Sligo branch of the National Bank, that the branch is to be discontinued³ and perhaps Mr. Meyler's services in the establishment dispensed with altogether.

This if actually carried into effect will indeed be a crushing calamity to your respected parish priest as his brother has no resources for the support of a family numbering, as I believe, 8 children beyond the salary derived from the Bank, while the Dean is already obliged to educate and sustain some of the children in addition to those of a widowed sister that have been likewise thrown upon him. Added to this *argumentum ad misericordiam* Mr. Meyler seems to have claims to be retained by the Bank founded on the careful manner in

which his trust was administered and which is testified by the loss incurred during his managership being limited to the inconsiderable sum of £150. I have reason to believe that the Bank of Ireland, the Provincial Bank and all similar establishments uniformly provide in other districts for the officers of branches that may be reduced or discontinued. I send you an extract from Mr. Meyler's letter to the Dean and I have undertaken that you will exert yourself to the utmost for the brother of your *parish priest* who is quite as much interested in your success as his immediate relative. A host of considerations combine to make it desirable that you shall work effectually in this case. You have Dr. Meyler's note to me amongst the other papers herein. Let me hear from you speedily on this matter.

The alarm respecting the food of the people which pervades the country has checked my operations⁴ as a matter of course. I am however 'mending my nets' for an appropriate season and I felicitate myself greatly on having achieved what has been effected in the face of difficulties so peculiar and so formidable.

Your *presentation* to me — Haverty's picture⁵ representing you in the act of reading the address to the Electors of Clare to Conway and to me — has after two years' delay been completed generally. It will be a gratifying heirloom to my *collateral* family as recording the practical share in initiating and securing the funds for the ever memorable election of 1828 which I had the honour and happiness of taking. You will recollect your promise to give me an hour's sitting to enable the painter finish some points. This can of course await your *perfect* convenience.

I think it *indispensable* for John to send £5 or perhaps £10 to the Poor Relief fund of Kilkenny City. Let this not be neglected or postponed and the larger sum should in my opinion be sent, with a line from John, to the Committee at once.

By the death of poor O'Mullane you will of course realize the two insurances £3,000 and £1,500 so long paid for on his life. The casualty too, as I find, will make a handsome addition to Morgan O'Connell's means.⁶

As the *Times et hoc genus* speak tauntingly of the generosity and alms-giving of England to this country it may be well to allude to the grants of 105,000 bullocks to the citizens of London by the Council of Ireland on the occasion of the desolating fire of 1666. The only authority now at my command, Whitelaw and Walsh's *History of Dublin*,⁷ notes it thus: 'October 1666 — The Lord Lieutenant and Council considered about sending 105,000 head of bullocks for the relief of London lately burned.'

I have read elsewhere that the relief was actually sent.

I must bother you with another scrawl in a day or two respecting the 'Tenant right' question. It behoves you *most particularly*, now that you are in attendance in Parliament, to put your views on this momentous subject *practically* on record.

[P.S.] *Burn this.*

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Rev. Walter Meyler (c. 1784-1864), P.P. St. Andrews, Westland Row from 1833 to 1864. Dean of the diocese 1839-64.
- 2 Rev. Anthony Dominic Fahy, O.P. (1801-71), born in the parish of Loughrea, Co. Galway, he was ordained in Rome in 1831. In January 1844, he took up duty in Argentina as chaplain to the Irish community whom he continued to serve with distinction until his death (see James M. Ussher, *Father Fahy*, Buenos Aires, 1951).
- 3 See letter 3209
- 4 In collecting the O'Connell Tribute.
- 5 This painting was exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1847.
- 6 O'Connell's son Morgan now came in for the O'Mullane property at Brittas, Mallow, Co. Cork (see letters 1339 and 3218).
- 7 Rev. J. Whitelaw and Rev. R. Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin...* (2 vols., Cadell, 1818).

3207

*From Martin Crea*¹

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin, Saturday evening, half-past 6 o'clock, 9 May 1846
My Dear and Revered Liberator,

The adjourned meeting of the '82 Club is only the moment over. It was rather numerous, forty-two members present. Sir C. O'Loughlen in the chair. Doheny proposed the address² which was seconded by Fras. Comyn.³ O'Hea opposed it as being an illegal document and made a most excellent speech. Broderick, Clements, O'Dowd and Tom Steele also spoke against it. After several speeches from the Young Ireland party the chairman said he could not put the address in its present form as it was actually *seditionous*. It was then arranged that a subcommittee should be appointed to revise it, upon which Sir C. and O'Dowd acted. It was certainly considerably modified but the absolute approval of Mr. O'Brien's conduct was allowed to stand with the protest of the chairman. The question having been put, O'Hea moved as an amendment that the address should commence "we the undersigned members" instead of we the members of the '82 Club. A division took place and the amendment was lost, the numbers being 10 for and 32 against the amendment. The original question was then carried by the same majority. A deputation was then

named⁴ (see enclosed slip) to present the address to Mr. O'Brien, and Mitchel⁵ moved that *the president*⁶ of the Club being at present in London should be requested to accompany the deputation. This motion however was not pressed but the understanding was that you should be called on to go with them. I am diffident in giving *you* my opinion but it is my duty to say that the *open* and avowed drift of the majority at the meeting was to set up the "Golden ————" in your stead, but this the *people* will never submit to. I enclose you the letter of the Rev. Mr Gilligan, and several persons have asked me whether the petition⁷ was going forward with your sanction.

The city registry is proceeding most favourably. We are beating them vastly on the *new* votes. They are making every exertion, having 13 cars and paying taxes indiscriminately. We have arranged that one day in the week shall be set apart for the standing cases and Saturday being always a bad day for the attendance of our claimants I by much stratagem had that day appointed today. We had 14 of our cases admitted — non-Repealers 5 — 11 of ours were new; *all* the Tories re-registries of '39. Cash on the Book this evening £54.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Martin Crean (c. 1802-1867), acting-secretary of the Repeal Association; associated with the glass manufacturing industry.
- 2 An address to Smith O'Brien, dated 9 May. It declared the club's complete confidence in and support for O'Brien, and added that its members had long since abandoned all hope of ever obtaining justice for Ireland from the imperial parliament. 'We are', it declared, 'confederated together in the '82 club, upon the plain ground that no body of men ought to have power to make laws binding this kingdom, save the Monarch, Lords and Commons of Ireland' (*Nation*, 16 May 1846).
- 3 Francis Comyn (1801-73), eldest son of Laurence Comyn, Woodstock, Co. Galway and Kilcorney, Co. Clare; sometime J.P. for Co. Clare.
- 4 This consisted of Francis Comyn, Richard O'Gorman, Jr., John Mitchel, William Bryan, Michael Doheny, Thomas Francis Meagher and Terence Bellew McManus (*Nation*, 16 May 1846).
- 5 John Mitchel (1815-75), a Young Irelander; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; admitted a solicitor in 1840; assisted in editing the *Nation*, 1845-7; founded the *United Irishman*, 1848; transported to Van Dieman's Land for sedition, 1848; escaped to San Francisco, 1853; elected M.P. for Co. Tipperary, 1875. See *DNB*.
- 6 O'Connell.
- 7 O'Connell's supporters organised a great number of petitions to the Commons for the release of Smith O'Brien. A copy of the petition was circulated to the Catholic clergy by Martin Crean, acting-secretary of the Repeal Association, for the purpose of procuring signatures (see letter 3208 and the *Limerick Reporter* of 12 May 1846. This pro-O'Brien newspaper condemned the petition as contrary to O'Brien's wishes). Over 200 Petitions for the release of O'Brien were presented to

the Commons, all or virtually all by O'Connell, on and after 14 May, from various parts of Ireland but virtually none from Limerick city or county (*Commons Journal*, CI, 703 *et seq.*; *Times*, 15, 19, 23 May 1846). These petitions were organised without O'Brien's previous knowledge or consent (T.M. Ray to P. Spillane, 13 May 1846, O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646).

3207a

From Thomas Steele

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 9 May 1846

Father of your Country,

Is it not truly afflicting that Smith O'Brien, a man with exalted qualities if well directed, should through the machinations of a perfidious clique, that sought (not caring one curse for him) to make him their plastic instrument; and through his own wayward personal impulses, which he mistook for majestic serene self-might, bring himself into a position [?] so] unenviable as his present one?

I have long seen that matters *could not* go on as they were; I could not be so grossly stupid as not to perceive this clearly; and my calmest judgment tells me now that it was better that the matter should be *brought to a crisis, and a decisive one.*

I am greatly delighted that you approve of the measures we took for the safety of your movement and your association in the Conciliation Hall on Monday.¹

I will not break in upon your time any longer than to give you *verbatim* what I said as your *Head Repeal Warden* of Ireland in opposing an address² of the '82 Club directly approving of Smith O'Brien's course of conduct in opposition to the House of Commons.

'... When in 1828 we were deserted by Major Macnamara who went away to the Isles of Arran, William Smith O'Brien was the very man ... I recommended to the People of Clare as the best one we could select for the purpose of carrying a victory over the Peel and Wellington administration.

I was then in Ennis, and the people of Clare instantly adopted my suggestion, and empowered me to write to London, offering to return him in opposition to Vesey Fitzgerald. ... I wrote from Ennis to London; but before his answer could arrive in Clare ... the Catholic O'Connell astounded Ireland and the Empire by in Dublin proclaiming himself the candidate...

... I feel myself irresistibly compelled to refuse as a member of the '82 Club to give expression to any opinion approving of the course taken by my friend, William Smith O'Brien, our respected Vice-President, in putting himself in direct and isolated opposition to the House of Commons upon such an occasion.

I have not a word more to say.'

SOURCE: NLI, MSS 15478

- 1 On Doheny's resolution in the Repeal Association on Smith O'Brien (see letter 3204 n2). Edward Clements and Steele emphasised the *moderate* nature of Doheny's resolution.
- 2 See letter 3207 n2.

3208

From T.M. Ray

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 11 May 1846, Monday

My Dear Liberator,

I think everything went on satisfactorily today. Young Meagher opened a speech, brilliant as usual, by reference to the resolution passed last day¹ which he said he thought fell short of what the Association felt but still perhaps it was the more safe and legal. T. Steele took his opportunity to refer to Meagher's expression and took advantage of its proceeding *from Meagher*.² He said that the course taken by the Association had your full approval of its indispensable caution. The note of the proceedings will show you more fully what occurred. The meeting was over early, about ½ past 3. The Room was tolerably full.

I have a letter from J.T. Devitt³ today expressing great apprehension from the excited state of *Limerick* and the open decided tone they have taken in *condemning the Association and the Pilot* etc.⁴ He fears a split and recommends some sort of conciliation. I have written to him that the Association could not with safety possibly take any other course, and must only stand the brunt, till calmer reason vindicates our acts. I enclose the Limerick Paper which you may not have seen. The Limerick Trades have published a resolution that Smith O'Brien is the man to lead them to *the Field*!⁵ Surely if Government and Parliament have any perception, they must see who it is that restrains the wild passions of the people. I don't know how Mr. O'Brien will appreciate their compliment. We thought it better not to notice these proceedings at all.

The deputation with the address to W.S. O'Brien go off *tomorrow*

morning, Comyn could not go tonight. T.M. Carew,⁶ who I understand was even more than others strenuous at the meeting of the *Club* on Saturday, stopped the getting of signatures to the petition⁷ at Kingstown and created considerable confusion at the Chapel. He took Martin Crean's circular and drew his pen across Crean's name. The confusion attracted Rev. Mr Sheridan's⁸ attention. He came and enquired into the matter and said it had his full sanction and for Mr. Carew not to interfere. The Limerick clergy (and people of course) have declined to forward the petition⁹ or sign it. Rev. Mr Costello has sent us the enclosed curious letter¹⁰.

I send you a copy of the address¹¹ as it was originally proposed, and with the passages as finally altered. It shows their animus and the danger we would be in if they had their will.

O'Dowd requested me to mention that he is going to London in two or three days, and to submit to you that he is entitled to some compensation for having acted as counsel at the Mayo election; he lost chief part of his circuit, the opposite counsel got £100 and O'Dowd expects at least £50 (and I believe he is pressed at present). He says he had something like an understanding with Mr. Smith O'Brien on the subject.

The rent was very good — £145.5.4.

T. Steele is much better today than yesterday.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 See letter 3204 n2. O'Brien's supporters had originally demanded a resolution which would fully identify the Association with his stand, but O'Connell's supporters prevented this on the ground that it would be illegal. This infuriated O'Brien, who announced he would resign his seat in parliament, claiming that both the Repeal M.P.'s and the Association had deserted him (Gwynn, *Young Ireland*, 63-4; *Nation*, 9 May 1846).
- 2 Steele expressed enthusiasm for Meagher's speech of 4 May in praise of Doherty's resolution on Smith O'Brien (see letter 3204 n2) but quoted a passage from that speech which expressed a qualified approval of limiting the resolution to what was held by O'Connell's supporters to be legal (see above note 1).
- 3 John T. Devitt (died 5 Sept. 1869), Woodpark, Castleconnell, Co. Limerick; J.P. Co. Limerick to 1844; sometime town councillor, Limerick corporation; founding member of '82 Club'.
- 4 Meetings took place at Limerick (9 May) and Rathkeale (10 May) which passed resolutions in support of Smith O'Brien. The Rathkeale meeting condemned the 'insidious casuistry of and unmanly attempt made by the *Pilot* newspaper to asperse and misrepresent the conduct of William Smith O'Brien', expressed a deep sense of insult on the part of his constituents, and ordered the withdrawal of the *Pilot* from the local reading rooms (*Limerick Reporter*, 12 May 1846).
- 5 On 7 May a meeting of the trades of Limerick passed a resolution expressing their confidence that Smith O'Brien's present conduct in parliament was a guarantee that he would keep all his other pledges to

the cause of Ireland 'even if it were necessary to lead his fellow-countrymen to the field in defence of the trampled liberties and pros-
trated constitution of Ireland.' (*Limerick Reporter*, 8 May 1846).

6 Unidentified.

7 The petition from Kingstown for Smith O'Brien's release was presented in the Commons on 18 May. See letter 3207 n7.

8 Rev. Bartholomew Sheridan, (1788-1862), ordained at Maynooth 1814; P.P. Kingstown, 1829-62.

9 See letter 3207 n7.

10 Rev. Thomas O'Brien Costello, P.P. to Martin Crean, 10 May 1846 (*copy* in O'Connell Papers, NLI, 13646). The writer expresses contempt for the proposed petition (see letter 3207 n7) which, he says, would be contrary to O'Brien's declared wishes and is only intended to gloss over the failure of the Repeal Association to support O'Brien properly at its meeting on 4 May (see letters 3204 n2 and above n1).

11 The address from the '82 Club to Smith O'Brien (see letter 3207).

3209

To P.V. FitzPatrick

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, 12 May 1846

My dear FitzPatrick,

I shall not make any public use of the Rev. Mr. Fahy's letter¹ *affirmatively* but its effect will be as much silence on my part as the exigencies of public affairs will permit for, believe me, Rosas² is a tyrant of a hideous description. I have not the least sympathy however for the Unitarian party.³ I never said one word directly or indirectly in their behalf, and, as a party, I should not care if they were annihilated tomorrow. But the Rev. Mr. Fahy's letter will have this effect that I shall not say one word about Rosas unless I should be required by some parliamentary necessity of which at present I have no expectation.

The reverend gentleman says my speeches⁴ *endanger the Lives and Properties of the Irish People in Buenos Ayres*. What a Government!!! where life and property are endangered by a speech over which the people of that town could have no control. Yet such is the *subject matter* of the Rev. Mr. Fahy's eulogium!

But, however, out of respect to him I shall be as silent as I possibly can with respect to Rosas and his party.

So much for South America; now for Sligo. The moment I got your letter enclosing the note from the Rev. Dr. Meyler, I went off at once to the Board in the City and urged Mr. Meyler's case more strongly than I have any other since the [National] Bank was formed; and I am glad to tell you that there is no fault found with his

management. The only allegation against him is that his temper is hasty and that he thereby offends customers.

The Branch at Sligo will require some time in winding up, during which time Mr. Meyler is safe, and the delay gives me an opportunity of re-urging his claims, which I shall certainly do. I left a statement of his case with the board on Saturday last, and will attend again the General Board on Saturday *next*, for the express purpose of insisting, as far as I can, upon his being continued as Manager in some other Branch. I authorise you to pledge yourself that I will leave no stone unturned or no exertion spared to prevent his removal from our employment. If I succeed I shall get little credit for it; but if I fail, in spite of every effort, I shall get all the blame, notwithstanding the fact that his retention in office is the only matter upon which I have made, or shall make, a decided struggle.

I will give you the hour's sitting you speak of though I fancy I would rather give somebody an opportunity of flogging me for an hour. But *you* shall have the hour whenever, after my arrival in Dublin, you choose. Recollect however that I am eighteen years older than the picture.

I shall of course be glad to hear from you on the subject of the Tenant-right. You see yourself that my noble and right-hearted John is working in that direction.⁵ What a treasure he is to me, as indeed are all my children. May God reward them.

I had two policies in Cork upon O'Mullane's life, amounting to £4,500 to which, some bonuses being added, puts the bank to the credit of my account £4,654. I have also a policy in Limerick upon which there are £306 due, making altogether £4,960. And I have a claim on the Bank for £427 more. So that with McSweeney's⁶ policy, upon which they have lately received £990, I shall be able to reduce the principal of my debt in the Bank to about £4,000, clear, to the present, of interest. I trust in God I shall soon be able to make it a *tabula rasa*.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 373-5

1 See letter 3206.

2 Juan Manuel de Rosas (1793-1877), dictatorial ruler of Buenos Aires and political leader of Argentina from about 1835 to 1852. See *Ency. Brit.*

3 The *Unitarios* desired a centralist form of government for Argentina as opposed to the federal form favoured by Rosas.

4 Only one such speech has been traced. It was delivered at the Repeal Association on 27 October 1845. In a reference to British foreign policy on Buenos Aires O'Connell said that Rosas's 'principle was bloodshed and his system was a system of butchery and assassination' (*FJ*, 28 Oct. 1845).

5 In a recent public letter to Lord John Russell, John O'Connell had declared that the true solution to Irish poverty, without entrenching on

the rights of property, was to be found in the extension of a legalised system of Ulster Tenant Right throughout the whole country. The letter was intended as a reply to Poulett Scrope, who had suggested a more extensive system of poor laws as the solution to Irish poverty (*Pilot*, 8 May 1846).

- 6 Probably his nephew Edward McSwiney (1804-1845) who died the previous November at Arthurstown, Co. Wexford.

3210

From T.M. Ray to London

Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin, 13 May 1846

Private

My Dear Liberator,

They are still in great excitement in Limerick as you will see by the papers. The *Limerick Reporter* has not stopped at any violence in denouncing us. In Rathkeale they have taken the tone from Limerick and *thrown out the Pilot*.¹ T. Steele wrote to Mr. Devitt last night and bids me enclose you copy of his letter. I also send you copy of my letter² to Spillane³ of Limerick, Inspector of Wardens, who wrote up to consult me as to the *Wardens* holding a meeting to address W.S. O'B. He said he feared excitement and did not know what to do.

I have no doubt but that all of the local press that may be influenced have got intimation of the course they are expected to take, and the Association may consequently expect some hard blows. It occurred to me whether it might not be absolutely necessary for you to interfere and keep the people in the country from giddy acts for which they seem now inclined, as well as to anticipate any imprudent speeches at the Association on Monday.

O'Down requested of me to send you the enclosed letter on the subject I mentioned to you.⁴ I believe he is hard pressed. He is working with us in the present difficulties with good heart and great utility. He will not now go to London. If you approve of his claim I will have to request a draft as we are so low in funds here.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

1 See letter 3208 n4.

2 In this letter Ray advises patience and the postponing of any meeting (O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646).

3 P. Spillane

4 See letter 3208.

3211

To John E. Jones¹

British Hotel [Jermyn St., London], 14 May 1846

[facsimile of original]

My dear Jones,

The bust is admirable. As a work of art it does you the greatest credit and it is a most striking likeness, infinitely more like than any other bust attempted of me. My friends are unanimous in approving of it most highly both for execution and correct resemblance.

SOURCE : NLI MSS 5759

1 John Edward Jones (1806-62), sculptor; a native of Dublin. See *DNB*.

3211a

From Thomas Steele to London

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 14 May 1846

My dear and mighty Friend,

I request, *for I require*, the guidance of your wisdom.

The Trades of Limerick have as you know, for Ray sent it to you, published a newspaper manifesto¹ which I believe amounts to something like a *treasonable menace* of the Legislature.

You, 'O'Connell,' the Apostle of peaceful Revolution, are a member of that Body; and I think it my duty to you to remind you of it; — I am President of it.

Give me your orders whether I shall or shall not withdraw from them, and of course for ever, as soon as the present ferment shall have, as it of course will (being grounded on fantastic folly, the result of perfidious counsel), subsided . . .

SOURCE : NLI MSS 15478

1 See letter 3208 n5.

3212

From Edward Brodrick

Dublin, 15 May 1846

My dear Sir,

John¹ writes to say that Dan² and I are not [to] take any part against Smith O'Brien. We have not taken any part *against* him. We don't understand what he (John) means. Hitherto O'Hea, Ray etc. *all* agreed as to the steps we have taken.

Sir C. O'Loughlen objected to the address of the '82 Club and agrees with us on other points.

We could not have taken any course but that we have followed. We will keep everything as quiet as we can until you come over. If I get explicit directions I will if possible follow them.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 John O'Connell.

2 Daniel O'Connell, Jr.

3213

To John Abel Smith,¹ 10 Duke Street, St. James, London

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, 16 May 1846

My dear Sir,

[States that he cannot attend a dinner² to Lord Dudley Stuart for the following reasons:]

The first reason is that upon the last Polish debate that occurred while I was in London, one of the managers of the discussion came to me to request that I would not use violent language against the Emperor of Russia³ as that might injure the Polish cause. I consequently felt it my duty not to take any part in the debate.

Now a hint to the same effect has been conveyed to me through Mr. Wilbraham⁴ . . . Of course my own opinion is that it would be useful to the Poles to have their oppressor spoken of in the very terms he merits if there be any words sufficiently strong for that purpose. But as I perceive this opinion of mine is not participated in by the friends of the Poles who meet today . . . I therefore deem it the fittest course respectfully to decline attending at the banquet at which it is thought by others I may do harm but at which I am myself convinced I could not under the circumstances do any good.

SOURCE: Castle Howard Papers

- 1 John Abel Smith (1801-71), banker and politician; M.P. for Midhurst, 1830-31; for Chichester, 1831-59 and 1863-68. See *DNB*.
2. A dinner in London on 16 May in honour of Stuart's services to Polish exiles living in England (*Times*, 18 May 1846).
- 3 Nicholas I.
- 4 Probably George Wilbraham (1779-1852), liberal M.P. for South Cheshire, 1832-41. See *Boase*.

3214

Copy of letter from Dean Burke to Michael Doheny, not to O'Connell as was erroneously thought when this letter was numbered.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3215

From T.M. Ray to London

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 18 May 1846, Monday

My Dear Liberator,

We are most happy to find that you approve of how we have got on. I believe we had acted in everything as you would wish.

The meeting today got over very well though we were near having much uproar by reason of Mr. Doheny proceeding to read three letters, one from George Smyth,¹ one from Dean Burke² and the other from Rev. Mr. Walsh.³ Clonmel. Clements tried to stop him as the letters went into Smith O'Brien's affair as Clements thought not safely.⁴ He did persevere in reading them however and then moved them in the minutes. Clements next opposed this and moved that they be referred to the Committee which was agreed to *nem.con.*

There was a good deal of noise during this proceeding. Doheny spoke in his very loud tone and with much apparent excitement, and made several clap trap allusions to disinterestedness, caution etc. and thought it strange it should be supposed *he* would bring forward any questionable document though he admitted the moment before that he had not previously read the letters. His appeals were to the *excited meeting* rather than to the decision of the Chairman, which I think a very unfair and dangerous course. It is extremely hard to bring him amenable, he has such command of voice and gesture. He

was proceeding to narrate the embassy⁵ of the '82 Club but had to relinquish, the chairman having firmly stopped him, aided by Clements etc.

I had seen Sir Colman O'Loughlen and O'Hea this morning. Sir Colman could not come, being engaged on a consultation. O'Hea did come but was unable to remain many minutes.

One of the best, most sensible and opportune speeches I ever heard was called forth from FitzPatrick, the barrister, in vindication of the Association. The obligation of the people to have confidence in you, their Leader, and a severe philippic to the *Young Ireland* party.⁶ Doheny had gone previous to this. So had Barry and one or two others.

I enclose copies of the letters read today by Doheny. They have not been sent to the papers. I know they will try and have them brought forward next day with sanction of the Committee if only for triumph. I believe there is little harm in Dean Burke's unless it be the concluding part, or Father Walsh's; still probably the best way now would be not to have them published at all. I would ask your opinion as to this so that we may act upon it at next meeting.

O'Dowd behaved well in the chair. The rent was a good average — £148.3.6. The three letters to Doheny conveyed £50 of it. I wonder why the writers have adopted new correspondents.

Mr. Steele desires me to express to you his measureless gratitude for your kindness. He says he is getting well of the influenza and quite satisfied with the treatment and attention of the *Murphys*. Poor man, he was in evident agony today from pain in the stomach by some pill he got in an apothecary's shop but got better towards evening as the effects of the medicine passed off. He cannot keep quiet, he says it would give him a nervous fever if he were kept away at this serious crisis.

O'Dowd has spoken to me about the £50. He is in some embarrassment, I believe, and the money is an immediate object. I understand he did his work well in Mayo.⁷

T.M. Yea [sic]⁸ seeing me writing asks if it is to the *Liberator*, and desires his love, and to tell the *Liberator* he is nearly well and going to Sandymount tomorrow.

O'Connell⁸ wishes a word on his behalf to be added, to tell de Libby I will be good boy when I'm big.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 George Smyth, secretary, Repeal Association, Liverpool.
- 2 Rev. Michael Burke, V.G. (died 13 August 1866), educated at Maynooth College; P.P. and V.G. St. Peter's and St. Paul's, Clonmel 1836-66; author of several pamphlets in opposition to Queen's colleges bill and to the proposal for state endowment of the clergy.
- 3 Rev. Edmond Walshe, C.C., St. Mary's, Clonmel.

- 4 According to the press account of this (Repeal Association) meeting Doheny read the letters from George Smyth and Dean Burke but Clements supported by Ray unsuccessfully tried to prevent him reading the letter from Fr. Walsh on the ground that all letters, not of a routine nature, must first be referred to the committee. After much confusion the chairman, James K. O'Dowd, allowed Doheny to read Fr. Walsh's letter (*FJ*, 19 May; *Nation*, 23 May 1846). There is a copy of Dean Burke's letter to Doheny (dated 17 May 1846) in the O'Connell papers, NLI 13649. It encloses £20 as the local Repeal rent and expresses strong support for Smith O'Brien.
- 5 The deputation to London (see letter 3207).
- 6 James Coleman FitzPatrick said that Repealers must have confidence in their M.P.'s who had abandoned their resolution not to attend parliament in order to support a great principle (free trade) and resist a great wrong (the coercion bill). He asked that 'we who are young men and still younger politicians' should trust O'Connell's mature and experienced leadership (*FJ*, 19 May 1846).
- 7 See letter 3208.
- 8 Probably sons of Ray's.

3216

From T.M. Ray to London

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 19 May 1846

My Dear Liberator,

There is as a matter of course much conversation today about the proceedings of yesterday and no small dissatisfaction with Mr. Doheny. I have written to Dean Burke and to Rev. Mr. Walsh lest they might feel slighted about their letters. I enclose copies of mine.

Lest it might not have caught your attention I think it right to send you the enclosed copy of the *Freemans Journal* with Mr. Doheny's speech at Liverpool¹ marked. You see he avows a separate *party*.² It is altogether a curious speech and withal mischievous I fear. See where at bottom of the first column he says the contingency of *physical force* may become necessary and coupling this with Mr. Archdeacon's³ speech bottom of next column, who coolly declares that the Liverpool Repealers are *prepared for the physical struggle*.⁴ Is not all this very dangerous!

Now this Mr. Archdeacon is the Sub-Secretary of the Liverpool Repealers. It is he who corresponds with us on all matters of detail, and I beg to ask your advice whether you think it necessary that I should do anything to disassociate the Association from him in consequence of this speech. I presume Mr. Doheny was present at it.

The address of the Liverpool Repealers too declares that the

Commons *have no right* etc.⁵

And Mr. O'Brien acknowledges the resolutions of the *Limerick Trades*⁶ (see 2d page enclosed paper) and says the *millions* will do their duty, "his pledge has been redeemed by the congregated trades."

Coupling all together, the Young Ireland principles so far as they exist seem to be avowed and not of any very pacific character either.

Clements pointed out to me the announcement in last week's *Nation* of the '82 address⁷ and how Mitchel is therein stated to be of the '*Nation*.' I understand Mitchel does not deny that he is author of the article in the *Nation* now under prosecution.⁸ I believe Clements wrote to Mr. J. O'Connell about this, but am not sure. Clements had some doubts whether, under the circumstances, Mr. Mitchel should not be called upon *to resign* as a member of the Committee. Some weeks ago when Mr. [Henry] Grattan moved in Committee that he should take the chair at next meeting of the Association, Mr. Steele objected upon the ground of his connection with the *Nation*. He disavowed it save so far as writing articles occasionally for the paper.

You will pardon me, my Dear Liberator, for annoying you with all these matters but we are anxious lest anything should go wrong in the present troubles.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 This speech was delivered by Doheny at a meeting of Liverpool Repealers on 17 May. He said he did not advocate war with England since there was no greater evil than unnecessary war but there were times when 'the strength of man, contending for principle, must be decided by the issue of his own blood' (*FJ*, 19 May 1846).
- 2 Doheny said: 'I belong to a party which some people choose to call Young Ireland', but he stressed 'let it not be understood that I mean by that the slightest disaffection to the great party of the country, let it not be understood to mean the slightest disrespect to that great man [O'Connell] whose name is as imperishable as history itself'.
- 3 George Archdeacon, 12 Sawney Pope Street, Liverpool. He was expelled from the Repeal Association at the Dublin meeting on 8 June 1846 (*Nation*, 13 June 1846).
- 4 Archdeacon in his speech declared that the people of Liverpool were prepared 'even with their physical strength if necessary' to defend their principles (*FJ*, 19 May 1846).
- 5 An address, dated 13 May, to Smith O'Brien from the Repealers of Liverpool was read at the Liverpool meeting. It declared the Commons had no right to impose duties on O'Brien incompatible with the wishes of his constituents (*FJ*, 19 May 1846).
- 6 O'Brien's reply dated 12 May, appears in the *Freeman's Journal* of 19 May 1846. It declared that when told the Irish people were fickle and would desert him he replied: '*The millions will do their duty.*'
- 7 See letter 3207 n2. Ray enclosed the relevant cutting from the *Nation* of 16 May 1846.

- 8 This prosecution arose from an editorial by Mitchel in the *Nation* in November 1845 in which he suggested that Repeal wardens throughout the country should study how to wreck railways in case of the government's making use of them to suppress outbreaks. Consequently in June 1846 the government prosecuted the *Nation's* editor, Gavan Duffy, for seditious libel. The trial commenced on 17 June, and on the following day the jury were unable to agree on a verdict, and Duffy went free (Leon Ó Broin, *Charles Gavan Duffy*, Dublin, 1967, 31-32; *DEP*, 18, 20 June 1846).

3217

From T.M. Ray to London

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 20 May 1846

My Dear Liberator,

I look to the provincial papers daily as they come, to watch the proceedings in the provinces. In the *Newry Examiner* of this date, 20th, there is the following resolution passed on Sunday last at "the regular weekly meeting of the Repealers," Joseph Cartin Esq.¹ in the chair.

Moved by Danl. Molony (the Inspector of Wardens), seconded by Mr. Lawless² 'Resolved — That we *heartily approve* of the conduct of William Smith O'Brien Esq. *in denying the right of the Legislature* to compel him, an Irish Member, to devote his time and attention to subjects unconnected with our country; and for the manly straightforward and patriotic manner in which he has espoused the national movement at other periods as well as at present, he deserves our warmest confidence and enthusiastic support.' 'Resolved — That *an address* from the Repealers of Dundalk be *forwarded to the Honourable Member* for Limerick conveying to him the assurance of our warmest sympathy and support, and our resolve fixed and firm to work unceasingly in the noble and national cause for the support of which he is now suffering incarceration.'

The *Limerick Reporter* suppressed all mention of FitzPatrick's speech.³ In their article of yesterday, 19th, they say: 'There can be no better proof of what way the irresistible gale of public opinion blows than the proceedings of the Association yesterday, *attempted as it was in vain by a clique to arrest its progress.*'

The *Cork Examiner* has a report of a preliminary meeting on Friday night last of the Repeal Wardens to address Mr. O'Brien. They appear to have gone on steadily for they expressly declared

their avoidance of expressing any opinion on his conduct, and Maguire⁴ carefully impressed upon them the necessity of caution by reason of their position as officers of the Association.

We are naturally in great anxiety here lest the acts above mentioned may involve the Association. Mr. Steele is strongly impressed with the opinion that it behoves us to do something or other to disconnect the Association from these transactions and he drew up the enclosed letter as a matter of precaution against after [sic] occurrences, that it and my reply might be available if you should approve of it or think it necessary at all. What I fear is that the wardens in other quarters will now commit themselves to the wrong course, as the popular mind is so unhappily apt to run wild upon any question of bravado.

I am obliged to present you with a further serious call upon our reserved funds. It is remarkable that the Repeal rent has not exceeded the average of £150 a week; which does not indicate much pocket sympathy with Mr. O'Brien.

The *Cork Examiner* has taken up the notion of the *Limerick Examiner* for itinerant meetings of the Association in the large cities and dinners of the '82 club. I enclose the declaration⁵ of Irish M.P.'s 1843 which Mr. J. O'C[onnell] writes for.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Joseph Cartin, proprietor of the Commercial Hotel, Dundalk; repeal warden; chairman, Dundalk town commissioners.
- 2 Unidentified.
- 3 See letter 3215 n6.
- 4 John Francis Maguire (1815-1872), eldest son of John Maguire, merchant, Cork; founded the *Cork Examiner* in 1841 and edited it for many years. M.P. for Dungarvan 1852-65; for Cork city 1865-72; mayor of Cork, 1853 and 1862-64; author of many works. See *DNB*.
- 5 At the end of the parliamentary session of 1843 twenty-nine Irish M.P.'s including Repealers, Whigs and Liberals, signed an address to the People of Great Britain protesting against the government's failure to redress Irish grievances (*DEP*, 26 Aug. 1843).

3218

From his son Morgan to London

Dublin, 21 May 1846

My dear Father,

I returned last night from my expedition to the County of Cork. Betty O'Mullane¹ and I met and parted good friends. Your letter affected but gratified her greatly. . . . I went on the lands and got formal possession leaving everyone in.² They are nicely situated

within four miles of Mallow as you go from that town to Kanturk. The profit rental is £380 a year at present. There are but six tenants holding land; the seventh, the Catholic Curate, holds merely a cottage near the Chapel for which he pays seven pounds a year. Two tenants pay between them £277 odd. They had no leases to produce but promised to have them, that is to say, one promised to produce his within a week and the other says his is registered. The latter I have ordered to be searched for. The agent on the property thinks neither have any such document and in that case the land will come to be relet when a profit rent of £120 additional may be expected. However that is uncertain. I was asked for no reduction or indulgence of any kind from which it is to be surmised that they are all very well off. Kane, the attorney, tells me that he has written to you on the subject of the insurance I was with him about. Betty O'Mullane promised to give Maurice 'the Deed' to get registered. . . .

[P.S.] As things are I shall have about £150 during the joint lives of the two O'Mullanes.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 A first cousin of O'Connell and daughter of John O'Mullane (died 1806).
- 2 At Brittas, the property of the O'Mullane family, which O'Connell had purchased in 1826. See letters 1339 and 2002.

3219

From T.M. Ray to London

Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin, Thursday night, 21 May 1846
My Dear Liberator,

The enclosed, which is a full note of what occurred in committee today, will show you that we had much difficulty in restraining the tendency to personal collisions, but we did succeed in keeping all finally quiet and I believe establishing an understanding by which any further breakings out will be avoided.

Mr. Doheny had the bad taste to object to FitzPatrick being in the chair on Monday *because of his speech!*¹ He also evinced the strong perverseness you see in the notes to oppose the authority of the Association but in the end modified his determination when he saw that such conduct would not be submitted to.

I thought it best to put you fully in possession of what was said on all sides on these points, and also on the *legal doctrine* laid down by

him as to responsibility. I believe and trust the worst is over here and that no further outbreaks will happen in public.

A Sub-Committee was named to consider as to celebration of 30 May² now very near: Sir C. O'Loughlen, M. J. Barry, James O'Hea, E. Clements, M. Doheny. To meet on Saturday, 2 to 3 o'clock.

The 3 letters are referred to you, I can have your directions as to reading them on Monday or not.

I enclose copies of replies from Dean Burke, Rev. Mr. Walshe and Smyth of Liverpool. *Dean Burke disapproves of W.S. O'B.* All are satisfactory. Also one from Dwyer³ of Cork who wrote to consult us as to what the Repealers there should do.

I also enclose articles copied from the *Limerick Examiner*. I had but one copy for the record book and so had to send it in M.S. [Manuscript]. They want persons to come up from the country *and overbear the Association*. This is the most dangerous suggestion yet. It is reckless and unprincipled.

Pardon me, my dear Liberator, for I fear in my anxiety I may trespass more than needful on your time.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

1 See letter 3215 n6.

2 The anniversary of O'Connell's sentence and imprisonment in 1844.

3 James Dwyer, town councillor, Exchange Ward, Cork; trimming warehouse, 41 Great George's Street, Cork.

3220

From William Smith O'Brien

[22 May 1846]

[first part of letter missing]

I have no hesitation therefore in saying that I prefer to owe my discharge to you rather than to him, and that if you fail in obtaining it tonight upon the grounds upon which I have claimed it in my letter to the Speaker, you have my consent to give notice of a similar motion for Monday.¹

It is however of the utmost importance not to me alone but to "Ireland and Repeal" that every possible effort should be made to obtain a successful debate and division tonight. If I can be released without owing anything to the *indulgence* of the House our triumph would be great indeed. The next best result would be to raise an impression by an effective debate and legal argument that the House has *strained* its powers notwithstanding an obvious irregularity, for the purpose of keeping me in prison.

I take for granted that the House will allow you at five o'clock to move "That the order of the day for taking Mr. O'Brien's letter into consideration be now read."

And that upon its being read you will be permitted to move "That Mr O'Brien be forthwith discharged from the custody of the Sergeant at Arms."

If the Government should refuse to give precedence to this motion you ought to move "That the House do now adjourn," and upon this motion state the whole legal argument, protesting against my imprisonment as a wrong done not to me alone but also to my constituents.

If the decision of the House upon your motion for my release should be unfavourable I am disposed to think that a motion should be made for an adjournment with a view to record your *protest* against any proceeding being allowed to take place in the House whilst the electors of Limerick remain deprived of their representative.

I have thought it better, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to commit my ideas to paper in reference to the subjects to which this letter relates.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 In a letter to the speaker of the House of Commons, dated 21 May, Smith O'Brien contended that his imprisonment was irregular since the committee of selection, whose orders he had refused to obey, had not, in accordance with the standing orders of the House, been appointed specifically for the present session. On these grounds he requested his immediate release, though pointing out also that, even if the committee had been properly appointed, he should still consider he had not broken any law by disobeying it (*Times*, 22 May 1846). On 22 May, O'Connell proposed that the order of 27 April for Smith O'Brien's attendance on the railway committee be discharged, as having been made on false grounds (this was defeated by 180 to 36); O'Connell then gave notice for 25 May of a straightforward motion for Smith O'Brien's discharge. It was Frederick Shaw, however, who moved on that day for O'Brien's discharge, on the ground that the authority of the house had been adequately vindicated. Shaw stressed that his motion was made 'without Mr. Smith O'Brien's knowledge, and, probably . . . against his wish'. The motion was agreed to without a division; Peel expressing regret that O'Brien had had to suffer imprisonment at all (*Times*, 26 May 1846).

From T.M. Ray

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 25 May 1846

My Dear Liberator,

We have got over this day¹ most satisfactorily I think. There was a strong muster of "Young Ireland." T. Steele and I had an understanding beforehand that in case any speaker should trench on the reserved points to check him at once before he got *way*, in preference to waiting for the conclusion of a speech.

Meagher said there were other modes besides the not sufficiently manful resolution² of the Association to interpret the real opinions of the Association. FitzPatrick, the chairman, afterwards obliged him to explain away this.

O'Gorman had not gone far when he was near falling foul of the *rights* of the H. of Commons.³ T. Steele immediately stopped him and *he* explained.

Capt. Seaver said out that he fully approved of W.S. O'B's conduct.

T. Steele called him to order and no confusion followed.

Barry took occasion most explicitly to disavow the existence of any such *party* as the "*Young Ireland party*," but said he was one of those whom people thought proper to *call* Young Ireland, and who were working and would work heart and soul for Ireland; but reserving the perfect right of free opinion. He said that the reports industriously circulated as to division etc. were slanders *on them*.

Doheny avowed having said in Liverpool he belonged to the Young Ireland *party* but that he had distinctly proclaimed there was no difference, no division. He also claimed the perfect right "to differ" and he took great pains to disentangle himself from the imputation of being anyway instrumental in creating division or of wishing to establish rival leaderships or of any species of ingratitude to the Liberator.

It was evident they had prearranged their line of defence; they were all most anxious to disavow intention to foment differences but with the usual reservation of independence etc. the extent or precise meaning of which it is not easy to understand for there was no concession that opinions should be backed by reason or commonsense. However there was an evident disposition towards peace and quietness and probably the flourish may be harmless.

They mostly went away after the speeches. Poor Clements was ill and did not come till the meeting was nearly over. We consulted and

agreed not to mind any notice about the 30th May lest it might clash with any view of yours.

I enclose Maguire's excellent speech from the *Cork Examiner*, lest you might not have seen it. And an article from the *Limerick Examiner* as usual. . . . Also an excellent one from the *Munster Chronicle*.

Rent £109.13.11

The meeting was not so wild or impatient as on last day at the calls to order but still a strong O'Brien feeling up and down.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 The weekly meeting of the Repeal Association.
- 2 The resolution of 4 May (see letters 3204 n2 and 3208 n1).
- 3 That is, by accusing the Commons of having acted illegally in imprisoning Smith O'Brien.

3222

From T.M. Ray to London

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 26 May 1846

Private

My dear Liberator,

Mr. Meagher met me just now and told me some gentlemen had met together at the Courts and were of opinion that *you and* Mr. Smith O'Brien should be met by a procession on your return. It is taken for granted that he is at large by this time, and will immediately return. This would seem to anticipate your notice of motion for Monday next.¹ Meagher directed me to summon the Committee specially the moment the news would arrive.

Mr. Doheny produced at last Committee a letter from Miles MacDonnell (brother of the M.P.) of which copy enclosed.²

O'Dowd protested against the demand and said it was a barefaced attempt, and he moved that I should write to Conry³ with copy of the letter. Costello⁴ moved an amendment that I should write to J.M. McDonnell with copy of his brother's letter; I saw Costello's drift, viz., that J. M. McD. would instantly go to you and the money would have to be paid. T. Steele did not, and supported Costello's amendment as most equitable but now knowing how the matter stood T. Steele is greatly annoyed at what he looks on as a sort of trick. I have not yet written to J.M. McD. and will not until I have

your directions but I think it right to make you aware of the facts as it is likely he will be written to from other quarters and may call upon you. I suppose there is no alternative but to pay the money though Conry wrote to me some time since that it was a most outrageous demand.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 That the Repeal Association should consider the best method of paying a tribute of national gratitude to Smith O'Brien. O'Connell proposed this motion on 1 June and it was carried unanimously (*Nation*, 6 June 1846).
- 2 This matter concerns the Mayo by-election in March 1846 at which Joseph Myles McDonnell was returned.
- 3 James Conry.
- 4 Edward William Costello (born c. 1817), son of Charles Costello and a native of Sligo. Called to the bar, 1840.

3223

*To his son Maurice, Derrynane*¹

30 Merrion Square, 1 June 1846

My dearest Maurice,

[Asks Maurice to enquire into a debt which he thought he had paid Primrose to discharge. Discusses buying out an interest in some small piece of land.]

I am sincerely sorry to say that you must come off to London as speedily as possible. Peel brings on the Bill² again and every anti-Repealer [*sic*] *must* be at post. I say, my dear Maurice, '*must*' because there can be no excuse.

Your darling girls were here yesterday and are, thank God, well and looking lovely.

Get yourself ready at once. Consult Kean Mahony as to the amount of my subscription; and fully satisfy him and the priest. Don't think of being stingy about either meal or money. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 This letter is written by another and signed by O'Connell.
- 2 The coercion bill.

3223a

From Thomas Steele

Dublin, Saturday, 6 June 1846

Father of your Country,

I consulted O'Hea to know what *he and I* ought to do or say on Monday¹ with respect to the sneer at us for our caution about the safety of your Association; — *the matter of Religion* to be left of course exclusively in your own hands; without the interposition of him or me or of any other human being in the world. . . .

Smith O'Brien's Letter² to the Mayor of Limerick is fatuity in its intensity; it is utterly suicidal of his public character. Accepting a pageant and a banquet; and leaving it a mere matter of *probability!!!* !!! !!! that he may perhaps be able to be in his place in Parliament, to vote on the second reading of the Irish Coercion Bill. . . .

[P.S.] Ray, I am happy to tell you, is much better; but his physician informed me that perfect quietude is, *and will be for some time*, of vital necessity.

SOURCE: NLI MSS 15478

- 1 At the Repeal Association weekly meeting on 8 June Steele condemned certain so-called Repeal newspapers, notably one in 'a southern city'. They had attacked him, he alleged, because of his efforts to keep the association free from charges of behaving violently or illegally (*Nation*, 13 June 1846).
- 2 In his letter, dated 2 June 1846 from Cahirmoyle, Smith O'Brien accepted the invitation and added that he could probably still arrive in London to vote on the coercion bill. O'Brien probably wished to show some scorn for parliament, and Steele may have failed to discern this purpose (*Limerick Reporter*, 5 June 1846).

3224

From T.M. Ray to London

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 8 June 1846

Sandymount, Monday

My Dear Liberator,

Mr. Steele will write to you respecting a difficulty we were in about the word '*illegally*' in the last paragraph of Mr. O'Brien's second letter.¹ Mr. Steele was with me this morning and from the most anxious consideration we could give, it appeared to us

doubtful whether it might be exactly safe to have the letter *put on the minutes* with that charge upon the face of it, against the House of Commons. He has just now come out to me after the meeting, and he thought it better under all circumstances, since there was doubt, to cross out the word, and I am inclined to hope you may think he did right, our principle being to keep on the safe side at all events if we can. I enclose copies of the two letters, and of one from J.A. O'Neill! The word "illegally" was interlined in W.S. O'B's letter. I suppose he will not be satisfied at its removal.

I am much better but weak; I was able to go in to Dr. O'Beirne² today and yesterday.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Doubtless O'Brien's letter to Ray, undated, read at the Association's meeting on this day. In the last paragraph of the letter as read, O'Brien referred to 'the amount of fees extorted from me by the House of Commons' in costs connected with his imprisonment, (*Nation*, 13 June 1846). This passage originally read, 'illegally extorted' (see letter 3224a).
- 2 James O'Beirne, M.D., 23 Cumberland Street, N., Dublin.

3224a

From Thomas Steele

Dublin, Monday night [8 June 1846]

My revered Leader, my beloved Friend, the Liberator,

. . . He [William Smith O'Brien] wrote a letter read this day, concluding with the words, 'the Fees illegally extorted from me by the House of Commons'. [Ray and Steele thought this phrase dangerous if inserted as part of O'Brien's letter in the minutes but James O'Hea thought otherwise. Eventually a compromise was reached, and they agreed to strike out the word 'illegally' but to leave in the word 'extorted'.]¹

Smith O'Brien, I dare say, will be greatly displeased; that is no affair of mine. . . .

SOURCE: NLI, MSS 15478

- 1 See letter 3224 n1.

3225

From Martin Crean

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 11 June 1846

My Dear and Revered Liberator,

Mr. Meagher gave notice in council today that he will move the following resolution on Thursday next: 'I give notice that on Thursday next I will move that 2,000 copies of Mr. McNevin's pamphlet¹ be purchased by the Association for distribution.' Capt. Broderick announced his intention of opposing the motion and at his suggestion I send a copy of the pamphlet for your opinion.

Nothing else of importance occurred in committee. None of the Young Irelanders being present except Meagher and he only remained to give the notice. There is a meeting of the '82 Club today. I have not yet learned what has been done.

Rent on Book £11

Registered today

Repealers 14 — stand 4, rejected 0

Non-Repealers 11 — stand 0 — rejected 0

3 majority for Repealers

[P.S.] Ray is better today.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Thomas MacNevin's *Characters of Great Men and the Duties of Patriotism* (Dublin, 1846). In a letter to John O'Connell on 12 June Ray said that the pamphlet could be damaging to people's minds since the people 'take for gospel these liberalist articles and essays' (O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646).

3226

This letter has been re-numbered as 3317a.

From Martin Crean

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, Monday, 15 June 1846

My Dear and Revered Liberator,

I am truly happy to inform you that Ray is much better. The country air and relaxation from *heavy* business has been of great service to his general health. He is still suffering from his distressing disorder but Dr. O'Beirne is confident of his ultimate cure. Ray was deeply grateful for your kind expressions towards him.

The Young Irelanders mustered strong (as their small number will allow) at the meeting¹ to-day. Young Meagher made a long speech in the course of which he said that suspicions were abroad that Repeal would be sacrificed for Whig patronage and in allusion to Davis he said "*we* looked upon him as our leader and our prophet". In reply Tom Steele took exception to that phrase in particular and called on Meagher to explain if he meant by "*we*" the people of Ireland, that if he did the people repudiated any leader but "O'Connell." Meagher then explained and said by "*we*" he meant the young men who usually associated with Davis and who coincided in opinion with him. The other "*young gentlemen*" then severally followed much in the same strain but they were well met by Tom Steele, Broderick, Barry (of Mallow),² O'Mahony³ and the chairman (Delahunty of Waterford).

In obedience to your desire I communicated the purport of your letter⁴ to *your friends*. They are delighted at your determination to put down this most mischievous knot and *more* than your immediate friends will rejoice at it as you will perceive by the following extract of a letter I received this day from the Very Rev. Dr. Magennis⁵ of Clones apologising for the postponement of the collection of the Repeal rent until August in his parish. The paragraph is thus:

"I am desirous to tell you with a view of having it communicated to the Liberator and his worthy sons that should this infidel and unprincipled *Young Ireland party* continue to retain their wonted airs of impudent domination, I and every priest and every layman in this vast diocese with the bishop at their head will relinquish all connection with the Association and hold correspondence only with the three I have mentioned."

There can be but little doubt that Dr. Magennis expresses the almost unanimous opinions of the clergy of Ireland.

The rent was £109.4.4.

McNevin has become quite deranged. I understand he was yesterday put in an asylum although for his family's and his own sake this is to be regretted, still I must believe that it is the marked intervention of a wise Providence. Forgive me if I speak too freely but I have lived long enough to have seen that of the many who sought to thwart and annoy you in your struggle for Ireland few have escaped signal punishment.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 The weekly meeting of the Repeal Association.
- 2 Richard Barnett Barry, merchant, Main Street, Mallow; town commissioner, Mallow.
- 3 Edmond William O'Mahony, called to the bar 1845.
- 4 Not extant.
- 5 Rev. Francis Magennis (died 1 May 1847), P.P., Clones 1842-47.

3228

From T.M. Ray

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin,

Sandymount, Tuesday, 16 June 1846

Private

My Dear Liberator,

Nothing could have been more fortunate than Smith O'Brien's absence from the meeting¹ yesterday. From the tone of his speeches at Limerick² he would unquestionably have said something that could not be let to pass, and an open breach would have been inevitable. I am the more certain of this, from the conduct of the Young Ireland party at the meeting. Tom Steele and I met Mitchel this evening on Burgh Quay, and we told him our opinions without reserve of Meagher's malevolent speech.³ Tom Steele had met him near the Courts at an earlier part of the day and said something Mitchel thought to explain away. He appeared to me very anxious to disengage himself and his party from the imputation of any disrespect towards you. We asked him upon what were the speeches and *Nation* articles⁴ founded? Confessedly on rumours in the Tory journals adopted by them; and who had power to make any compromise? as they said — but his pretexts were too shallow.

I had arranged to attend the meeting yesterday if Smith O'Brien had stayed, but as that did not occur, Mr. Steele would not allow me to miss the day with Dr. O'Beirne. I think Mr. Steele's speech will be

of great use. I am told that when the fascination of Meagher's speech was off the meeting were entirely against them; and indeed I am delighted that you are about to stop these wayward young men from causing further mischief. It is a comfort moreover that the *Clergy* are beginning to speak out; perhaps until they did the proper opportunity had not come. I am told that poor unfortunate McNevin has gone completely deranged and is now under restraint! But what are we to think of those who sought to propagate his mad productions.⁵

Mr. Steele and myself are in great hopes that Mr. O'Brien may be detained beyond *until you can be present* at the Association for we greatly fear that whenever he comes there will otherwise be something unpleasant. Mr. Steele tells me he has written to you fully on the transactions occurring. . . . I am, thank God, now quite recovered from the recent attack and after this week I think I will be quite competent to resume business quietly. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 The weekly meeting of the Repeal Association.
- 2 On 11 June O'Brien was given a great public reception and banquet in Limerick on his return there from London (*Limerick Reporter*, 12 June 1846).
- 3 See letter 3227.
- 4 The *Nation* of 13 June carried three articles expressing opposition to the rumoured alliance between O'Connell and the Whigs.
- 5 See letter 3225 n1.

3228a

From Thomas Steele

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 16 June 1846

Father of your Country,

It was most fortunate that Smith O'Brien had cut his stick and left Dublin;¹ Ray managed this matter with exquisite judgment for inevitably had he [Smith O'Brien] been here, as he intended, *and what an intention at such a Time!!! !!!* a row would have been inevitable yesterday.

I hope you approve of the manner in which I replied² to Meagher, I did it I hope firmly but at the same time quietly; although indignant and disgusted with the vicious tone of his effusion.

It has given your own Old-Ireland people joy beyond measure that on your return you intend putting these scamps in their proper position. . . .

[P.S.] . . . To form a just and full estimate of the malignity of the spirit of Meagher's prepared oration, it would be necessary *to hear it* as he uttered it.

2 o'clock P.M.

I have been at the four Courts, and have torn open the cover to give you this second P.S.

I met Mitchel in one of the passages³ in conversation with the Revd. Father Nolan⁴ of Baltinglass. Mitchel said to me. 'Mr. Steele, I think ye attacked us too strongly yesterday.'

I replied coldly and with an intonation which I did not intend to be ambiguous.

'Mr. Mitchel, *you* introduce the subject, and not I; but since you *do* introduce it, I am bound in frankness to tell you that in my opinion the direct interpretation of Meagher's speech was; Repealers of Ireland you have been betrayed perfidiously *in London*, and you are now yourselves wavering instead of being steady to your Principles.'

I then walked off without any word more.

SOURCE: NLI MSS 15478

- 1 Smith O'Brien informed the Repeal Association by his letter dated Sunday, 14 June, that he would leave Dublin for London that afternoon in order to vote on the coercion bill (*Nation*, 20 June 1846).
- 2 See letter 3227.
- 3 See also letter 3228.
- 4 Rev. John Nolan, C.C.

3229

From Martin Crean

Corn Exchange [Rooms, Dublin], 18 June 1846

Dear and Revered Liberator,

The jury in Duffy's case were discharged today without agreeing to a verdict.¹ In committee M.J. Barry gave notice of motion for next day "that Mr. Holmes's speech² for the defence should be printed and circulated by the Association."

T. Steele gave notice that he would oppose the motion and said that he had heard before that such a motion was in contemplation and that he had within the last hour written to the Liberator for guidance in the matter, as if he was obliged to act without it, he would if he stood alone in the committee oppose it. O'Connell had declared that he should disavow the Association from the *Nation* newspaper by reason of its dangerous separation articles and was the Association to circulate a speech in defence of that very paper.

The "party" said nothing and the subject dropped. No other subject of importance was discussed.

The city registry closed yesterday. It was a very long session, having lasted 36 days. We have a large majority and with the assistance of the polling bill I hope we need not fear a contest. I am getting a return of the numbers made out.

Ray is improving *rapidly*. He was in town today and looked very well. I believe he wrote to you himself.

I have heard a rumour that the Young Irelanders are about forming a joint stock company for the purchase of as many provincial newspapers as possible. I believe there is some truth in the report.

Cash on Book today £26.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 See letter 3216 n8.

2 The speech was published as a pamphlet *Mr. Holmes' Defence of 'the Nation'* . . . (Dublin, 1846). According to Gavan Duffy the '82 Club ordered its publication (Duffy, *Four Years*, 158).

3229a

From Thomas Steele

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 18 June 1846

[No salutation]

. . . [Steele says he could not possibly remain a member of the trades of Limerick¹ owing to their deliberate incivility in replacing him as their chairman by John Nunan. He asks O'Connell whether he should resign now or wait for his (O'Connell's) return to Ireland.]

P.S. I have just learned that it is intended to move that the association shall circulate a number of copies of Holmes's speech² on Duffy's trial. . . . I would oppose our interference in any manner whatever, directly or indirectly, with the concerns of an incendiary newspaper which you declared you must separate your Association from, and which I will denounce for its attacks on myself for my care of the safety of the Association. . . .

SOURCE: NLI, MSS 15478

1 See letter 3211a.

2 See letter 3229.

From Rev. Daniel Hearne to British Hotel, Jermyn St., London

Webbs Hotel, Regent Circus [London], 19 June 1846
My dear Mr. O'Connell,

Of course I could not but see that your mind was made up against me and that the rich Manchester merchant, Daniel Lee, was the source of your *indubitable information* as to the improper conduct of the poor men to crush whom and me you have lent your name and that of the L. N. R. Association.¹ Dan Lee is a compound of as much magnanimity and *petitesse* as was ever found in poor human nature. His informants are spies and those of the lowest grade and very worst description. For myself, I am glad you have brought this matter before the Association. I am now justified in bringing the matter before the world but you have done these poor but honest men a great injustice. . . . I have the greatest veneration for you This respect makes me say to you, don't take another step in this business without a knowledge of the whole affair.

I enclose to you the letter of the Rev. J. Dowdall of Bolton which you handed me this morning. He is an Irish priest . . . and like yourself was imposed on as to my character and conduct. I don't want to parade it before the public but I am suffering for Ireland and Repeal.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 At the Repeal Association meeting on 15 June a letter, dated 13 June 1846, was read from O'Connell in which he asked the Association to dismiss three Manchester Repeal wardens for having most 'improperly and violently interfered in a difference respecting the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in one of the chapels of that town.' The dismissal was adopted (*Nation*, 20 June 1846). At the meeting of 22 June another letter from O'Connell, dated 18 June, asked for the dismissal of two additional Repeal wardens in Manchester for the same reason. The dismissal was apparently adopted (*Nation*, 27 June 1846). The origin of the trouble was the removal by the bishop from St. Patrick's parish, Manchester, of Rev. Daniel Hearne. His successor appears to have been prevented from saying Mass (*FJ*, 19 June; *Tablet*, 4 July 1846). See letters 3232 and 3236. Fr. Hearne was restored to the diocese in 1849. See 'Daniel Hearne' in *Gillow*.

*From Matthew P. Haynes, 14 Russell St., Covent Garden
[London], 19 June 1846*

Seeks a fair hearing from the Repeal Association in Dublin on his expulsion from the Association in London which he has since rejoined. He claims he has always supported O'Connell and Ireland as a journalist and editor from the time he was a member of the Council of the Birmingham Political Union and even when he was a student at Oscott. He adds that despite his treatment he would not 'Eneas MacDonnellize'¹ himself.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 In the years after the passing of the Catholic Emancipation act Eneas MacDonnell frequently wrote pro-Tory and anti-Catholic letters to the *Times*.

From T.M. Ray to London

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, Saturday, 20 June 1846

Private

My Dear Liberator,

John Raleigh was here yesterday and told me that matters are all in confusion in Limerick, the parties represented by the *Limerick Examiner* assuming the lead and the more thinking leaving them to do so. The design seems to be to establish a wider sphere of local influence for the Journal; with this view they are actually carrying out the suggestion they published some time ago of forming a 'Local Repeal Club' free and independent, and under the direction of such members of the '82 Club as are resident or at least putting these prominent. He says they talk openly of not being controlled by the Association; that paid persons must be taught to mind their business and not presume to interfere with the discussions of the Body etc. The Mayor¹ has been influenced to give his name, and there are about thirty now joined in this new club. The question is how to prevent the mischief and division it will give rise to if not checked, and the example which we always dreaded of the disorganisation these separate cliques have always spread.

The *Examiner* party and the Trades took the direction of the recent soirée² and Raleigh says it was *a wretched failure* and they miscalculated so far that they are upwards of £50 *in debt*; there is also a debt of £60 or £70 due from the last dinner there and no funds, that some of the most noisy brawlers there are not paying members of the Association at all, and that say what they may, public opinion is against them and that whenever the Liberator finds it necessary to call them to order he will find a universal and glad response to his authority.

The '82 Club met yesterday. I send note of their doings, of a piece with the rest. See Duffy's dangerous declaration, p.5.³

There is in the *Nation* today a further violation of the Rules of the Association as follows, regarding Mr. Holmes's speech on Duffy's trial 'A notice, we understand, has been given in the Committee of the Repeal Association to have this great Repeal speech circulated in a pamphlet. We hope they will send it far and wide.' Mr. Steele was thinking whether it would not be incumbent upon him to check this *system* of forestalling the decisions of the Committee but thought it better avoid any quarrel and await your course. It certainly is most improper and may lead to trouble and risk hereafter if the points which the parties, who have the command of the papers, wish carried are to come before the Committee backed by public prejudice where the facts are withheld, independently of the indelicacy of making public beforehand the subjects of Committee debate. We will require your instructions before Thursday as to mixing the Association with the printing of this speech, from recent opposition they will be the more likely to try and carry any question they now bring forward. In point of fact the speech is as generally circulated by the papers as it is possible to circulate it.

I had written so far at the Corn Exchange — a great number of persons were in and out talking about what has latterly occurred and is likely to occur on Monday. We expect a repetition of something like last day's proceedings and some steady friends are prepared to meet any move the Young Irelanders may make.

Bianconi talking with T. Steele yesterday told him he had spoken seriously to Doheny about the conduct of the 'party' and that Doheny said the *majority* of the people were with *them*. Doheny also said to T. Steele in the Committee Room that if the *Nation* were to be discarded he would strenuously resist and agitate etc. The *Nation* this week is quite as saucy as ever. '*They*' are restrained by a *deference* to authority from pressing 'changes of policy', 'abandonment of former practices' — substitution 'of new and larger schemes' etc. But they have taken '*a distinct course* in this matter of Smith O'Brien's *because the interests of the country required it*,' etc.

'If tomorrow you could by a word of mouth or a motion of the hand extinguish all *differences*, and compel the entire National party to act the bidding of its *Leader* with unquestioning submission, what would you have done? *Made certain as fate that this generation would accomplish nothing.*' Then the more the division the greater chance of success! And then their boasting of extreme disinterestedness one would think the *Nation* was gratuitously distributed — *they* have done and are to do everything! But the old and real friends of the cause are becoming aroused, and a reaction is gathering.

I hear it reported that there is a negotiation going on to purchase the *Kilkenny Journal* in which negotiation Doheny is [the] leading party; I don't know of this for certain.

The persons in Manchester expelled last week came here and wanted a conference with me to justify themselves before the Association.⁴ I declined to meet them and referred them to communicate to you anything they might have to say as the matter was of such a delicate nature and that you had good reason for being decided. I had also a letter from Father Hearne complaining, and saying he had gone to you, and expected to be at the Association on Monday. If any attempt be made to introduce the subject there it must be stopped.

I am daily improving and now, thank God, quite able to attend to business.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

1 Edmond Fitzgerald Ryan, mayor of Limerick 1846.

2 The dinner to Smith O'Brien (see letter 3228 n2).

3 Unidentified.

4 See letters 3230 and 3236.

3233

From John A. Quigley¹ to British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London

Loyal National Repeal Asscn., Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin,
Monday, 22 June 1846

Dear Liberator,

I have the honour of addressing you by direction of Mr. Ray who, I am happy to acquaint you, was able to attend this day's meeting from its commencement until its rising half-past 5 o'clock. John Augustus O'Neill Esq. was chairman who delivered an appropriate speech. There was not any discussion upon the reading of your letter; its insertion upon the minutes passed without a speech.

Mr. J.C. FitzPatrick addressed the meeting² specially in reference

to Mr. Meagher's speech of last Monday³ and upon the policy to be pursued in reference to a change of administration.⁴

Mr. M. J. Barry, Mr. O'Gorman, Junr., Mr. T.F. Meagher, Mr. Mitchell [sic] and Mr. Doheny replied. Mr. Barry referred to and denounced the writer of an article in the *Weekly Register* of last Saturday. They all spoke in support of their principles, but stated that they never meant to impeach any member of the Association but to repel rumours that were affloat [sic]. Mr. E.W. O'Mahony followed but was restrained by the chairman upon the interruption of the gentlemen who preceded him. They each then put in a separate disclaimer. The chairman congratulated the meeting that division was over, and that he hoped nothing further would occur to disturb unanimity.

John Reilly, T.C.⁵ claimed a right notwithstanding any arrangements now made to make some statements in reference to articles in the *Nation* newspaper, he having patiently listened to five gentlemen. After a good deal of interruption he was enabled to proceed and though somewhat thrown out of the course he intended to pursue made a telling speech. Captain Broderick made some observations and James O'Hea being moved to the chair the rent for the week was announced to be £107.4.4. which included £20 from Waterford per Alderman Delahunty.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 An official of the Repeal Association.

2 The weekly meeting of the Repeal Association.

3 See letter 3227.

4 James Coleman FitzPatrick's speech was mainly concerned with pointing out the advantages which he alleged would accrue to Ireland from a Whig government.

5 John Reilly, 3 Nassau Street, Dublin; called to the bar 1846; town councillor, Four Courts Ward.

3234

To Edmond Smithwick,¹ Kilkenny

London, Tuesday, 23 June 1846

My dear Smithwick,

I got your letter last night and a letter from Dr. Cane on the subject of the county election² this morning. I answer both in writing to you.

Kilkenny must return a Repealer, and I cannot possibly permit it to return either a Tory or Whig or an animal more mischievous than either of the others, called a Young Irishman.

George Bryan³ would of course be the fittest man but there is no chance of his *qualifying* by becoming a Conciliation Hall Repealer. Sir Colman O'Loughlen would do most admirably but he will not go into parliament for the present.

Dr. Cane mentions a rumour respecting young Meagher but that would be a selection which I should most emphatically condemn. I do assure you, my dear friend, that young Meagher is calculated to do extreme mischief to the Repeal cause. He will break up the Repeal Association unless I am able to prevent him. His speech⁴ on Monday week was a base attack upon me, upon no better foundation than a paragraph in the *Evening Mail*.⁵ Surely we can never prosper in the great cause if it be permitted to create dissension upon so idle a pretext.

In Dr. Cane's letter there are mention made of other names most of whom, he says, would not stand. In the list however is to be found Michael Cahill⁶ of Bennettstown. He has not as yet qualified by becoming a Conciliation Hall Repealer but, I am told, is ready to do so. If he do, *then*, and not one moment sooner, I shall be decidedly for his being declared the popular candidate. I say this, subject to the better judgment of the Repealers of Kilkenny without having the presumption to think that I could control their free choice. But pressed on by you and Dr. Cane, I do not hesitate to pronounce my opinion, and that opinion is favourable to Mr. Cahill of whom I know a good deal, subject to the proviso of course of his becoming *at once* a Conciliation Hall Repealer.

There is manifestly no time to be lost. Nothing could afflict me more than any leaning to Meagher after his recent mis-conduct. I really think him more dangerous than that undermining fellow — Doheny.

The time however is come when the men of Kilkenny must 'stand together' and do a good deed for the cause of Repeal. If they allow the county representation to slip out of their hands now, it will be a brain-blow to Irish Nationality especially as the opinion *was* universal that the Repealers had the county hollow.

I do most earnestly conjure them not to allow the enemy Whigs or Tories or a conjunction of both to triumph over and laugh at us. . . . Let us not lose the county to Whig or Tory or Young Irishman.

SOURCE: Papers of Mrs. Maureen Bennett

- 1 This letter is written by another and signed by O'Connell.
- 2 There was a vacancy for Co. Kilkenny caused by the death of Col. Pierce Butler. On 29 July Richard Smithwick was returned unopposed (*Pilot*, 31 July 1846).
- 3 George Bryan (1796-1848), Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny, son of George Bryan (identified in letter 338). Colonel of the Kilkenny militia; high sheriff of Co. Kilkenny 1846.

- 4 In this long and witty but sarcastic speech at the Repeal Association on 15 June Meagher attacked O'Connell indirectly by condemning the Whig administration of Ireland 1835-41 as ineffective and corrupting, and he demanded that the Repeal movement should maintain its independence in the future, in accordance with the spirit of Davis (*Nation*, 20 June 1846).
- 5 This paragraph described O'Connell as saying at a meeting of Whigs and Radicals at Lord John Russell's house in London: 'All he (Mr. O'Connell) ever wanted was a real Union, the same laws, the same franchises, etc. etc.' (*DEM*, 8 June 1846). O'Connell never explicitly denied having made this statement.
- 6 Michael Richard Cahill, J.P. (1814-1877), Bennettsstown, Co. Kilkenny; educated at Clongowes Wood College and Trinity College, Dublin; called to the bar 1836.

3235

To Edmond Smithwick,¹ Kilkenny

London, Thursday, 25 June, 1846

My dear Smithwick,

I am quite convinced that Serjeant Shee² would not answer.³ He is the Catholic most likely to be a candidate for the Bench in England. I really think that if the Whigs came in, they would make him a judge but he would lose all prospect of that promotion if he were even suspected of being a Repealer. He is an excellent lawyer, a very clever man, and there is not a better man in all relations of private life, living. So you see that it is no personal objection that I have against him.

In addition to my letter of yesterday I beg to repeat my most decided objection to young Meagher. He and his colleagues are actually ruining the Repeal cause. It will, I fear, become impossible to work the Repeal Association with them.

I hope that Mr. Cahill will answer the public purpose. If not, and that you are driven to it, make any use you please of my sons. Why would not your brother⁴ stand if you yourself continue your objection? You know full well that I would prefer you to any man living, if I had your own consent.

I will tell you a person who has been named to me, I mean my friend, Pat Costelloe. But I would not dream of proposing him. All I should say is that if the Club proposed him, I certainly would make no objection — quite the reverse. If you and the Club thought fit that my son John could go in for the county and leave the City at your disposal, it would give me bitter affliction and would also be most painful to John to part with the city for an hour. He is justly proud of

the situation he is placed in. . . . We must have however an honest thorough Repealer. . . .

SOURCE: Papers of Mrs. Maureen Bennett

- 1 Written by another, signed by O'Connell.
- 2 William Shee (1804-68), Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, eldest son of Joseph Shee. Serjeant-at-law, 1840; justice of the queen's bench, 1864. M.P. for Co. Kilkenny 1852-57; knighted 1864. See *DNB*.
- 3 As the candidate for Co. Kilkenny.
- 4 Richard Smithwick.

3236

From T.M. Ray to London

Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin, Thursday, 25 June 1846
My Dear Liberator,

The Committee has been got over quietly. There was a very full attendance, more of the *old* tried friends than usual. Father Hearne came here and I believe expected some support in having an investigation into the case of the expelled wardens; he said the men were not in the Chapel at all but admitted '*there might have been some extravagant expressions*' in the Chapel.¹ He said you were misled as to the facts and that he would be able to prove so to you. Young Mr. O'Gorman, whom he had spoken with, took the most prompt opportunity to propose that the whole matter should be left over until your return. Barry seconded this proposal and it was agreed to at once without any dissentient, save a grumble from one or two about condemning men unheard etc.

Barry also withdrew his notice about the printing of Holmes' speech² upon reading your letter; he did so offhand and without hesitation. There was nothing else but the routine business.

The Rev. Mr. Codd³ of Wexford called here and was very anxious to know if you have any candidate in view for Wexford Co.⁴ He says Dr. Keating is slow to move until he first sees the candidate and that anyone who offers would have to contribute £1,500 for the expenses. Rev. Mr. Codd said he would come up to confer with you on your return if you would approve.

I think matters will be pretty quiet henceforth — there may be some show of opposition in the *Nation*, and probably on Monday; but everyone feels that their power for mischief is effectually checked by the determined course you have taken.⁵

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 See letter 3230.

- 2 See letter 3229.
- 3 Probably Rev. Nicholas Codd, C.C., Enniscorthy, 1840-46; C.C., Bannow from 1846.
- 4 No vacancy occurred in Co. Wexford in 1846.
- 5 In a letter to Ray, dated 18 June, which was read at the Repeal Association on 22 June, O'Connell expressed pain at 'the efforts which are made by some of our juvenile members to create dissensions' amongst Repealers. He said it had been suggested that if the Whigs came into office Repeal would be abandoned. He declared that 'the Repeal cause shall never be abandoned, postponed or compromised to advance any persons to power — to support any party or faction' and expressed the hope that this declaration would 'take away some claptraps from juvenile orators' (*Nation*, 27 June 1846).

3237

From Robert Cane

Kilkenny, 26 June 1846

My dear Sir,

In my last letter I assured you that the electors intended to call on Rd. Smithwick. They this day did so by formal resolution and a requisition which is in progress of signature and will be presented to him within a few days.

This will, I trust, set all matters here quiet. As soon as it is over, Mr. Cahill will join the Association.

Perhaps, if you approve of it, a letter from you expressing that approval would settle down all and quiet any division.¹

The resolution was adopted by the 'Co. Kilkenny Registry Association' and adopted unanimously.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 No such letter has been traced. On 29 July Richard Smithwick was elected unopposed (*FJ*, 30 July 1846).

3238

From T.M. Ray

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, At Meeting, Monday, 29 June 1846

My Dear Liberator,

The meeting¹ overflowing. Mr. O'Brien received with tremendous cheering, long continued, as was to be expected. He has just closed his speech, avoiding anything irritating and on the whole excellent in

spirit. I took a very full note which I enclose. I believe it will reach you before the regular reports in the papers.

I think you will have no further trouble with the Young Irelanders. They see clearly you are determined to follow up the blow;² they will not retire with a good grace if one may judge from the saucy tone of [the] last *Nation* with all its trash and laudation of the beauties of division and 'differences.'

We expect to have over £300 including £50 from Philadelphia, £20 from Newark, £95 from priests [of the] Diocese of Ossory, £18 from St. Mary's, Kilkenny.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 The weekly meeting of the Repeal Association.
- 2 See letter 3236 n5.

3239

From T.M. Ray

Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin, Monday Evening, 29 June 1846
My Dear Liberator,

The meeting went off most satisfactorily. Grattan spoke long and discursive as usual. Mr. M. O'C[onnell] spoke about the Registries. *Not one of the Young Irelanders said a word*, indeed they went away about the middle of the meeting. Capt. Broderick gave the Murphy party in Cork a reprimand.¹ T. Steele supplied an omission in W.S. O'Brien's catalogue of the sins of the Tories by recounting the Clontarf projected massacre.² The Rent was £259.12.4. We expected £50 more held over to next week.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 According to Brodrick, Michael Murphy, T.C. of Cork had recently claimed that O'Connell was prepared to countenance the setting up of commercial boards without regard to the attitudes of their members to Repeal. Brodrick said that this claim was false, and he urged the people of Cork to commence electoral registration on a Repeal basis (*Nation*, 4 July 1846).
- 2 A reference to the proclamation of the Clontarf meeting in 1843.

To William Smith O'Brien

British Hotel, Jermyn St., London, 30 June 1846

My dear O'Brien,

We have time enough for Clonmel. Pigot does not intend to become attorney-general but will remain in the House to prepare and pass as many Irish measures as possible this session. He will, before it closes, take the office of Chief Baron and allow a new writ to issue so as to have a return during the recess. I should say *an election*.¹

I don't know who to recommend. I would rather that you should do it than I. I write by this post to Bianconi. He would be the fittest man if there was not a legal objection.² He will of course consult the Repealers of Clonmel and let us know who they recommend.

Lord John is forming his Cabinet today.³ There are abundant reports, but nothing certain because nothing difinitively fixed.

To those who have spoken to me, and they are not many, I have told that they must not only leave the Repeal question open, reinstate all the magistrates⁴ but govern Ireland by Irishmen. Peel's speech is a true precursor discourse.⁵ The Whigs will be woeful drivellers as well as cowards if they do not take 'heart of grace' and bring in *sweeping* measures. But you and I know perfectly well how unsuited this Parliament is to pass any measure really efficacious for Ireland. There is no report more current than that Peel is inclined to take one turn more and bring in the Repeal. This is ludicrous for the present. It may be true sooner than people imagine.

I am thinking of leaving this on Saturday morning. We shall by that time know who the ministry are and what they mean to do. And we must then turn our attention to the not now remote elections. We must be in immediate communication with the Repeal constituencies and with every locality in which it is possible to return a Repealer. But I know that you are not losing sight of this most important object. You could not apply your admirable business talent to a more useful subject.

SOURCE: Smith O'Brien Papers, NLI MSS 437

- 1 On Pigot's appointment as chief baron, Hon. Cecil Lawless was elected unopposed for Clonmel on 12 September 1846.
- 2 Bianconi was an Italian by birth and was naturalised a British subject in 1831 (O'Connell, *Bianconi*, 169).
- 3 Peel had resigned following the defeat on 26 June of the second reading of the Irish coercion bill.
- 4 The magistrates who were dismissed by the government in 1843 because of their Repeal sympathies.

- 5 In a farewell speech to the Commons on 29 June Peel declared that he should support in opposition a policy of establishing complete equality of civil and municipal rights between Britain and Ireland. He suggested that crown patronage should be exercised in Ireland without regard to religion, and stressed his readiness to co-operate in securing an immediate amelioration of the law of landlord and tenant (*Annual Register*, 1846, 155).

3241

From O'Connor Don

Brooks's [Club] 6 July [1846]

Private

My dear O'Connell,

I believe that it is in accordance with your suggestion that Baron Brady is to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland and that Pigot is to be promoted. I wish I could flatter myself into the belief that my nomination to an office under the present government had been however remotely suggested by you. From your having asked me more than once whether I have received any appointment it has occurred to me that I was not of indifference to you and that perhaps I may be indebted to you for a lordship of the Treasury¹ which I accepted in the hope of being useful to our dear country, and which I shall not retain an hour longer than I shall find it compatible with my duty to Ireland.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

- 1 O'Connor Don was appointed a lord of the treasury on 6 July.

3242

To David R. Pigot

Merrion Square, 8 July 1846

My dear Pigot,

I do not know when I have been so delighted as at receiving the intelligence of the O'Connor Don's being one of the Lords of the Treasury. He is a most able, intelligent and, in every respect, estimable man. I have the sincerest regard and respect for him.

With respect to Redington¹ you did wisely and well to obtain his appointment. It is, on the face of it, a most excellent appointment. It will cause me some awkwardness and, as we are not on speaking

terms, I will find some difficulty in saying anything confidential to him. Yet that is an awkwardness I must get over.

But there is another thing that fills me with no small alarm. You are aware of course that there was a minority amongst the Catholic Bishops willing to work with the late administration whilst the great majority of the Prelates were decidedly of an opposite way of thinking. The Peel Ministry flattered themselves, not entirely without reason, that they had *a party* in the Irish Episcopacy. Now Redington must necessarily lean in favour of those who were considered 'the party' and distinctly against the wishes of the great majority of the Bishops. I say *necessarily* because his main reliance for being returned for Dundalk depends on the assistance of the Primate,² aided to be sure against my son,³ by the great patronage of his office.⁴

With respect to Clonmel it is utterly impossible to do anything for Moore.⁵ It is true I have been working in an under channel for Monahan⁶ who may still have some chance but I confess I have not much heart in the matter. But we shall see. I own I am a little fretted at the unexpected obstacle in Dundalk to my son's return.

You will of course think me selfish but Redington set the Repealers at defiance, and I have difficulties enough to encounter to keep the Repeal party within bounds without having those difficulties augmented, even in my domestic circle.

There is only one thing certain; that we must make the best of things *as they are*; and I am glad to tell you that I have stifled all opposition to Sheil in Dungarvan.⁷ The election will not cost him a shilling, and that is what he likes—among other things. I am also very glad to find that Wyse is in office again.⁸ He is personally popular while O'Ferrall is not, though a very good man and most suited for office.

There are details which will contribute much to the popularity of the new Government. I mean the appointment, under the Castle, of tradesmen, &c. Hitherto they have been almost uniformly violent Orangemen who have got those appointments. These things may be thought trivial: they are not so. They go much farther, sink more deeply than you imagine. Then it may be said to be liberality to leave these persons in their present situations. It is a kind of liberality that has never been exercised towards the Catholic tradesmen; and whenever an opportunity arose, there never was a more bitter *selector* of Orangeists than that miserable Lord Heytesbury.

I do implore of you, have this matter recommended in the proper quarter, whatever it be, and do have it attended to promptly and distinctly.

- 1 Thomas Nicholas Redington (1815-62), a Catholic; M.P. for Dundalk, 1837-46; appointed under-secretary for Ireland on 11 July 1846.
- 2 Archbishop Crolly.
- 3 Daniel O'Connell, Jr.
- 4 There was a vacancy in the representation of Dundalk following Redington's appointment as under-secretary. Daniel O'Connell, Jr. was returned unopposed on 31 July though it was earlier rumoured that the local Whigs and Tories intended to unite behind a government candidate, the future solicitor-general, James H. Monahan (*FJ*, 25 July 1846; *Pilot*, 3 Aug. 1846).
- 5 Richard Moore, K.C.
- 6 James Henry Monahan Q.C. (1804-78), 18 Gardiner Street, Middle, Dublin. Solicitor-general for Ireland, July 1846-December 1847; attorney-general, 1847; chief justice of the common pleas, 1850; M.P. for Galway borough from February to August 1847. See *DNB*.
- 7 Sheil was obliged to seek re-election for Dungarvan following his appointment as lord of the mint in the new government. He was returned unopposed on 10 July (*Pilot*, 13 July 1846).
- 8 Thomas Wyse was appointed secretary for the board of control (India) on 6 July.

3243

From Rev. M. Burke, P.P. to Dublin

Clonmel [Co. Tipperary], 10 July 1846

My dear Liberator,

My communication to you of yesterday, though explicit, may not [be] as satisfactory as I could wish. I have been since probing the feelings of the chief electors and I am now able to say that they will receive Dan the Second with enthusiasm if you still desire to have him represent this place. I read the proceedings at Dundalk in the *Freeman* of this morning¹ and I at once saw how matters stand there. I am sorry that my old class fellow, Dr. Coyne, acted the part he did.² When the move about your son was about to be made, he ought to have written to you. Is it possible that the primate³ could have had a hand in the business? But if the pastor of Dundalk was wanting, the pastor of Clonmel will not. Neither the powers of heaven nor the consideration of past or future favours cannot, will not, make him swerve from the principle of Repeal or from its advocacy, and when the son of the man who made him free is in question he will find in him a 'true man' and a devoted supporter.

Permit me to give a hint. I need not tell you that even in the most religious minds there is sometimes a lurking of jealousy. If therefore you confine your correspondence on this subject to me exclusively you might excite in others a little of that feeling. I would therefore suggest that you would write to Rev. Mr. Baldwin⁴ and our Mayor.⁵

...

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 That is the *Freeman's Journal* of 9 July.
- 2 O'Connell and his son Daniel attended a public banquet in Dundalk on 7 July. A letter was read from Coyne to the organising committee stating that while he would wish to show every respect to O'Connell and his family he could not attend the dinner because 'I do not approve of the time, the manner, or the object of your bringing young Mr. O'Connell to Dundalk.' Disapprobation was shown following the reading of this letter, and O'Connell threatened to leave the room if there was any further disrespect shown to Coyne. The chairman, John Coleman, declared that the liberals of Dundalk should 'nail our colours to the mast, and stand by the son of O'Connell' (*FJ*, 9 July 1846).
- 3 Archbishop Crolly.
- 4 Rev. John Baldwin (died 1 July 1867), P.P. St. Mary's and the Abbey, Clonmel from 1837 to 1867.
- 5 Charles Bianconi.

3244

From Alderman Thomas Lyons

Cork, 11 July 1846 [Saturday]

Copy

My dear Liberator,

The brief allusion you made on Monday to our unhappy differences¹ here induces me to address a line to you of assurance that I cannot be separated from the cause of nationality . . . by the wilful conduct of the *few* brawlers . . . who are acting so mischievously just now here . . . These few demagogues in the course they are pursuing would destroy the trade and commerce of the city [and] . . . our municipal institutions for they would surely lose *five* out of our *eight wards*.

Like yourself . . . I would have Repealers only for all public positions whether emolumentary or not . . . Being at length convinced . . . that by aiding these mad people in their projects, I would ultimately bring ruin on our trade, our only stay in Cork, I felt bound to give way to reason and join the more prudent and well-thinking.

I am quite sure . . . that you will not blame me for yielding to this necessity. Surely the trade of Cork need not be sacrificed to the glorious cause of Repeal, and which it would damage and retard rather than forward making its enemies more confirmed and inveterate and friends, and friends now, perhaps opponents

hereafter, as I explained in my letter of resignation which I beg to call your attention to in the papers about a fortnight since.

Unfortunately our leading merchants here, not like Waterford and Limerick, are worthy conservatives — John Gould² and Co., C. Sugrue and a few others, are rising up and are all placed on our trading boards, as rightly they should. And let us thus go on steadily advancing and we shall still further progress— we cannot force it— and thus in time, sooner even than we now expect, we shall come to the happy consummation of having Ireland for the Irish, and our Parliament, our speaker of it, in College Green.

My poor friend, A. Roche,³ our mayor, is cruelly assailed by these people. . . . He had the indiscretion when in London to take *Maguire*, who has now turned on him *also*, to you when he waited on you with my “*strictly confidential letter*”. . . . If unfortunately they [the people] go on in their present course, the Conservatives will rule Cork again and then adieu for ever to Liberalism and Repeal in the capital of the South, and we must be their slaves. . . .

SOURCE: O’Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 In the Repeal Association on 6 July O’Connell expressed his regret at divisions among the Cork Repealers, which had forced Lyons to resign as chairman of the People’s Hall. A week later he declared his intention of going to Cork at the end of the parliamentary session to attempt to reconcile these disputes (*FJ*, 7, 14 July, 1846). See also letter 3239 n1, and 3254.
- 2 John Gould, merchant, 2 Sydney Place; town councillor, St. Finbarr’s ward, Cork.
- 3 Andrew F. Roche, apothecary and druggist, 67 South Main Street, Cork; mayor of Cork, 1846; alderman, St. Finbarr’s ward.

3245

To David R. Pigot, 25 Queen’s Square, Westminster

Merrion Square, 12 July 1846

My dear Pigot,

How could you imagine that it was possible for me to suppose that you would do anything designedly intended to counteract the interests of any member of my family? I have too long experienced your affectionate friendship to entertain a doubt of it and, believe me, *that* sentiment is perfectly reciprocal. I am most anxious to see you Chief Baron. If you are not so very soon, I shall meet you in London before the end of the present week.

Are you aware that the office of Master in Chancery is believed to be shortly vacant? It is said that Tom Gould resigns in August. I

think a Catholic ought to get the office, and there is as suitable a man as could possibly be, Jeremiah John Murphy, Q.C.,¹ ready for the succession. It would be a most creditable appointment. You know how very respectfully connected he is in the Irish Commercial World. He is, besides, in private life a most amiable excellent man with 9 or 10 children to support. His appointment would give great satisfaction to that very class which the Government ought to wish to oblige. If Brady were communicated with upon the subject he would, I know, do whatever is right. I leave the matter therefore in your hands.

I am getting on tolerably well, able, I think, to give some effectual assistance to *the cause*, but something must be done by the Government for the benefit of the Irish people during the present session. You see that I do not hesitate to place the question of the Protestant Church in abeyance but then something must be done respecting education and touching the '*Infidel*' Colleges before Parliament rises. You have a sketch of my measures in the newspapers² so I shall say no more until we meet which, I trust, will be about Friday next.

SOURCE: NLI MSS 423

- 1 Jeremiah John Murphy, Q.C. (1803-1878), younger son of John Murphy, merchant, Hyde Park, Cork. Master of chancery 1846-74.
- 2 Eleven bills which O'Connell asked the Repeal Association to adopt on July 6 so that he could try to have the new Whig government enact them. He had described these measures in a public letter to the Association dated 25 June and read to the organization on June 29. The bills provided for an extension of the parliamentary suffrage, a more thorough municipal reform, 'an act to give perfect freedom of education to every class and persuasion' (along religious denominational lines), the substitution in fiscal matters of elected county boards for the landlord-dominated grand juries, a radical reform of landlord-tenant relations, and an absentee tax of 20% on rents. (*Nation*, 4, 11 July 1846).

3246

From Charles Bianconi to Dublin

Clonmel [Co. Tipperary], 12 July 1846

My Dear Sir,

Since I wrote you Dr. Burke showed me your letter to him and his reply to you. He also told me the substance of his second letter and, unless we hear from you to the contrary, the Mayor takes the chair on Wednesday next at our Conciliation Hall and Dr. Burke moves

and Rev. Mr. Baldwin seconds the resolution calling on your son for Clonmel.¹ Is this what you want and in the manner best to be done and most pleasing to you?

Your undertaking a contest for your son would be monstrous. I could never consent to it on public or *private* grounds, and such a contest as Dundalk would be, it would to say the least of it, be any way objectionable.

[P.S.] Dr. Burke showed your letter to Rev. Mr. Baldwin. Answer Dr. Burke's letter by return if possible.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 A meeting in Clonmel on Wednesday, 15 July under the chairmanship of Bianconi, the mayor, selected O'Connell's son, Daniel, as candidate. The view was expressed that there was little hope of his being returned for Dundalk (*Pilot*, 20 July 1846).

3247

From Adam Dickey

Four Courts Marshalsea, Dublin, 13 July [1846]

Respected Sir,

I beg leave to enclose you a petition¹ and request the honour of your presenting and supporting the same. Perhaps you may yet recollect our last interview in 1842 when you recd. my petition as agent in London for the ejected Tenants on the Ironmongers' estates in Co. Derry praying inquiry and their resumption for the uses of the people residing thereon, which prevented the eviction of several hundred Families at the time.² It may be needless perhaps to remind you that I was also Anti-Tithe Secretary for the Lower Baronies of Co. Antrim, and communicated with you as such to support petitions from several of our parishes, and in 1832 I was Member of the Trades and Political Unions [*sic*].³

My circumstances altering since I was necessitated in Decr. 1842 to accept the situation of Chief Inspector of Constabulary in Staffordshire. Here from being in highest favour with my superior officers it was my misfortune to be selected as a *spy* upon certain *magistrates* by order of Sir James Graham as I was informed.

My refusal — putting the chairman of p. sessions on his guard — my persecution after exposure of their plans, and the trouble it took Lord Sandon aided by certain others to *cushion* up the matter, with *confirmation of all my statements* which I was advised *not* to lay before the House in end of last session, you will find in enclosed

petition which I am ready to confirm on oath if necessary. It is also confirmed by English Noblemen and Gentlemen and more *particularly by events since*, besides documents in possession of myself and others.

The chairman of K[ing's] Swinford p. sessions, whom I was to *report and watch*, is Saml. Stone Briscoe, Esq. of Fir Tree House and Summerhill, a magistrate for 3 or 4 counties, a real English gentleman and a Conservative, strange to say, but a man far above a harsh or dishonourable act or being made a creature of by Sir Jas. Graham or any other.

I wrote Hon. Fox Maule⁴ the whole affair at the time and will write him to support the prayer of this petition. The circumstance has caused a great excitement in Staffordshire.

I came to Ireland last August and was arrested on a Fiat of Judge Burton's on Sept. 4th for an *alleged* claim of *seven* years standing and am *since detained in custody eleven months*, contrary to all former precedent (See No. 2),⁵ the same Judge Burton (being the only one in chamber) repeatedly refusing *several* motions for my release notwithstanding the strong expression of the full court to the contrary. He also took the Record Court at Carrickfergus in March last, and charged the jury against me, and since on motion for my release that *two* whole terms had passed since they obtd. judgment while I was still detained on Fiat only, he *violated the rules* of the Ct. of Queen's Bench to detain me. This with *other* circumstances of *party* shown on my arrest and my undisguised threats of laying the matter before parliamt. makes *me fear that some judges in this country are tools as well as policemen*. I have no one to advise me and no *redress* it seems (See No. 1).⁶

May I ask the honour of your high notice on my case generally? I wd. have sent you this petition in beginning of the session but expected to be free of this place first, being accustomed to the vengeful malice of officials. However, as it may assist in exposing the *base Constabulary System* and its *government instigators* and *relieve me from their malice and its consequences*.⁷

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 The petition was for Dickey's release from the Marshalsea prison, Dublin, where he claimed he was confined on a false charge of debt.
- 2 The petition in question was presented in the Commons by O'Connell on 17 March 1842. It describes Dickey as 'agent in London, deputed by the tenants about to be dispossessed by the Ironmongers' Company from the estates in the county of Derry'. O'Connell in presenting the petition said that the company which held large tracts of land in Derry, 'had adopted the practice of throwing the land into large farms, and thereby, in a great measure, depopulating the country. The consequence of such proceedings would be to convert hitherto peaceable country into a state of discontent and disturbance.' The

petition prayed 'that the company might be compelled to abide by their charter and grant freehold leases instead of letting at will as they did at present' (*Times*, 18 March 1842).

- 3 The provinces had societies similar to the national trades and political union in Dublin.
- 4 Hon. Fox Maule (1801-74), M.P. for Scottish constituencies 1835-52; secretary-at-war 1846-52; succeeded in 1852 as second Baron Panmure and in 1860 as eleventh earl of Dalhousie. See *DNB*.
- 5 Not extant.
- 6 A statement of Dickey's present position, attached to his letter.
- 7 This sentence is incomplete.

3248

To William Smith O'Brien

British Hotel, Jermyn St., London, Saturday, 18 July 1846
My dear O'Brien,

When I left Dublin I was convinced that Redington would not vacate his seat for Dundalk by accepting the office of under-secretary.

Since I arrived here yesterday evening I find the contrary opinion prevalent which I regret the more as my son¹ will probably be engaged for Clonmel and of course another candidate will be necessary for Dundalk.

I will return to Dublin as speedily as I can to assist in the canvassing and at the election.

I hope that it will not be inconvenient for you to come up to Dublin during this, my necessary, absence. I am most anxious that you should assist in choosing a candidate especially as it is impossible for me to act with any of the avowed Young Irelanders unless they retract their physical force opinions altogether and submit to the resolutions of the Association.² Whilst those resolutions stand approved by all the Committee except two³ and by the entire meeting of the Association (with only one exception)⁴ I am for strictly adhering to them. If they be wrong in anything let them be altered or amended in the usual way; but, until changed by the same authority that passed them, I for one do not think I go too far in requiring the Young Irelanders candidly to adopt them or to cease to cooperate with us.

In the meantime however no exertion must be spared to carry Dundalk.

I will write again to you on Monday, no post going out sooner⁵

SOURCE: Smith O'Brien Papers, NLI MSS 437

1 Daniel O'Connell, Jr.

2 This topic needs a lengthy explanation. The resolutions (soon to be known as the 'Peace Resolutions') were, strictly speaking, not resolutions but a statement concerning moral and physical force which O'Connell proposed to the committee of the Repeal Association on 11 July 1846. The statement quoted various resolutions adopted by the Association in the past and added:

'That to promote political amelioration, peaceable means alone should be used, to the exclusion of all others, save those that are peaceable, legal, and constitutional.

It has been said very unwisely that this principle prohibits the necessary defence against unjust aggression on the part of a domestic government or a foreign enemy. It does no such thing; it leaves the right of self-defence perfectly free to the use of any force sufficient to resist and defeat unjust aggression.

We emphatically announce our conviction that all political amelioration, and the first and highest of all — the Repeal of the Union — ought to be sought for, and can be sought for successfully, only by peaceable, legal, and constitutional means, to the utter exclusion of any other. . . . By such means *alone* we can, we ought, and, with the blessing of Almighty Providence, we will obtain the Repeal of the Union.'

In response to a discussion on the subject O'Connell 'distinctly stated his intention to be that the abstract principle of disclaiming physical force in any event must be held by all members of the Association.' The committee adopted the statement, John Mitchel and Thomas Francis Meagher dissenting. The minute (in T.M. Ray's handwriting) of this committee meeting and the statement adopted are in the Smith O'Brien Papers, NLI, MSS 437, ff. 1660.

O'Connell presented the statement to the Repeal Association on 13 July. Mitchel said that he would support the statement as binding on all members of the Association but would not agree with 'the abstract and universal principle [of renouncing physical force] which seems to be contained' therein. O'Connell replied that the statement must be accepted 'in theory and in practice', adding that 'I drew up this resolution to draw a marked line between Young Ireland and Old Ireland.' T.F. Meagher and Richard O'Gorman, Jr. spoke in support of Mitchel. The statement was adopted by the Association by acclamation, Meagher alone dissenting (*Pilot*, 15 July; *Nation*, 18 July 1846).

At a meeting of the Repeal Association on 28 July (O'Connell had returned to London) the subject of physical as against moral force was discussed in a long debate. When John O'Connell said that any members who refused to accept O'Connell's interpretation of his own statement (the 'Peace Resolutions') were opposed to O'Connell's leadership, Smith O'Brien followed by several members, including Mitchel, Meagher and Duffy, walked out of the meeting (*Pilot*, 29 July; *Nation*, 1 Aug. 1846). Their action proved to be a secession from the Association.

3 John Mitchel and Thomas Francis Meagher.

4 The exception was Thomas Francis Meagher (see above note 2).

5 The remainder of the letter — one or two lines — cut off, probably by an autograph collector.

3249

*From Thomas Oliver, 81 Bermondsey Street, Bermondsey, London,
20 July 1846, to 83 Jermyn Street, St. James, London*

States he is a Protestant and a native of Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, and seeks to enlist O'Connell's influence in obtaining a government position.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

3250

From David Doud

Peele's Coffee House, Fleet Street [London], Monday M. [sic], [14
or 16 July 1846]

Mr. David Doud of Edinburgh presents respectful compliments to Mr. O'Connell and may tell him that in consequence of the Liberator's good advice to the Edinburgh Catholics in 1841, Mr. Macaulay's reelection just now was secured.¹ At that time the Dissenters were anxious to bring Sir Culling Smith forward, and the Catholics, who were then numerous and had not seen fully developed the bitter intolerance of that branch of the Liberals, were disposed to help them but, before doing so, Mr. Doud was desired to get a character of Sir Culling from Mr. O'Connell and in consequence of the advice then given that no Catholic could possibly vote for Sir Culling, the leaders were informed of this and the idea of bringing forward this fanatic was abandoned at that time. Had he been then brought forward and the Dissenters fully organised, the result of the present election would have been different; for half the voters did not poll and the Free Church anti-Catholics were in a great measure either drawn off or rendered neutral by their leader, Mr. Fox Maule, who talks about popery and papists when in Scotland but in crossing the Tweed softens into tones of liberality when using the term Roman Catholics! At that time the Catholic voters were nearly 200. Now they are not above 40 but as the number of labourers and poor is very great, a noise is always kept up and the Catholic strength rated higher than it actually is. Hitherto there has been some advantage in this but now that a momentum has been given to the anti-Catholicism and fierce fanaticism of Scotland it is by the public opinion and moral influence of England and Ireland that unbridled Calvinism must be reduced to harmlessness.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Macaulay was returned for Edinburgh on 14 July, defeating Sir Culling Eardley Smith by 1735 votes to 832 (*Times*, 16 July 1846). He had been obliged to seek re-election following his appointment as paymaster-general of the forces. If Doud's dating of the letter as Monday (13 July) is correct he must have thought that Macauley would be returned unopposed or that his election, though opposed by Smith, would be certain. Its Edinburgh correspondent wrote in the *Times* of 13 July that Macauley's return was almost certain.

3251

From Patrick Magee,¹ New Ross, Co. Wexford, 21 July 1846, to London

Asks O'Connell to give his attention to 'some alterations that are about being made in the act of 1842² by a committee sitting in London when I have seen by the papers you have taken a part.' The writer has forwarded a petition to John O'Connell on the subject — the placing of 'Scotch illegal weirs' near the mouth in the Barrow and Nore estuary, to the detriment of 'the poor cot fishermen of those rivers.'³

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Patrick Magee, grocer and coal merchant, The Quay, New Ross, Co. Wexford.
- 2 A bill for amending the Irish Fisheries Act of 1842 was presented on 18 July and reached the statute book apparently without opposition, on 10 August (5 & 6 Vict. c. 106).
- 3 No petition answering this description has been traced.

3252

From Bernard McGarry, 143 Lower Baggot Street, Dublin, 21 July 1846, to Merrion Square

Requests a situation in the customs house, post office or excise department for his young friend (he does not mention the friend's name) since he is aware of O'Connell's 'great interest with the present government'.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3252a

From Rev. Michael Burke, P.P. to House of Commons

[c. 24 July 1846]

[early part of letter missing]

forward for Clonmel, and that he¹ is going to contest Dundalk. The reason he alledges for it is this: 'The Committee appointed under the direction of my father to conduct the Dundalk election have come to the decision that unless I be the candidate *defeat will be inevitable*, and great injury done to the repeal cause. In fact a defeat would be charged against my father, and it would be said that he had compromised the great question of repeal.' These are his words, and he concludes by saying that he *declines* the honour of representing Clonmel.

To speak the truth, I have been surprised and puzzled at this result. I have consulted the Mayor,² and we have decided on keeping this matter perfectly secret for the present. Your son says that the writ for Dundalk is issued, so I suppose the election there will take place immediately.

I will be naturally anxious to hear from you on this subject, and as our election is soon to take place, to recommend me (in the first instance *privately*) a fit person to introduce to the electors, should I think proper to do so. I will add no more but to say that you may always calculate on my sincerity and services in the great cause you have so much at heart.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Daniel O'Connell, Jr. He was elected unopposed for Dundalk on 31 July (*DEP*, 1 Aug. 1846). He had been nominated for Clonmel at a public meeting in that town on 15 July (*DEP*, 21 July 1846).
- 2 Charles Bianconi.

3253

Rev. N. McEvoy,¹ C.R.

Parochial House, Kells, 23 July 1846

Honoured Liberator,

There can now no longer exist a doubt that the potato disease will commit incomparably more extensive and destructive ravages throughout every part of Ireland on the incoming crop than those we have had the pain to witness — blessed be the will of God — during

the past most trying season. Should prompt and extensive measures to avert the calamity not be adopted during this very present session of parliament, famine and pestilence will not fail to desolate the land to an extent to appal mankind, while to heighten the horror, frenzied despair will be sure to take the place of the long abused patience of the most suffering and worst treated people on the face of the globe. Look at the newspapers published north, east, west and south and you behold them overspread with gloomy prospects, and a glance at the history of long maltreated man finally confronted by the tortures of certain famine will suffice to exhibit the barriers of peace and order borne down by the bursting tide of a people's wrath and desperation.

Many and many the tens of thousands of our famishing countrymen who during the late spring and present summer have pawned for food to prolong existence their last wretched rag of daily as well as of nightly clothing: thanks to God, many and many an Irish pastor now sleeping upon a bed 'no longer his own' through his sympathies for his suffering flock. With last resources of priest and people thus exhausted, pray, in the name of Heaven's mercies, what is to become of us under a new and more heavy visitation whose end there is no vista through which to descry?

Your characteristic wisdom, humanity and prompt exertions are, under Providence, Ireland's hope.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Rev. Nicholas McEvoy (1800-1860), a native of Co. Meath. Curate 1830-40, administrator, 1841-45 and parish priest of Kells 1845-60; active in support of tenant right in Co. Meath.

3254

From Alderman Thomas Lyons

Cork, 26 July 1846

My dear Liberator,

I should have answered your letter before the return of my brother whom I wished to consult on the propriety of your visiting us just now in the heat of our differences but that I was aware our mutual friend, W. Fagan, — whose amiable wife you will grieve to learn is dangerously, I fear hopelessly, ill — had written to you fully on the subject as I read your letter for him.

My brother, as well as our good friend Father O'Sullivan, agree with W.F. and myself that *just now* it may be as well [that for] your presence amongst us you did not come expressly to Cork and leave it

to a future, as it were a chance visit on your way to or from Derrynane. I am sure we should all come when the occasion requires it to act together and heartily in the Repeal cause. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

3255

*From John Collett*¹

House of Commons, 28 July 1846

My dear Mr. O'Connell,

Pat Somers² having this afternoon mentioned to me that some of my friends had been misinformed as to which way I voted on Friday, 3rd instant, I take the liberty of troubling you with the division of that day respecting the Irish Great Western Railway.³ The *evidence* before the committee *erroneously* attributed to myself was *I believe* given by Mr. W.R. Collett, the Member for Lincoln, a mistake which Mr. Fitzstephen French promised me he would mention and rectify in his place in the House but unfortunately he neglected what he had engaged to do.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 John Collett (1798-1856) 7 Upper Belgrave Street, London; son of Ebenezer John Collett (M.P. for Cashel, 1819-30); M.P. for Athlone 1843-47; committed suicide at his home, Arnewood House, near Salisbury, 28 November 1856. See *Boase*.
- 2 John Patrick Somers, M.P.
- 3 On 3 July the recommitment of the Irish Great Western Railway bill was defeated by 136 to 26 (*FJ*, 6 July 1846).

3256

To O'Connor Don,¹

British Hotel, Jermyn Street [London], 1 August, 1846

My dear O'Connor,

I think that you are bound as a member of Lord John Russell's Government to communicate to him the great mortification the Irish Party supporting Lord Melbourne's Government felt at the manner in which their unanimous request on the subject of the De Freyne peerage² was rather evaded — I don't use the word offensively — than complied with. The promise was understood to

be a peerage to the De Freyne *family* — a promise which I submit to you was by no means fulfilled by making a peer of an aged gentleman whose wife was dead and who it was well known determined not to marry again. It was a kind of Lord Mayor peerage and not the peerage which we supposed we were promised.

I feel myself personally committed to getting you to explain these matters to Lord John Russell as the head of the government.

No man can better explain to Lord John than you can how suited this family is to a *permanent* peerage. There is the singular fact that for upwards of a hundred and sixty years this family has represented in parliament their native county and that without intermission, always voting for the Liberal or Whig interest and being amongst the most active and continuous supporters of Catholic Emancipation. They have more than once refused a peerage when offered by unfriendly parties, by parties adverse to the interests of Ireland.

Lord Grey's Government certainly treated the family very badly in appointing Lord Lorton, a virulent enemy, to the lieutenancy of the county instead of the then Mr. French, a steady supporter.

You can assure Lord John Russell that the making this peerage permanent by entailing it on the younger brother³ of Lord De Freyne would be received with the greatest satisfaction and considered as a mark of singular favour by the Irish members supporting the present government.

It is also material to remind you that this family have a splendid fortune quite equal to sustain the dignity of the peerage.

I think, my dear O'Connor, I have a right to urge you to submit those matters to Lord John Russell as strongly as is consistent with the most perfect respect.

SOURCE: Clonalis Papers

1 This letter is written by another and signed by O'Connell.

2 See letter 2913.

3 In 1851 a new de Freyne peerage was created with special remainder to the present (1846) Lord de Freyne's brothers.

3257

*From Joseph Boyce*¹

Upper Mount St., Dublin, 3 August, 1846

My dear Sir,

There appears to me a most favourable opportunity for your getting a clause in that part of the Sugar Bill² which reduces the duty on rum to the effect of enabling the Irish merchant to pay duty when taking whiskey out of bond on the *existing quantity and strength* as is the case with brandy, ginco and rum. Having retired from business, I am not personally interested but I know that this would be a *great boon* to the *Irish trader* while only placing him on the same footing with the French, Dutch and West India man. The Crown would get the duty on all that goes into consumption, which is all it has a right to, but the present practice obliges the trader to pay duty on the quantity *as when bonded*.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Alderman Joseph Boyce, J.P. (1795-1875), retired wine and general merchant, 52 Upper Mount Street, Dublin, third son of James Boyce, Kilcason, Ferns, Co. Wexford. Lord mayor of Dublin, 1855. See *Boase*.
- 2 This bill was enacted on 18 August as 'An Act for Granting Certain Duties on Sugar and Molasses' (9 & 10 Vict. c. 63). It contains no clause such as Boyce recommends.

3258

To David R. Pigot

Dublin, 4 August 1846

My dear Pigot,

I did not distinctly understand¹ the motives for submitting to you a clause in the Exchequer Bill — I believe it is now pending — to secure the full amount of the salaries and retiring² pensions, present and future, of the officers of the Registry office. The fact is that Mr. Moore,³ who has been no less than forty-eight⁴ years at the head of the office, seems much disposed to devote the rest of his life to ease and a more southern climate. I think he is quite ready to resign if the pension to which he would be entitled were secured to him. He appears to think that, on fulfilling his fiftieth year, he is entitled to retire on his full salary and, if he were allowed to retire now, he would consent to a rebate of his pension equal to the value of the two

years which are wanting to make up his fifty years' service. He very generously stipulates or at least expresses a strong wish that the promotion should go on in the office, that is, that my son Morgan should get the step created by his retirement, he being now for some years first Assistant Registrar, and that the second Assistant Registrar, Glascock,⁵ should be appointed to Morgan's place; that the first clerk, Chapman,⁶ a most excellent officer who has been in the office very many years, should succeed Glascock.⁷

Will you, my dear Pigot, consider the matter and see whether it can be so arranged. If you think it has the least appearance of a job I do not press it in the slightest degree. It seems to me to be nothing more than to allow an officer of forty-eight years' service to retire without personal loss.

Whatever you decide upon the subject I am quite sure you will decide aright.

Look to the papers that I gave you and to the contents of this letter, and determine accordingly as your conscience and just delicacy require.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 381-2

- 1 *Understand* seems to be an error for some such word as *explain*.
- 2 A bill 'for the further regulation of certain Offices attached to the Court of Exchequer in Ireland' was presented on 14 August. In amended form the bill passed the Commons on 21 August, but was not proceeded with in the Lords. Neither the bill as presented on 14 August nor as amended on 18 August contained the clause suggested by O'Connell concerning the office of registrar of deeds.
- 3 George Ogle Moore.
- 4 Moore became deputy-registrar in 1802 and was probably the executive registrar from that time since the post of registrar seems to have been then a sinecure.
- 5 Walter Glascock (born c. 1777), eldest son of William Glascock. He was appointed first assistant registrar in 1846.
- 6 John Chapman.
- 7 All three (Morgan O'Connell, Walter Glascock and John Chapman) received the requested promotion sometime in 1846.

3259

*From Rev. John Healy*¹

Cahirciveen [Co. Kerry], 4 August 1846

Dear Mr. O'Connell,

Being lately one of the Rt. Revd. Dr. Egan's curates I have been now appointed to Cahir[civeen] in the place of Mr. Walsh² who has got Lisselton. Before entering on possession of the house and glebe I

think it proper to acquaint you and to express a hope that you will allow me to possess them on the same terms on which they were held by my predecessors.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Rev. John Healy (died 1879), P.P. Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry from 1846.
- 2 Rev. James Walsh (died c. 1864), P.P. Cahirciveen, 1845-6; Lisselton, near Listowel, 1846-64.

3260

From Sir James C. Anderson, Bart.,¹

Buttevant Castle [Co. Cork], 7 August 1846

Private

My dear Sir,

I had yesterday the pleasure of forwarding my official adhesion to the Repeal cause and, had not circumstances over which I had no control, prevented me from publicly expressing my political opinions, I should long since have been ranked under your standard.

All true friends to Ireland ought to support you in every possible way. No half and half assistance will do. Repealers you must have by your side in the Commons House *who will look to you as their chief and vote with you on all occasions*. Thus aided, you can compel whatever party may be in power to do justice to our disgracefully neglected country.

My good father's² services are remembered by my kind friends, the people of this county, and no private individual ever received a more enthusiastic welcome than I did on my return here last week. All parties, both on this and the other side of the water, acknowledge my father to have been one of Ireland's best friends. I therefore feel that my name, as his son, will carry with it much weight. Clonmel being vacant, I think (unless you have already selected another representative), might be a proper opportunity to come forward as a decided Repealer, *strictly pursuing whatever course you may consider best to be adopted to promote the good of Ireland*.

I place myself entirely in your hands. Of course I would not take a step without your approbation. My great desire is to be your humble assistant in our glorious cause. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Sir James Caleb Anderson, first baronet (1792-1861). See *DNB*.
- 2 John Anderson, son of David Anderson of Portland, Scotland. Founded and laid out the town of Fermoy, Co. Cork.

3261

From John Augustus O'Neill

8 August 1846

Private

My dear Mr. O'Connell,

Not having had the pleasure of receiving any communication from you and from rumours which have reached me I have *strong* reasons for believing that you would wish the words 'J.A. O'Neill for *Clonmel* if my son succeeds in Dundalk' unsaid without enquiring into the reason for any change. Permit me thus to release you from any embarrassment.

I now cancel the promise and shall never directly or indirectly allude to the subject.¹

Do me but the *justice to believe* that I have more pleasure in releasing you from an engagement which might be disagreeable to you than in accepting *any favour* whatsoever and I shall be *amply* repaid by the words 'I am obliged to you' said from your heart.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 See letter 3317a n2.

3262

To David R. Pigot, 25 Queen's Square, London

Merrion Square, 10 August 1846

My dear Pigot,

I have only time to say for heaven's sake get rid of the arms Bill¹ or mitigate it exceedingly — no branding.²

SOURCE: NLI MSS 423

- 1 A government bill for the continuation of 6 & 7 Vict. c.74 entitled 'An Act to amend and continue for two years . . . the Laws in Ireland relating to the registering of Arms, and the Import, Manufacture and Sale of Arms, Gunpowder and Ammunition' was presented by Morpeth on 5 August. The second reading was carried on 10 August by 56 to 23 but the measure was then dropped.
- 2 The branding of the arms (see letter 3033 n2).

3263

To Charles Gerald Gibbons, Ballinspittle House, Kinsale¹

Merrion Square, 12 August 1846

My dear Sir,

I received your letter this morning and immediately communicated its contents to Mr. Redington. I made an appointment with him for an interview. I found him strongly impressed with the necessity of taking some extensive measures of relief for the county which I am afraid is worse off than any other in Ireland.

You will have received together with this a letter from Mr. Redington, himself, which I hope will be the speedy precursor of effectual relief.

I will also this evening write to Lord John Russell calling his attention to the state of our county.

I will be happy to receive any communications from you and from the other gentry and magistrates on the all important subject of the general distress. You, in particular, have *personal* claims upon me which I should be sorry either to forget or neglect.

SOURCE: NLI, MSS 5759

- 1 This letter is written by another and signed by O'Connell. It is addressed in error by O'Connell to Gibbings.

3264

To Lord John Russell

Merrion Square, 12 August 1846

My Lord,

It is a painful but most pressing duty upon me, as representative of the County of Cork, to call the attention (which I respectfully do) of her Majesty's Government to the frightful state of famine by which the people of that county are not merely menaced but actually engulfed.

I do assure you, my Lord, that there is the greatest danger of outbreaks in various parts of the County of Cork of the population driven to despair from the want of food.

I respectfully submit that the forms of the law and of constitutional guarantees must yield to the pressure of a death-dealing famine. And I also submit whether her Majesty's Government may not feel, at such an awful crisis, it right to consider whether Parliament might not, either by a vote or by a short bill, confer upon the

Government extraordinary powers of directing, *without any delay*, the execution of works of public utility and of supplying the immediate means of paying the wages of the labourers employed at such works.

Nothing but the fearful state of my county could justify me in this urgency. Whilst I feel convinced that due attention will be paid to the merits (if any they have) of my suggestions.

SOURCE: Russell Papers, Public Record Office, London, P.R.O.
30/22/5B

3265

To David R. Pigot

Merrion Square, 13 August 1846

My dear Pigot,

If possible — *if possible*, get rid of the Arms Bill. The Conservatives all admit that the Bill has been a failure. They cannot complain of *your* abandoning it. It gives an irritating topic to your enemies in this city and in the country generally. If possible, get rid of it. *At all events*, get rid of as much as you can of it, especially the branding.

You cannot conceive how fretful people are here at the *smallness* of any relief this session. I am doing the best I can for you but I cannot perform miracles.

There is *famine* imminent. There is no exaggeration in the accounts of the loss of the potato crop. The *feeding* of the people *must* be provided for by the government *no matter at what cost* and without delay.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 383

3266

To David R. Pigot

14 August 1846

My dear Pigot,

I am ashamed at being so troublesome to you but we are lost in astonishment that not one of the Repeal magistrates has yet been reinstated. If once the favourable opinion held of the present government goes down it will be hard indeed to raise it again.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 383

3267

From Lord John Russell

Downing St. [London], 14 August 1846

Copy

Sir,

I can assure you that the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been constantly and painfully directed to the state of the potato crop in Ireland.

I am very sorry to hear from you that there is the greatest danger of outbreaks in various parts of the County of Cork of the population driven to despair from the want of food.

We have been informed from various parts of England and Scotland that there is the greatest difficulty in getting in the harvest from the absence of Irish labourers who, when they come over to those districts, usually earn good and even high wages at this season. The inference has been that they found employment in their own country.

We have measures under consideration which in our opinion will give the Lord-Lieutenant the power of directing without delay works of public utility on the principle of advancing money from the Treasury to be repaid by local rates.

On Monday the Ch[ancellor] of the Exchequer or I shall open our projected measures in the House of Commons.¹ In the meantime I willingly acknowledge the sense of public duty which has dictated your letter and shall not lose sight of its suggestions.

SOURCE: Russell Papers, Public Record Office, London, PRO 30/22/5B, ff. 688-9

¹ On Monday, 17 August, Russell's proposal that £450,000 be made available for relief works in Ireland was carried without a division (*FJ*, 19 Aug. 1846).

3268

To David R. Pigot

Merrion Square, 15 August 1846

My dear Pigot,

I send you a memorial of the clerks in the late Six Clerks office¹ and pray your particular attention to have the matter arranged for them consistently with justice and if possible with generosity.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 384

¹ These were the clerks of the court of chancery.

3268a

*To O'Connor Don, The Treasury, London from Merrion Square,
18 August 1846*

Asks O'Connor to lay before the Treasury Board a petition from James and Mary Daly,¹ otherwise Deale. O'Connell feels that the Dalys have a just cause.²

SOURCE: Clonalis Papers

1 Unidentified.

2 This letter is written by another but signed by O'Connell.

3269

From Joseph James Forrester¹

Oporto [Portugal], 18 August 1846

Sir,

The haste with which I was obliged to leave for this country prevented my doing myself the honour of calling upon you in virtue of the polite permission which you were so good as to give me during our journey from Dublin to London.

Allow me now to present to you a copy of some of my works and to hope that the freedom with which I have dared to espouse the interests of the oppressed people of the Douro wine districts, may deserve your approbation.

I informed your kinsman, Major MacCrohan, of the interesting interview which I had had with you, and he begged me to present to you his kind respects.

By the *Mary Sweet* I took the liberty to forward to your address 2 cases of wine, as per bill of lading enclosed of which I pray your acceptance, not for the value of the wine as wine but as a specimen of the kind of port which I wish to introduce amongst the consumers at home and I have the honour to be with all consideration and respect.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 Joseph James Forrester (1809-61), merchant and wine shipper of Oporto. Of Scottish parentage he went to Oporto in 1831 to join a wine firm. From 1844 he campaigned for a reform of the abuses in the making of wine in the Douro valley. Created a life baron by the Portuguese crown. See *DNB*.

3270

To his son Maurice¹

Merrion Square, 19 August 1846

My dearest Maurice,

Don't conceal from me the fact, if you have been accepting accommodation bills for any person, and in any event I do most strongly insist that you will not accept an accommodation bill for any person, without my express permission. I have a reason for giving you this caution which I will mention at another time. . . .

[P.S.] I hope you will have the Commission² before another week.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 This letter is almost entirely written by another, and signed by O'Connell.
- 2 O'Connell and Maurice had been removed from the commission of the peace for Co. Kerry by the Tory government in 1843 but were now restored to it.

3270a

To Mrs. William Galway,¹ 46 Upper Rutland St.

Merrion Square, 22 August 1846

My dear Mrs. Galway,

I enclose you a letter on behalf of Dr. McClelland² and will feel most happy if it shall have any effect in favor [sic] of your protege.

Believe me, I should feel the greatest happiness in complying with any wish of yours, or, of my most esteemed friend, your husband.

SOURCE: Property of Miss Ita M. D'Arcy

- 1 Wife of William Thomas Galway, solicitor.
- 2 Possibly Richard McClelland, M.B., T.C.D., surgeon, 9 Summer Hill.

3271

To his son Maurice, Derrynane¹

Merrion Square, 27 August 1846

My Dearest Maurice,

Don't you think it must surprise me to have received three letters from you without your mentioning one word about the state of the

crop or about making any provision to meet the coming emergencies?

Secondly. You seem to ask for more powers to collect my rents. I trust nobody is interfering with you in any quarter. At all events I give you the most unlimited power, and give it to you alone. And I approve of your getting in the rents as fast as you can.

Thirdly. You appear to me to be neglecting the Knight of Kerry's and Blennerhassett's rents. I beg of you to look to this with the utmost attention and diligence. Let the rents be either paid to you or paid into the College.²

Fourthly. As to the acceptance you are under for Miss Primrose.³ You don't state its precise amount. Cannot you stop the last gale of her annuity out of it? Unless that gale be otherwise paid, the fact of which I beg of you to be perfectly explicit, in your *immediate* reply. .

I shall leave town about this day week. How are you off for coals? I think you had better send the sloop to Cork at once and suggest in your answer to this what things you specially want. Say whether we ought not to get more Indian corn or whether you advise getting some casks of American saved beef. It is cheap and good and would make excellent rations occasionally for the labourers. Write the moment you get this letter.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

1 This letter is written by another. The signature has been cut off.

2 Trinity College, Dublin.

3 Alicia Primrose, Tralee, daughter of John Primrose, Sr. and Honoria O'Connell.

3272

*To his son Maurice*¹

Merrion Square, 28 August 1846

My Dearest Maurice,

I write merely to say that I cannot as yet fix upon the day I will leave town. I hope it will not be later than Friday, the 4th September.

I will send down some parcels in time to meet the 'Sloop' in Cork. You will have time to answer this letter and to give me all the information I have required.

After I arrive at Derrynane we will see about your Deputy Lieutenancy.² [P.S.] Poor Julia O'Brien³ is dead. Pray for her.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 This letter is written almost entirely by another, and signed by O'Connell.
- 2 Maurice had been removed from the deputy-lieutenancy for Co. Kerry by the Tory government in 1843 but was restored to it on 19 September 1846.
- 3 The maidservant with O'Connell's family known as 'Julia' in the letters.

3273

From Frederick Lucas

25 Pembroke Square, Kensington [London], Saturday, 29 August
1846

My dear Liberator,

I have taken advantage of the permission you give me not to answer your letter of the 17th so far at least as to delay answering it for a few days. I have done so partly because I have not had any leisure time at which I could sit down to reply with that care and fulness which the respect due to you and the importance of the subject demand, and partly because I have been and am in some difficulty how to reply to the various personal questions you put to me and which, having regard to the confidence reposed in me by some of those whom you name, I hardly know how to answer or to leave them unanswered. . . .

. . . I feel most deeply mortified that any words I can have used in the *Tablet* or elsewhere should have received from you (or from anyone) the (to me) hateful interpretation which is implied in the second paragraph of your letter. . . . I should as soon think of insinuating charges of villainy against my own father as against you. . . . I will not stop to justify or examine my words. I will take it for granted on your complaint that they were injudicious and offensive.¹ I apologise with all sincerity for the rudeness or the folly of my manner but I do beg of you by that friendship with the title of which you honour me in the letter to which I am replying, to relieve me from the imputation of having intended thus to malign you. . . .

The more material part of your letter I still have a difficulty in answering for the reasons above stated, and also because when we look at the matter in its true light the entire difference between us rests on a difference of judgment with regard to character. . . . In substance, what have I to say in reply to your questions but that it is really my firm conviction that *some* of these men are likely to turn out well, that while they will bear with temper a great deal of severe censure, anything like *absolute* condemnation will have the worst possible effect upon their minds, and tend to destroy the chances of

good from them hereafter? I know you will think I am 'humbugged' in coming to this conclusion; and how can I show that I am not? . . .

You say that *John O'Hagan*² (you have written *Thomas* but it is clear you mean *John*) is no more a Young Irelander than you are. Looking at the open hostility that exists between you and them I am perhaps doing one of the most valued friends I have no service in trying to convince you that in my sense of the words he is unquestionably of that party. I have peculiar means of judging of him. I first met him at the prison³ and made acquaintance with him and Duffy on the same day. At that time he was unquestionably in politics one of the war party, and in religion to the last degree Jansenistical and even sceptical. Being pleased with his manners and finding that he had a good opinion of me I determined to use whatever influence I could have in changing his views, more particularly because it was obvious that he was deep in all the secrets of the *Nation* and its managers, and was beginning to be a writer in that paper. This was in August 1844. In the November of the same year I received an anonymous letter the writer of which complained of my saying that an apostate from the faith must be a criminal. O'Hagan was the writer of it, he came to London with Duffy in that month and I then had a great deal of conversation with him and also with Duffy. This letter and these conversations were the subject of an article⁴ in the *Tablet* on the sin of apostasy which marks the commencement of my more minute acquaintance with the religious opinions of these men. At that time O'Hagan in addition to his political heresies was *not* a frequenter of the Sacraments and that from want of sufficient belief. It was some months afterwards and at the tail of a voluminous correspondence with me that he for the first time after an interval of years went *once* to his duty. A week or two after that he came to London to study law and during the year of his residence here I have seen him frequently and learnt to know him intimately. His Young Ireland friends jokingly call him "my pupil," and if the expression be true a greater honour I can hardly imagine for one in my position. *He has become* a regular frequenter of the sacraments, a most zealous son of the Church, a firm believer in miracles, he has acquired a more and more confirmed dislike of all warlike thoughts and ideas, a stronger trust in the wisdom of your judgment and the sagacity which directs your political operations. Having returned to Ireland he has commenced again to write for the *Nation*, and though his advice is not followed as often as I should wish, he is always consulted, and unless some strange alteration takes place, he will more and more become a potent element such as you would approve in a party of which you are most justly distrustful. So little notion too has *he* of not being a Young Irelander that when some time ago in a letter I

expressed a wish that means could be taken by personal intercourse to smooth down the differences between you and Young Ireland, his reply was that if he were of more importance in the party he should be most anxious to put himself (if possible) in the way of an acquaintance with your son John. Even now however I do not say that his opinions are all you would wish but I do say that the changes which have to be made are nothing to those that have been made.

I have said so much about John O'Hagan because his case stands me in the stead of proof. Whatever reason I had for hoping in his regard two years ago I have now for hoping with regard to others. My hopes and without presumption I may say, my *labours*, for I have spared no pains, have in one case come to a fortunate result. Surely it is only natural that my former opinion should be held even more strongly than before. Mitchel has by no means humbugged me but told me the plain naked truth about himself with the greatest frankness, and I must say that I have the strongest expectations of his becoming a Catholic; I believe he is held back by obstacles that ought to be nothing in his path but I do trust in God that the manliness and rectitude of his nature aided by Divine Grace will enable him to triumph over them. When you ask me which of the Young Ireland party "are strict in their religious duties" I cannot answer you more explicitly than by saying that there are only *three* of whom I know the fact one way or the other and of these, *two* are regular practical Catholics. I have reason to believe that another is entitled to the same character, and of the religious practices of others I cannot speak either way.

I enclose a letter⁵ from the Rev. Dr. Whitty⁶ in regard to this matter. He is a professor at Old Hall College, a Maynooth priest, and one of the warmest lovers, admirers and supporters of you and your policy that I ever met. I made him acquainted with two of the Young Irelanders months ago, and it was at my particular instance and request that visiting Dublin during the vacation he put himself in the way of knowing them more intimately. His bishop and all persons here that know him have a high opinion of his priestly character; the Oxford converts have been particularly taken with him; and I remember in the first conversation I had with Mr. Newman one of his first remarks was to expatiate in Dr. Whitty's praise. I think you and your son John have both seen him but not much and as his apparent youth and simplicity may have led you to undervalue him at first sight, I have thought it right to say so much on his character, which assuredly with those who know him needs no recommendation of mine. He first saw the three whom he mentions *before* the split but he saw them also during the height of the excitement, heard their warmest conversation over the dinner table

after the first of the two day's debate, and this with feelings of the strongest conviction that in what has recently happened you are quite right and they are quite wrong. If then he is competent to form a judgment on the case he at least forms one perfectly unbiassed — as far as you are concerned — and also untinged by any previous friendship or other misleading circumstance. He tells me that in his letter to Dr. Cantwell⁷ he has expressed himself to the effect that he agrees with my published opinions on this subject.

. . . Partly because I am a layman, partly because they have conceived a prejudice in my favour, they are willing to listen with peculiar docility to any observations I may address to them, either publicly or privately, on subjects connected with religion and religious politics. I know too that the effect of any such observations of mine depends not on my abstaining from severe reflections when I think they are deserved . . . but on my giving them fair and reasonable treatment. . . . Now I beg you to consider my position from this point of view. It is and it will be more than ever my task in the *Tablet* to urge upon them the unsoundness of their views in many points. A time comes when they are charged most vehemently with Voltairism. This charge implies a total disbelief in Christianity; a fanatical hatred against that religion and its Divine Author; and an equally fanatical resolution to eradicate belief from the minds of others as if belief were the source of personal degradation and vast social evils. Now, however loose or imperfect may be the religious opinions of the men of whom we are speaking, I must say that I know — as far as I can know anything in the mind of another — that not one of these elements of the accusation of Voltairism can be truly affirmed of them; not one the direct reverse of which is not positively and absolutely true in their regard. This I know. This they know that I must know unless I believe them to be villains and the vilest liars. Such a charge being publicly brought and it being necessary that I either by writing or by a significant silence should either seem to acquiesce in its truth in the one hand or express my own opinion or knowledge on the other — what was I to do? . . .

Towards the close of your letter you say that *I have joined against you*. . . . My language may have been so ill chosen as to suggest such an inference but nothing in this world was ever further from my meaning — indeed, as I thought, from my expressed and notorious meaning. On the subject of physical force and the split — surely I have not joined against you on that. Both publicly and privately I have strongly condemned them and have laboured to demonstrate the immense service you have rendered to Ireland by the course you have taken. I really flattered myself that on this point you would have been pleased with my feeble exertions. On questions of relig-

ion I have not even appeared to retract an opinion; nor can anyone suppose that I am a less warm opponent, than ever, of all those evil principles which you so vehemently condemn. I have not said a word to lead people to imagine that I think less dangerous than I once did the course taken by the *Nation* and its friends on education and other matters; and I am sure that to the full extent of my powers there will never be wanting the most pointed and energetic rebuke of whatever in the *Nation* may hereafter be polluted with the same stain. But surely on the grounds already stated it is open to me without being supposed to join against you, to say that however dangerous their opinions, rash their conduct, uncatholic their views and notions, they are in my opinion not quite so bad as they have been represented and are more likely to improve than many persons imagine.⁸

. . . I know, perhaps better than you, how much I am at your mercy. I have no doubt that whenever you shall be convinced the *Tablet* is on the whole injurious to Irish interests — religious and civil — you have it in your power to crush me. . . . I do not of course court such a martyrdom but I can anticipate it with great composure because I know that the punishment (if it comes) will be inflicted on public grounds as honestly and sincerely as it will have been incurred. I do not think I should think less kindly of you if what I have imagined were to take place. . . . You admit that I have acted honestly; I must add that I should have acted dishonestly (in my own judgment) if I had taken a substantially different course.

The name of Mr. Barrett suggests one more remark on this point. My sense of duty was satisfied with the remarks I made *first* upon the episcopal letters.⁹ I had no wish to return to the subject and no intention of doing so. No remarks of the *Pilot* would have called from me any repetition of what I had once said 'in mitigation of damages.'¹⁰ But the question being so pointedly addressed to me by a writer professing to be a priest¹¹ (and actually so as I am since informed) and that in the columns of the only newspaper 'unequivocally devoted to the cause of priests and people,' it was repugnant to my feelings to shrink from the fullest explanation and thus, as often happens, I ended by saying more than I originally contemplated. Possibly this was injudicious, and therefore I limit my defence of what I have written to what appeared in the *Tablet* up to the article "in mitigation of damages" and do not include in it what has appeared since.

As to Barrett personally you are very much mistaken if you suppose I have any personal hatred against him or any vengeance to wreak upon him. It is true I loathe the man and his doings with my whole soul and my private notion is that he is rather injuring the

cause than serving it. . . . I will never mention his name or his journal more, unless indeed in the extreme case of some enormous forgery or lie which it would be impossible to pass over in silence. . . .

Believe me, dear Mr. O'Connell, with much pain for having given you pain,

Your most devoted and obliged humble servant,

F. Lucas

[P.S.] May I, without offence, repeat my request that you would favour me with a line (at your convenience) to say whether you are satisfied with my disclaimer of all intention to offer you personal insult.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 The *Tablet* had by implication criticised O'Connell's handling of the Dungarvan election and his dispute with the Young Irelanders. It declared that while the tone of the latter was too warlike, 'we do most firmly believe that all this declamation about physical force is the merest rubbish, the most abject nonsense that can be imagined.' It denounced the *Pilot* for attacking the Young Irelanders and declared 'a statement made by that journal is *prima facie* a lie and is taken as such by all the world' (*Tablet*, 18, 25 July; 1 Aug. 1846).
- 2 John O'Hagan (1822-90), second son of John Arthur O'Hagan of Newry, Co. Down. Called to the bar 1845; appointed a commissioner of the board of national education in 1861; later a judge. See *DNB*.
- 3 When O'Connell and his colleagues were in the Richmond Bridewell in 1844.
- 4 A leading article in the *Tablet* of 16 November 1844. It maintained that apostasy from the Catholic faith necessarily resulted from sin, perhaps some secret sin of pride or lack of chastity, even though the apostate might have made a sincere effort to seek religious truth.
- 5 This letter, dated 29 August, from Whitty to Lucas, is in the O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649. In it Whitty states that he has had 'religious communication' this summer with Duffy, Mitchel and O'Hagan; he considers that they must be induced 'to view politics etc. from the atmosphere of *faith*, from which Mr. O'Connell himself always views them, before there can be any *bona fide* reconciliation with him or security as far as *their* influence is concerned for dear Ireland.' However he thinks this change in their outlook can with patience be effected. He adds that his opinion of them differs from that of the majority of bishops and priests in Ireland and from that of O'Connell.
- 6 Robert J. Whitty (1817-95), born at Pouldarrig, Oilgate, near Wexford. Educated at Maynooth College. Ordained 1840 for the London District; appointed vicar-general of Westminster diocese in 1850. Entered Society of Jesus in 1857; later provincial of the English Jesuits (See *Cath. Encyc.*, 1912).
- 7 Cantwell had issued a public condemnation of Young Ireland (Cantwell to O'Connell, 31 July 1846, the *Tablet* 8 Aug. 1846). Whitty's letter to Lucas does not exactly bear out what Lucas says of Whitty's letter to Cantwell but Lucas may well have had some other communication from Whitty.
- 8 Despite the *Tablet's* criticisms by implication of O'Connell in July and

- on 1 August (see above note 1) its principal leading article on 8 August gave strong support to O'Connell's stand on the physical force issue. It is the ablest statement of O'Connell's position ever committed to writing. A second leader maintained that the writers in the *Nation* were not irreligious or Voltairean even if their articles might be construed as giving that impression (*Tablet*, 8 Aug. 1846).
- 9 In a letter to O'Connell, dated 31 July 1846 and read to the Repeal Association on 3 August, Bishop Higgins of Ardagh attacked the *Nation* as hostile to Catholicism, declaring that it was 'calculated to make fatal impressions on youthful minds' and that like Voltaire it 'deals in ridicule, innuendos, and fashionable sneers' (*Nation*, 8 Aug. 1846). Lucas in the *Tablet* of 8 August defended the Young Irelanders against this attack (see note 8 above)
- 10 This was the heading of the *Tablet's* second leader on 8 August 1846 (see above note 8).
- 11 Possibly a reference to the undated letter from 'A Cashel Priest' to Richard Barrett in the *Pilot* of 27 July 1846. This makes no reference to Lucas but states that the Young Irelanders are indifferent in matters of religion and revolutionary in principle.

3274

To Charles Bianconi

Merrion Square, 1 September 1846

Confidential

My dear Friend,

Are you humbugging about standing for Clonmel? You are quite aware that you are not eligible¹ and that you could not continue to sit. You are also aware that there is no man living I would be more anxious to serve and oblige than yourself, and if you were capable of sitting for Clonmel it would delight me to have you returned; but I repeat, my opinion in point of law is that you may be turned out of the seat without the expense of a petition but on a mere motion and at any time after you have once taken the seat. I have a notion, too, that you would be liable to a penalty of £500 for each day you sat in the House. I do not say this positively because I have not had time fully to investigate the law. If you are serious as to standing for Clonmel consult some eminent counsel before you do anything. What I am afraid of is that we should be laughed at if you were returned. I venture, therefore, to entreat of you to give up the idea if you seriously entertain it. But at all events, and in every event, believe me to be your attached friend.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 384

- 1 As a naturalised subject Bianconi did not have the right to sit in parliament.

3275

*From Charles Malone,¹ 12 Royal Canal Terrace, Dublin,
4 September 1846*

Seeks O'Connell's aid because of alleged discrimination on account of his religion in the matter of a sizarship in Trinity College, Dublin.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Born c. 1814, son of Michael Malone, shopkeeper, and a native of Kilmore. Entered Trinity College in 1840.

3276

From Luke Dillon, Jr.,¹ Dublin, 9 September 1846, to Derrynane

Asks for sub-inspectorship in the constabulary for his brother William. He says that his family lost 'a large Conservative connection in trade' because of their support of Whig principles.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Probably of Luke Dillon and Son, woollen drapers, 7 Parliament Street and 25 Usher's Quay, Dublin. William did not get the appointment.

3277

From T.M. Ray to Maryborough

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 9 September 1846

My Dear Liberator,

Mr. Pickering¹ of Piccadilly, R.D. Browne's publisher, has sent me an account for £142.17.4 for 500 copies of the debate on the Coercion Bill,² saying that Mr. Browne told him we would pay for them. I believe you understood that the money you gave to Mr. Browne was for these books. I would not tease you upon your journey³ with a matter of this kind but that I understand Mr. B. is about to leave London and probably you would wish me to write to him.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 William Pickering, bookseller and publisher, 177 Piccadilly, S., London. See *DNB*.
- 2 Robert Dillon Browne, M.P., *Debate on the First Reading of the Protection of Life (Ireland) Bill*, (31 March 1846), (W. Pickering, London, 1846).
- 3 'The Liberator left Merrion Square yesterday, at one o'clock, *en route* for Derrynane. He was accompanied by Mrs. Ffrench [his daughter] and family, Mrs. Ryan, and Mr. and Miss Ryan, the Right Rev. Dr. Whelan, Bishop of Bombay, the Head Pacificator, and Charles O'Connell, Esq. of Ennis.' (*F.J.*, 10 Sept. 1846).

3278

From Joseph Sturge

Birmingham, 9 September 1846

Dear Friend,

My friend, Wm. E. Forster,¹ visits Ireland partly with a view of forming his own opinion from personal observation of the probable effect of the failure of the potato crop in your more distressed localities, and as he is particularly desirous of an introduction to thee, I have taken the freedom of writing this note by him. This however would be quite unnecessary when he tells thee that he is the nephew of our late friend, S[ir] Thomas F. Buxton, on which account alone I know he will receive a kind reception from thee.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 William E. Forster (1818-86), Quaker and woollen manufacturer. Worked on Quaker famine relief in Ireland, 1846-7. Later, chief secretary for Ireland, 1880-82. See *DNB*.

3279

From William Fagan

Feltrim [Cork], 12 September 1846

My dear Sir,

We are all here greatly puzzled about the powers of the Executive respecting the Employment Act¹ in consequence of what fell from you at Conciliation Hall. *You say that the Lord Lieutenant has the power to carry on county works rejected by the Presentment Sessions.*² Now in the Act of Parliament lately passed we can detect no such power³ and I have ventured to write to you to know whether there is any other law that gives that authority. We are all here much

disappointed at the meagre measures of the Government so far as we understand them. I sincerely hope that we are mistaken for I perceive that the Tory party are taking advantage of this feeling to bring the Whigs into disrepute. Would they would give us a fair occasion to sustain them against such covert hostility.

You will be sorry to hear that I have been obliged these last five months to withdraw from any active part in public matters in consequence of the serious illness of Mrs. Fagan. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 The poor employment (Ireland) act (9 & 10 Vict. c. 107) presented to the Commons on 18 August and enacted on 28 August 1846. This measure is usually known as the labour rate act.
- 2 O'Connell in the Repeal Association, 7 September 1846. He spoke of the act in terms of great enthusiasm, declaring it to be 'unlimited in the extent of relief that it affords' (*FJ*, 8 Sept. 1846).
- 3 Fagan was right and O'Connell was wrong. John O'Connell stated in the Repeal Association on 14 September that his father had erred because 'the act had not arrived in Ireland last Monday, and Mr. O'Connell took his information from the speeches which were made in parliament when it was introduced' (*Nation*, 19 Sept. 1846).

3280

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 12 September 1846

My Dear Liberator,

I hope you have arrived safely and are now enjoying your mountain sports. Nothing very particular has occurred here but the applications¹ are commencing.

. . . I send the *Nation* as it contains a letter to Lord John Russell from Smith O'Brien.² It is very mischievous of him to excite the discontent of the people at such a moment. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 For the holding of presentment sessions to obtain funds for public works under the poor employment act. Seventy-seven proclamations for the holding of such sessions had been issued by this time (*FJ*, 12 Sept. 1846).
- 2 A public letter dated 9 September 1846 from Cahirmoyle, Smith O'Brien's home in Co. Limerick. In it he describes the government's famine relief schemes as ungenerous and financially unacceptable and as placing an unjust financial burden on landlords and tenants, particularly on the smaller farmers.

3281

From J. D. Nolan, New Park, Loughrea, Co. Galway, 18 September 1846

Seeks appointment to a crown solicitorship. Mentions having assisted O'Connell politically in the Clare election and a Dublin election.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3282

To Maziere Brady

Derrynane, Cahirciveen, 24 September 1846

My Lord,

I take the liberty of soliciting the commission of the Peace for the County of Cork, for a clansman, and very dear friend of mine, Jeremiah O'Connell of Bantry, Esq.¹ He asked me to make this request some time ago but I told him that it was likely you would require his applying to Lord Bandon,² Lord Lieutenant of the County, in the first instance. He alleged in reply that it was utterly useless for him to make any such application as the well known strong opinions of his Lordship would be likely to prevent his recommending a Catholic Proprietor for the Commission. I however told him that he must try because if Lord Bandon grounded his refusal upon any objection, personal or in point of property, such objection being once known, could be met and refuted. Accordingly the correspondence³ which I take the liberty to enclose, took place between my friend and Lord Bandon. Your Lordship will find that Mr. O'Connell states his Landed qualification in the district of Drimoleague to be possession of over 2,000 acres in Fee.⁴ Lord Bandon does not dispute the fact nor, indeed, could he possibly do so.

Mr. O'Connell also shews the admitted necessity for having Petty Sessions held at Drimoleague; and this Lord Bandon does not deny. Now in the Drimoleague District (that is, within seven miles in any direction of that town) there is but one Magistrate — a Mr. Robinson.⁵ Mr. O'Connell will attend punctually at the Drimoleague Sessions which will then be complete but where at present, the Sessions cannot be regularly held for want of a second Magistrate.

I do assure your Lordship that I would not urge upon you the granting the Commission of the Peace to my friend Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell if he were not in every respect qualified by Property, Education, Deportment, Temper and intelligence, and for his just impartiality I would be responsible with my Life.⁶

SOURCE: NLI, MS 21555

- 1 See letter 3370a which is on the same subject.
- 2 James (Bernard), second earl of Bandon (1785-1856), lord-lieutenant of Co. Cork 1842-1856.
- 3 Not extant but a copy of these two letters is in the O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645.
- 4 In the parliamentary return of landowners in Ireland in 1875 Jeremiah O'Connell is listed as owning 1976 acres in Co. Cork (Parl. Papers, 1876, LXXX).
- 5 George Robinson, Butlersgift, Drimoleague, Co. Cork.
- 6 Jeremiah O'Connell received the commission of the peace in 1857. It is significant that Lord Bandon died in 1856 and was succeeded in the lord-lieutenancy of Co. Cork by Lord Fermoy who had been O'Connell's political colleague as Edmund Burke Roche, Repeal M.P. for Co. Cork. The commission was granted by Maziere Brady who was again lord chancellor in 1857.

3283

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 23 September 1846

My dear Liberator,

I enclose you copy of a letter from J. Shea Lawlor quarrelling with us and *to be* published by him if not by us.¹

I have also a letter from Dr. Cane of Kilkenny disavowing [?the] forged letter in his name read on [Mond]ay directing us to expunge his name.² Nothing else particular today. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Lawlor to Ray, 20 September 1846 (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846). In this Lawlor expressed his dissent from the Repeal Association's practice of attacking the Young Irelanders, who were absent and no longer members, while at the same time refusing to hear anyone in their defence. A resolution of the committee of the Association dated 24 September, signed by John O'Connell as chairman, directed that Lawlor's communication be returned to him, 'the committee declining to entertain it as it conveys an unfounded charge against the Association and is couched in terms of most unbecoming discourtesy' (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846).

- 2 This episode is described in a biographical article on Cane in the *Irish Quarterly Review*, VIII, No. XXXI, October, 1858, 1015-1021, the unnamed author being William J. FitzPatrick. A letter dated 19 September 1846 from Cane tendering his resignation was read to the Repeal Association on 21 September, and his resignation was accepted. Cane immediately wrote to Ray, stating that the letter of resignation was a forgery. In a letter to Ray on 26 September he warned that the quarrel with the Young Irelanders would ruin the Repeal movement, and having expressed disapproval of many of the actions of the Association, he asked that O'Connell head a committee to consider how the seceders might be won back. In the Repeal Association on 28 September John O'Connell mentioned Cane's letter of 26 September but said he would not read it since it concerned the debate on moral and physical force, a subject now closed (*Nation*, 3 Oct. 1846). The letter was published in the *Nation* of 3 October 1846.

3284

From William Hastings Greene, Waterford and Kilkenny Railway Co., Sion House, Kilkenny, 24 September 1846

As managing director of the railway he states that work on the building of it has come to a stop owing to lack of funds. He asks O'Connell to try to induce the government to make a loan to the company.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3285

From Miss Susanna Drury, 31 Upper Dorset Street, Dublin, 25 September 1846

Asks O'Connell to have her name placed on the lord lieutenant's concordatum list as two requests made have failed. She reminds O'Connell that she presented to his wife a portrait of his which she had painted on glass, as a result of which Mrs. O'Connell allowed her to use her name as her patroness in her teaching of painting. She states that she had become a Catholic.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3286

To Unknown

Derrynane, Cahirciveen, 26 September, 1846

Copy

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 24th inst. with much surprise as Mr. Primrose has long since taken credit in account with me for the £30.4.6 you mention: and which credit you have enabled him to take by indulging him in a Bill Traffic and (as you say) repeated renewals which for so small sum, ought, to say the least, have excited your suspicion.

. . . I will send your letter tomorrow to Mr. Primrose, who has for some time, ceased to receive any of my rents, and I will urge him in the strongest terms to pay you. . . . But I have no means to make him repay you, as I am sorry to say the balance of his account with me is in my favour rather largely.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

3287

From Thomas Arkins¹

5 Ormond Quay, Dublin, 26 September 1846

My dear Liberator,

Enclosed I forward you an advertisement² which appeared in the *Nation* and all the morning papers. . . .

I wrote a few days since foretelling all this. Of course I shall have every old Irelander in the ward to meet them and give them a warm reception as the low chartists and all the discontented of Dublin will attend the meeting. Grace³ boasts of this as a means of carrying his election. For heaven's sake write as soon as you can as the peace and happiness which had prevailed in this ward is in danger of being broken to pieces.⁴

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Thomas Arkins, repeal warden; merchant tailor, 5 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.
- 2 For the holding in a Dublin hotel of a preliminary meeting on 27 September of 'the friends of freedom of opinion' who dissent from the recent proceedings in Conciliation Hall.
- 3 Richard Grace had been a town councillor for Linen Hall ward from 1841 to 1843 and alderman in 1844. He was not reelected in 1846.
- 4 At the appointed hour Thomas Arkins and a group of O'Connell's

supporters took possession of the room intended for the meeting and held their own meeting at which they passed resolutions supporting O'Connell and opposing the Young Irelanders (*Pilot*, 28 Sept; *Nation*, 3 Oct. 1846). Those sympathetic to the Young Irelanders withdrew to another place of meeting and drew up a lengthy remonstrance for presentation to the Repeal Association. This included the charge that the 'Peace Resolutions' were unnecessary and were used for the purpose of expelling from the Repeal Association members who disapproved of the Whig connection; and that the Association had suppressed freedom of discussion (*Nation*, 3 Oct. 1846). The remonstrance, which contained an impressively large number of signatures, was presented to the Association on 26 October but John O'Connell ordered that it be thrown out, and this was done (*FJ*, 27, 28 Oct; *Nation*, 31 Oct. 1846).

3288

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 26 September 1846

My Dear Liberator,

Dr. Cane has sent a letter to Mr. J. O'Connell, promising a public one for Monday.¹ He resolutely combats the course taken by the Association; he says the feeling of all persons whom he meets is against us. He expresses most exaggerated apprehension for the very existence of the Association, and otherwise remonstrates strongly and he suggests a reference to the Committee to effect a reconciliation.

Mr. J. O'Connell has written him a most excellent but brief reply saying the Association cannot and will not recede one iota — that *facts* are opposed to Dr. Cane's alarms — that a reference to the Committee would be idle and useless, that they never can be let back except upon the fullest retraction etc., and that these are principles from which we will not swerve if left in a *minority*, even in a minority of 2.

I enclose a letter from T. Arkins respecting a meeting² got up for tomorrow of a parcel of scamps who are determined to do all the mischief they can.

[*remainder of letter missing*]

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 In the Repeal Association on 28 September John O'Connell said he had received a letter from Cane expressing surprise that he should not have realised from the poor style of the letter of resignation (see letter 3283 n2) that it could not have been genuine (*Nation*, 3 Oct. 1846).
- 2 See letter 3287.

3289

From Rev. Barry Denny to Derrynane

36 Upper Fitzwilliam St. [Dublin], 28 September 1846
My dear O'Connell,

It strikes me now that you are on the spot, that an application from you to the Government would have a good effect (if you consider the transfer of the living in favour of my son advisable).¹ You know I have had the parishes a *long* time and that during that time had no difference with the parishioners, no Whiteboy disturbance or anything to disturb the peace of the county. . . .

Your truly obliged kinsman,
Barry Denny

P.S. My son and namesake would have the best character from the College and I hope from the parishioners, if required by the Government.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Rev. Barry Denny retained the living of Caherciveen until his death in 1862.

3289a

To Thomas Arkins, 5 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin¹

Derrynane, 29 September 1846

My Dear Arkins,

I enclose you a letter for Mr. Myles Tobyn of Capel St., the Town Councillor. You may be sure that no sincere or true Repealer will oppose him. I will write to any body you choose to canvass for him, and if you think it necessary, show my son John this letter and he will canvass the ward in his own name and mine. In short, I would not leave undone any thing that I could do to secure Mr. Myles Tobyn's return.²

SOURCE: American Irish Historical Society

- 1 This letter is neither written nor signed in O'Connell's handwriting but there is no need to doubt its having his approval.
- 2 As a town councillor of Dublin city, his three-year period just coming to an end. He was reelected.

To Henry Labouchere

Derrynane, Cahirciveen, 29 September 1846

My dear Sir,

I am sorry that I must trespass upon your all-absorbed time by a local complaint. It relates to the barony of Iveragh in this county of Kerry. The Presentment Session¹ was held at Cahirciveen for that barony on Friday, the 18th instant. We cheerfully voted in presentments twenty-one thousand pounds, besides making arrangements for four or five thousands more under the Drainage Act.²

I shall not trouble you with anything further about the Drainage Act. But, with respect to the presentments, my complaint is this — that ten days elapsed since the presentments were made and *fiated*, and yet not a single labourer has been taken into employment. This has caused a bitter disappointment and if there be fault anywhere in the delay it is not a slight one. Can I implore of you to take the trouble of getting the matter remedied and to insist that the people should be set to work as speedily as possible? There never was anything so true, at present, as the proverb that 'Delays are dangerous'.

Another complaint is — that the Government store of provisions for the barony of Iveragh is said to be fixed at Dingle. It really might be as well, for this barony, not to have a Government store at all. And this complaint is the more violent because of our excellent harbour which affords the greatest facility for large vessels to bring a sufficiency of food to the very midst of our population. Allow me to say that I have not the least doubt that the only suitable place for a Government store of provisions for the barony of Iveragh is on Valentia harbour.

I respectfully implore of you to have this matter attended to. A group of the people have come to me this very day pressing these matters. I contented them for the present by telling them that I should write to the government this very day.

It is not a little important that they should not be disappointed of the hopes I held out; and I do not fear it, as I know full well how unaffectedly anxious you are to do everything in your power to mitigate the misery of the people.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 385-6

- 1 For the inauguration of public relief works under the labour rate act.
- 2 9 & 10 Vict. c. 101, enacted on 28 August 1846, 'to authorise the Advance of Public Money to a limited Amount, to promote the

Improvement of Land in Great Britain and Ireland, by Works of Drainage.'

3291

*From Terence O'Reilly, attorney, 18 Lower Dominick Street,
Dublin, 29 September 1846*

As an old friend and supporter of liberal candidates for the city and county of Dublin, he requests a letter from O'Connell which he can use to obtain the friendship of the government particularly as he has seven sons.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3292

*From Matthew Lynch,¹ 16 Beaufort Buildings, Strand, London,
29 September 1846*

Seeks one of the new treasurerships to be appointed under the small debts act² and asks O'Connell's help. He says that his father, the late David Lynch, was a friend of O'Connell, and his brother David³ gave him a letter of introduction to O'Connell in London once.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Matthew Lynch, youngest son of the late David Lynch, one of the trustees of the O'Connell Tribute. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin.
- 2 8 & 9 Vict. c. 127 (enacted on 9 August 1845) 'for the better securing the Payment of Small Debts.'
- 3 David Lynch (c. 1811-72), second son of David Lynch, merchant, of 57 Dominick Street, Dublin. Called to the bar, 1833; Q.C. 1849; later a judge of the bankruptcy court; judge of a landed estates court. See *Boase*.

3293

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 30 September 1846

My Dear Liberator,

Mr. Pierce Mahony called here today on his return from Kerry to assure us of, what indeed we thoroughly know, that your influence

never was more supreme and that all the machinations of the Young Ireland party are perfectly futile. He adds that nearly all men of the opposite party and upper classes with whom he has conversed are coming round rapidly to your policy. He says a requisition is in the hands of Lord Kenmare for a public meeting of the County and that it occurs to him you might, if you thought it well, make it an occasion for originating such a meeting of the proprietors generally of Ireland as you spoke of.¹

Hogan² has your statue on the pedestal in the Royal Exchange. He opened it this day to the public. It is truly the most magnificent work of art I ever saw! — noble — dignified — majestic. The likeness undeniable, the expression admirable, especially the lips, marvelously managed. It almost speaks. The figure is ten feet high. It is a truly splendid work. How mortifying that paltry paragraph of faint praise in the *Freeman*!³

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 In a public letter to Ray dated 8 October, O'Connell called for the formation of 'a central body of Irish landholders meeting in Dublin, and conferring with all parts of Ireland, as well as with government' about famine relief. He declared the task of preserving the health and strength of the people to be 'so all-absorbing a subject as to banish all politics unconnected with the distress' (*FJ*, 6 Oct. 1846).
- 2 John Hogan (1800-1858), sculptor, a native of Tallow, Co. Waterford. Practised in Rome 1824-49; executed statues of O'Connell, Bishop Doyle (JKL) and Thomas Drummond. See *DNB*.
- 3 While referring to it as 'a splendid work of art' the *Freeman's Journal* apologised that 'we have today not space to say more than that the likeness is perfect, and that the execution of the whole is likely to add another laurel to the brow of our countryman, Hogan' (*FJ*, 28 Sept. 1846). The *Freeman's Journal* of 3 October published a laudatory article on the statue.

3294

From his son John

Dublin, Friday, 2 October 1846

My dear Father,

Dr. Phelan¹ of Clonmel is hoping for your recommendation to procure some redress of his grievances from dismissal by the Tories from his Assistant Poor Lawship and appointment to a situation very much inferior and inadequate to support his family. He prays to be *second* to Nugent² in your recommendations.

David Watson Ruttledge³ is *very* anxious to have, *if possible* by return of post, your promised recommendation of him — say *one line* of expression of your estimation of him.

I don't speak of numerous others who press me to annoy you. These 2 are cases I think worthy of consideration.

The Committee have compelled me to issue an Address to the People, exhorting to peace etc. I was against it myself in fear of its sad inefficiency at *such* a time but yielded my opinion of course.⁴

. . . I am delighted you have some good hunting and at the accounts of your health and activity, so entirely contradicting the absurd rumours which your lameness from corns gave rise to. I hope you get ease from the latter. . . .

I hope you approve of our "*steering*" in Conciliation Hall. In Committee we jog along peaceably and pleasantly. Ray is carrying out extensive reductions to affect the expenditure ultimately by £45 or £50 a week (*retrenchment*). Young Ireland is clamorous but I *don't* think they have any real hold in the country, and we don't mind them.

Nimrod is up in dock these some days, as expences were heavy at the fall of the year. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Denis Phelan, M.D., M.R.S.I., governor of the House of Industry, North Brunswick Street, Dublin. He was dismissed from his post as assistant poor law commissioner (Ireland) in 1843.
- 2 John Nugent, M.B. (1806-1899), son of John Nugent, Grena, Co. Kilkenny. Educated at Clongowes Wood College and Trinity College, Dublin; travelling physician to O'Connell; an original member of the Reform Club, London; inspector of commissioners of control of lunacy, Ireland 1846-90; knighted 1890. See *Boase*.
- 3 David Watson Ruttledge J.P. (1811-1890), Roundfort, Hollymount, Co. Mayo and Dublin, eldest son of David Watson. In 1833, he took the name of Ruttledge only. Educated at the High School, Edinburgh and Trinity College, Dublin; called to the bar 1836.
- 4 The address, dated 2 October and signed by John O'Connell as chairman of the Repeal Association committee, declared that, knowing the sufferings of the people, the committee 'dreaded to speak lest reasoning and advice should sound to you as mockery of your misery'. It stated that the government were doing all possible to make up for 'this most sudden and utter destruction of your food'. It called on the people to remember what their religion commanded — 'PATIENCE, PEACE, AVOIDANCE OF CRIME, CONFIDENCE IN ALMIGHTY GOD, AND RESIGNATION TO HIS HOLY WILL' (*FJ*, 3 Oct. 1846).

3295

From Dr. John Nugent

[c. October 1846]

[first part of letter missing]

promises that if he is not to be a credit he will be no disgrace to his sponsors. The accounts from Ireland are most appalling, and I fear much, sad as the havoc of starvation will be, disease engendered by want will carry off thousands and work its way into the more comfortable classes. I have heard nothing since in reference to a situation except that Phelan is *not* appointed and probably will not, the profession being adverse to him as one not duly educated and from his obnoxious behaviour towards some members of it so matters may yet turn up well, if he be not the man. The Lord Lieutenant cannot pass me over for no person can beat me on the score of qualification. I only wish pretensions to place were estimated by public examination, there are but few I should care a straw about. I have often heard you speak of reading the *Moniteur* in the library of the House of Commons. I saw a copy, 27 volumes bound, the other day. . . . It struck me it would be an interesting work for the Repeal Library. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13647

3296

Letter withdrawn. Trivial matter.

3297

To Henry Labouchere

Derrynane, 4 October 1846

My dear Sir,

I had the honour to receive your letter of the 2nd instant and beg to return my most grateful thanks for your prompt attention.

I should not be as pressing as I am but that the Government does not appear to me to be sufficiently terrified by the actual state of the country with respect to food.

For my part, I, who on the spot see the working of starvation, cannot express sufficiently my agony and anxiety until the people

are set to work. You may judge, then, of the pleasure it gave me to find on reading your letter that the people were to be employed in the district of Iveragh *forthwith*.

I, of course, make no boast of it, but if I had not been here I am strongly of opinion that we should have had an outbreak before now. The miserable tenants of an absentee landlord had actually commenced assembling when they were fortunately prevented from proceeding to any violence.

I think we have reason to complain bitterly of the Board of Works not having an officer of their own at each Presentment Session for each barony so as to set the works agoing at once. In this county they have employed the county surveyor — a very excellent and able man who does his own duty admirably — no one can do such duty better; but he cannot multiply himself eightfold and therefore the want of promptitude in commencing employment is distinctly traceable to the Board of Works. But I take it for granted, from your letter, that, as far as the barony of Iveragh is concerned, all will be immediately set right.

Will you pardon me for being so troublesome? But I cannot conclude without suggesting my firm conviction that a sum of not less than one million ought to be immediately placed under the control of the Lord Lieutenant to employ at his discretion. It can never do to be consulting the British Ministry in England upon every occurring and increasing emergency. That the Lord Lieutenant should have the means, on his own responsibility, of applying effectual relief in any *volcanic* district [remainder of letter lost]

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 386-7

3298

From William O'Donnell, Cottage, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary, 4 October 1846, to Derrynane

Writes on behalf of his son Joseph,¹ a barrister, who is applying for a government position. The second and third pages of this letter contain a letter on Joseph's behalf from Richard L. Sheil to Labouchere.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Joseph William O'Donnell (c. 1809-1889), 49 York Street, Dublin, eldest son of William O'Donnell. Called to the bar 1835; magistrate of Dublin Metropolitan police court, 1855; chief magistrate 1866-82. See *Boase*.

3299

To P.V. FitzPatrick

Derrynane, 5 October 1846

My dear Friend,

It would be the absurdest of all absurd things to think of a Tribute in such times as these. They are indeed more awful than you have any notion of. All our thoughts are engrossed with the two topics — endeavouring to keep the people from outbreaks and endeavouring to get food for them. I tell you danger is in our path. May the great God, in His infinite mercy, mitigate the calamity and avert the danger!

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 387-8

3300

From Joseph Boyce

Upper Mount Street, Dublin, 5 October 1846

My dear Sir,

I beg to occupy a few moments of your time on our municipal affairs, in particular the ward which I represent, namely, Andrew's. This ward is now represented by two of each side the house. I avoid using the terms radical or conservative as I hope and trust the violence of party is fairly broken down and I rejoice in seeing a prospect of all pulling together for one common good. My reason in thus addressing you is to suggest the propriety of allowing our ward to remain as it is in the coming election. . . . I find notices are serving and preparations making to displace Mr. Grant¹ who, acting on my advice, does not intend to take [*sic*] any defence. I feel it my duty to put this matter before you for your government and advice, believing the Corporation will be most influential by having a fair division of each religious persuasion as its members. Mr. Grant is a useful and respectable citizen and by no means opposed to the improvement of the present times (although the *only* old Corporator amongst us). I would therefore much regret to see him displaced and here I beg to remind you of the conversation you and I had on this point when you admitted it to be your opinion and wish that the Corporation should not be composed of persons all on one side. The present position 49 to 11: and I am sure you'll agree with me in thinking it would be more politically wise to have the minority increased rather than diminished. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 George Browne Grant, bookseller, 115 Grafton Street, and Laurel Lodge, Roundtown, Co. Dublin; a sheriff's peer in the old Dublin corporation, he was not re-elected in the coming municipal election.

3301

*From John Fitzgerald Day,¹ Woodville, Castleisland, Co. Kerry,
6 October [1846]*

He describes himself as secretary of the Ballymacelligott [Co. Kerry] relief committee, and encloses a cutting from the *Kerry Evening Post* of 3 October 1846 which is a letter, dated 30 September 1846, which he wrote to the editor. In it he suggested that an embargo be laid on the export of oats and that the surplus oats be locally bought by the government and distributed. In his letter to O'Connell he adds the suggestion that farmers be prohibited from feeding oats to their horses, furze being substituted. He asks O'Connell to further the plan if he approves of it.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 John Robert Fitzgerald Day (c. 1797-1881), rector of Ballymacelligott, Castleisland, Co. Kerry 1828-1852. An illegitimate son of Judge Robert Day, his parents were married in 1824.

3302

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Corn Exchange Rooms, [Dublin] 6 October 1846

My Dear Liberator,

Messrs R.D. Browne, FitzPatrick, O'Hea and others assembled today in the Committee Room and upon conferring, came to the conclusion of submitting to the Committee upon Thursday that some step should be taken by the Association to remonstrate with the Government either by deputation or by address against the further exportation of corn and provisions from Ireland. They desire me to write to you that such a step is intended, and to ask your advice, and whatever is done upon Thursday I shall of course acquaint you of by that day's post so that your directions may reach us upon Monday in time for the meeting. If a deputation, they propose that a resolution authorising them should proceed from Monday's Meeting.¹

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Written across the top of the letter is the following: 'Answered 8 Oct. 46. The Liberator thinks wd. not be well etc. to carry out intention. Wait and see what the Ld. Lieut. may do. People might take it as a hint to stop the admission from one place to another of corn, provisions etc. — John P. Slevin'.

3303

From Lord Bessborough

Viceregal Lodge [Dublin], 6 October [1846]

Copy

Private

Dear Sir,

I have only time to say that I have taken upon myself the responsibility — and a very heavy one it is — of allowing useful, profitable and reproductive works to be presented at Baronial Sessions¹ and also to extend the provisions of the Drainage Act.²

Some such thing as this was absolutely necessary for carrying the country through this difficulty, and I do hope that the gentlemen will support me by giving employment to those that require it, and that the poorer classes will be satisfied with my doing all that I can in the present emergency. I hope the directions for this purpose will be in print tonight but at all events I was anxious that you should know the step that I had taken.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 The labour rate act allowed only for public works, that is, works of no special benefit to any private persons. Thus drainage schemes were prohibited. On 5 October a letter from the chief secretary, Labouchere, announced that reproductive works including drainage might be executed. But the procedure laid down was so complicated that this concession had little effect (O'Neill, 'Organisation and Administration of Relief,' Edwards and Williams, *Great Famine*, 230-31).
- 2 The extension has not been identified.

3304

From Rev. A. O'Connell,¹ Exchange Street, Dublin, 6 October 1846

Reminds O'Connell of his promise to write him a few lines in favour of Luke Dillon's son. Young Luke has written to O'Connell on the matter as O'Connell had directed.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Rev. Andrew O'Connell (1792-1876), P.P. St. Michael and St. John's, Lower Exchange Street, Dublin, 1831-49; P.P. Irishtown and Donnybrook, 1849-76.

3305

*From William Johnson, Roper Street, Whitehaven, Cumberland
7 October 1846, to Dublin redirected to Derrynane*

Sends O'Connell a cutting from the *Montreal Herald* of August 24th or 31st, being a letter from three Mayo emigrants dated 22 August 1846 from Quebec, who had sailed from Killala, Co. Mayo to Canada as three of 280 persons under terrible conditions owing to swindling arrangements practised on them by Hugh Leighton, shipbroker, Sligo; Hugh Simpson, his clerk; and John Reilly, merchant of Belmullet. Johnson tells of a similar swindle on Irish emigrants by the sending of a ship from Liverpool that was not seaworthy. It sank but there was no loss of lives. He trusts O'Connell will make good use of the information.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3306

To Capt. Williams,¹ Dublin Castle

Derrynane, 7 October 1846

My dear Sir,

This letter will be handed to you by a friend of mine, Mr. Michael Crook of Sackville Street, upholsterer. He is a most deserving, honest, respectable and thriving citizen.

He is very desirous of having the honour of being appointed upholsterer to His Excellency, and I can assure you he is very

deserving of having that honour conferred on him. I say the 'honour' because it is no emolument or pecuniary advantage that he seeks for. He seeks, I repeat, merely the honour of being one of the tradesmen of a truly Irish Lord Lieutenant.

SOURCE: Property of William Sweetman

- I Captain Robert Williams, Cabra Lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin; comptroller to the lord lieutenant, 1846.

3307

To Torrens McCullagh, 8 October 1846, from Derrynane

Copy

Recommends William Dillon for an appointment as a sub-inspector in the constabulary. 'He has also strong family claims on the Liberal interest as they always supported in Dublin that party and suffered much by the consequent loss of the business of their Conservative customers. His family are very respectable in business.'

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- I William Torrens McCullagh (1813-1894), politician and author; eldest son of James McCullagh of Delville, Co. Dublin. Private secretary to Henry Labouchere, chief secretary for Ireland, 1846; M.P. for Dundalk, 1848-52. In 1863 he assumed his mother's name and became McCullagh Torrens. See *DNB*.

3308

From Henry Labouchere M.P.

Phoenix Park, 8 October 1846

My dear Sir,

I can only write you a few lines. You see that we have taken *the great step*.¹ I am sanguine about its results but everything depends upon the Government receiving the cordial assistance of the landowners.

If they do, I hope that a great and lasting benefit may be conferred on the agriculture and consequent prosperity of Ireland.

I am afraid that there is too much truth in what you say of the want of competent officers under the Board of Works and of the

delays which are consequent upon it. But I do not believe that this is the fault of the commissioners who assure me that they employ every fit person whom they can procure for the service but that their number is limited. Nor is it a question of expense with us for they are authorized to spend money freely in obtaining them.

As to your suggestion about an advance of money for general purposes, I have forwarded it to London.

The great object at this moment appears to me to be to protect the trade in food. There is a good deal of it in the country but it never will be brought freely to market as long as this system of terror prevails.² In many parts the mischief is caused by the *fear of want* rather than want itself.

P.S. We have written for some military engineer officers who will be of great use, I hope.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 In the matter of permitting the execution of reproductive public works (see letter 3303 n1).
- 2 The lord lieutenant had just issued a proclamation in consequence of the spread of food riots, pledging his determination by every means in his power 'to protect a lawful trade in the article of food' (*FJ*, 6 Oct. 1846).

3309

From his son John

Dublin 8 October 1846

My dear Father,

I regret to say I have had a conversation last night with Labouchere of a description by no means satisfactory with reference to the Colleges' Bill

The leading ideas on his mind seem to be

- 1 That a '*fusion*' of conflicting parties in Ireland would be gradually brought about by the operation of the policy that pervades the Colleges Act.
- 2 That it would be monstrous to have literature and literary men subject to any ecclesiastical *dominance*.
- 3 That as Government can scarcely delay in the matter and as no bishop will act on a board to nominate professors without the sanction of Rome, it may be well for the Government to nominate the professors.

This, denuded of courteous expressions etc. appeared to me the substance of Labouchere's views and expressed in a manner which would seem to intimate that it is also the substance of the views and intentions of the Government.

I do not, my dear Father, trouble you with my remarks and comments on these points. They will suggest themselves to you at once.

I look upon this as so far advantageous, as we thus shall be able to prepare for what we have to contend against. We now *know* what is the opposition to be expected to a satisfactory arrangement.

I told Labouchere (and in fact was *invited* by him to do so) that I would communicate the substance of what passed between us to you. He seemed to be inclined to hear what may be the bishops' idea of a satisfactory arrangement. I said you would be the proper channel through which any intimation of that could be come at.

Sir R. Kane¹ has been sent to Germany etc. to look after systems of education etc. there. I did not hesitate to say that with the *utmost* estimation of Kane's talents, skill in chemical science and literary attainments, I did not think his judgment sufficiently matured for such a trust: if his report is to be acted upon.

All well at home. I write in Committee.²

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Sir Robert John Kane, Knt. (1809-1890), scientist, son of John Kane, manufacturing chemist, Dublin. President of Queen's College, Cork 1845-73. See DNB.
- 2 The weekly meeting of the committee of the Repeal Association.

3310

From P.V. FitzPatrick

Dublin, 8 October 1846

My Dear Liberator,

I have safely received your check [*sic*] on the Hibernian Bank No 1592 for the sum of £300.

Your truly kind and considerate letter has relieved me from a load of solicitude.¹ The present unavoidable postponement shall with the assistance of God! be fully compensated for when circumstances justify another call upon the country.

I had a long conversation today with Mr. Murray² of the Provincial Bank. He expects the most beneficial results from the bold and timely step just taken by the Irish Government.³ Although perhaps more accurately informed of the extent of the calamity

locally and generally than any other man, Murray's opinion is that the difficulties — fearful as they are — will be successfully mastered. He calculates on a considerable fall in prices by the beginning of February concurrently with effecting the Irish great object — providing the people with food. Everything possible should be done to have rye or other early grain or vegetables put into the ground so as to assist betimes in mitigating the scarcity. It is thought that your recommendation to this purpose would have excellent results⁴ as it is apprehended that the people may in their despair omit in many instances to *aid themselves* by cropping their patches of land.

The refusal to pay rents has commenced in Ulster with the countenance, as report alleges, of the Presbyterian clergy.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Concerning the O'Connell tribute (see letter 3299).
- 2 Robert Murray, agent and chief inspector of branches, Provincial Bank, William Street, Dublin.
- 3 See letter 3303.
- 4 No such published advice from O'Connell has been traced.

3311

From Some Tenant Farmers of Co. Cork

Barony Fermoy, Co. Cork, 10 October 1846

Beloved Liberator,

You are now addressed by a class of persons *hitherto* holding a respectable station in this County, namely *Tenant Farmers*, all of them *Freeholders* . . . having met in large numbers at the different baronial sessions, we had an opportunity of consulting together on our present distress and our future prospects. . . . It is a well authenticated fact that the potato crop is virtually lost, by which we generally made an half year's rent besides their paying for the work on our farms and supporting our families. The oat crop is allowed to be most unproductive and the wheat crop, which was considered (when collecting in) a good one is now (when put to the test) found very unproductive. . . . We, who now address you, are on the brink of ruin, *under rack rents* to which is added Tithes, Poor Rates, County Cess and now the payment of our labourers *in cash*, after making such allowance as leaves *them free*. Our landlords calling for rent. Some of us who applied for *some abatement* this year of scarcity were answered by saying the rent would be expected on the regular gale day *and refused to make any allowance for the loss sustained*. We were in hopes sometime since that *you* on whom we all depend

could bring forward, although in an *English Parliament*, some act for our relief but we must say our hopes *as usual* have been disappointed, at seeing the want of anything useful to *our class* in the Landlord and Tenant Bill intended to be introduced in the ensuing session.¹ Be assured, beloved Liberator, we do not impute to you any want of exertion for us. . . . If we mistake not, this intended Act says that if tenants *are ejected* or their *lease expires* they will be entitled to *something* in lieu of any outlay made on useful improvements. We beg respectfully to tell you that *such allowance would be of no use to us. If once thrown out of our holdings we consider our station in life completely lost*, and we know from the universal feeling in such cases that we never could raise our heads again in that community. We now . . . suggest . . . the enactment of some law [whereby] . . . *when the rent paid is over the Poor Law valuation*, in that case, to be allowed the interest (say 4 per cent.) on all permanent improvements made by the tenants on the premises by which their value is increased. . . . [Some tenants] have forfeited the kindly feeling, which certainly did exist, between them and their landlords which . . . has *long since ceased* in consequence of their voting against them for the popular candidates at the late contests for this county. . . . Tithes, County Cess and Poor Rate . . . ought to *be taken off the occupying tenant (where he holds at a rack rent)* that is where he holds at a rent *higher than the Poor Rate valuation*. At all events these rates should be paid in the same way as the poor rate — half to each.² Tithes will ever be a source of discontent. We were much surprised to see from a speech of an *English member* that tithes were paid by the *landlord* and the *occupier relieved from them*.³ This shows how *unfit Englishmen* are to *legislate for Ireland*. . . . We again most respectfully urge on you (who is our only hope) to take into consideration our case . . . and to do something to relieve us in the *way before stated*. . . . Fearing that by any chance our *task masters* should find out our having addressed you we do not put our names to this letter but we get a gentleman we can depend on to send it for us. We all subscribe ourselves your ever attached servants. Some Tenant Farmers, County Cork, and payers of every tribute to our Country.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 No account of such a bill has been traced. On 8 March 1847 William Sharman Crawford presented a bill 'to secure the rights of occupying tenants in Ireland' but it was defeated by 112 votes to 25 on its second reading.
- 2 That is, half by the landlord and half by the occupying tenant.
- 3 The speech has not been traced. The tithe act of 1838 converted tithe into a rent charge which the landlord paid but which he could recover from the occupying tenant.

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 10 October 1846

My Dear Liberator,

There was a special meeting of the Committee today, summoned to take into consideration a letter¹ from Mr *Doheny*. Copy enclosed (with reply² ordered by the Committee). It is a weak and clumsy production.

Shortly before the Committee met, a letter³ (copy enclosed) was received by Mr. J. O'Connell from Mr. Shea Lawlor who seems to have come up specially to Dublin to commence a quarrel; but Mr. J. O'Connell has treated him with dignified disregard as you will see by the enclosed reply.⁴ The Committee passed a resolution approving of this excellent reply and of thanks to Mr. J. O'C[onnell]. They also passed a resolution 'requiring of Mr. O'Hea not to notice any communication from Mr. Lawlor except through the Committee.' This resolution was at once conveyed to O'Hea and he expressed his perfect readiness to abide by the wishes of the Committee.

I should have mentioned that Shea Lawlor wrote up last week to require from me the names of the mover and seconder of the resolution about his former letter and that on [a] motion of Mr. J. O'C[onnell]. I was directed to furnish the names and to tell him Mr. J. O'C[onnell] thought they *had* been communicated to him.

The *Nation* insolent and overbearing as usual. They publish the '*Protest*' and a wretched thing it is — an assemblage of obscure creatures not half a dozen of whom do we know.⁵

Dr. Cane has also written to know is he a member⁶ (copy with my answer enclosed). The Committee were at first inclined to throw him off without ceremony but on looking through his letter did not think the grounds sufficiently distinct, and they await his reply now for final decision.

I had intended to send you some extracts that might be necessary for your reply to his letter if you answer it but it is now too late for post. I will get them ready for tomorrow's post.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 An undated letter from Michael Doheny to Ray on the issues between O'Connell and the Young Irelanders. It is a long but coherent letter. Doheny maintained that they agreed with O'Connell that Repeal must be sought by moral and peaceful means only but did not agree that moral force should be made a universal principle. He defended the

policy of remaining independent of both Whigs and Tories. He also defended the Young Irelanders against the charge that they had supported the 'infidel colleges' bill: they supported 'mixed education' but with separate religious instruction (*Nation*, 24 Oct. 1846).

- 2 In a reply dated 10 October, Ray said he could not read Doheny's letter to the Association since the issues it dealt with were closed, and it made unwarranted charges against the Association. He informed Doheny also that he was no longer a member since he had explicitly dissented from the rules of the Association (*Nation*, 4 Oct. 1846).
- 3 Lawlor to John O'Connell, 10 October 1846 (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846). In this Lawlor refers to the resolution of the committee of the Association with regard to his letter of 20 September (see letter 3283 n1). He accused John O'Connell of having overstepped the bounds of propriety in censuring him [Lawlor] for his letter. He had, he said, just come to Dublin and would await a communication from John O'Connell stating the latter's intentions with regard to offering him redress.
- 4 John O'Connell to Lawlor, 10 October 1846 (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846). John held that the committee had been justified in its action since Lawlor's original letter had been insulting to the committee. He denied Lawlor's right to pick a quarrel with him over a public letter but offered, if Lawlor would withdraw the offensive expressions in his letter of 20 September, to have the record of the Association's resolution of censure cancelled.
- 5 A list of some 260 signatories with their addresses to the 'Dublin Remonstrance' was published in the *Nation* of 10 October 1846. It included the names of some forty Repeal wardens and volunteers.
- 6 See letters 3283 and 3288.

3313

From Stephen Barry,¹ Fermoy, 11 October 1846

Requests that O'Connell receive a deputation from gentlemen connected with the east riding of Co. Cork relative to the state of the country. They will also ask O'Connell to support the promotion of 'a valued private friend, Mr. Dennehy² of Bellevue, one of the lately restored magistrates'. The deputation will consist of Rev. T. Murphy, P.P.,³ Fermoy; Rev. D. Collins, P.P., Mallow; the Rev. Mr. A. Collis,⁴ clerk, or his father, Capt. Collis of Castlecooke;⁵ Rev. James Daly, P.P., Kilworth; Denis O'Brien Esq.,⁶ Mitchelstown; Dr. O'Neill;⁷ and the writer.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Spirit merchant and porter agent.
- 2 Thomas Dennehy, J.P., chairman of Fermoy Poor Law Union.
- 3 Rev. Timothy Murphy, P.P.
- 4 Rev. Maurice Atkin Cooke Collis (1812-1882), Fermoy House, second

- son of Capt. William Cooke Collis, J.P. Curate in Fermoy 1835-49, then appointed rector of Ballycushlane, Castleisland, Co. Kerry.
- 5 William Cooke Collis, J.P. (1783-1867), Castlecooke, Kilworth, Co. Cork; captain, 62nd regiment; vice-chairman, Fermoy Poor Law Union.
 - 6 Of Millview, Mitchelstown.
 - 7 Eugene O'Neill, J.P., M.D., King's Square, Mitchelstown, medical officer for Mitchelstown Fever Hospital and dispensary.

3314

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, Sunday, 11 October 1846

My Dear Liberator,

I have hardly a moment to catch the post. Enclosed you have copy of another letter¹ from Mr. Shea Lawlor, who perseveres in his atrocious conduct wanting to fix a personal quarrell on Mr. J. O'C[onnell]. I think you will approve of Mr. J. O'C's answer and the very proper steps he has taken. I have just now returned from Dr. Kelly,² the Police Magistrate's house where Mr J. O'C, Mr. Steele and myself have been, and Mr. J. O'C has sworn information on which Dr. Kelly has issued his warrant and I dare say it will be immediately put in execution.³ I hope and trust you will agree in our view that this is the way to treat an audacious attempt on the part of the Young Ireland party to bully and intimidate public men.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Lawlor to John O'Connell, second letter of 10 October 1846 (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846). In this he declared he intended to make a last effort to avoid a 'fatality' (that is, a duel). He requested John O'Connell to seek the advice of a third party.
- 2 Thomas Frederick Kelly (born c. 1797), Clonturk House, Drumcondra, Dublin, eldest son of William Kelly of Dublin; called to the bar 1822; later a judge of the admiralty court.
- 3 In a letter to Lawlor dated 11 October, John O'Connell informed him that, since it appeared Lawlor was seeking to fix a personal quarrel on him for the discharge of a public duty, he had informed the police. In consequence, Lawlor was arrested at his home, and bound in sureties of £800 to keep the peace towards John O'Connell (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846).

From William Monsell¹

Tervoe, [Co.] Limerick, 11 October 1846

Copy

My Dear Sir,

I am afraid that the somewhat hasty decision of those gentlemen in Dublin who, without consulting the other requisitionists, have decided against holding any public meeting,² will do some injury to our cause. I cannot see how the Government plan will work although of course I feel very grateful to the Government for having so boldly recognised our principle — and surely there are many things — railroads, wastelands and also all the delay in commencing the works already presented for, which might well occupy the attention of a body of gentlemen who know something of the wants of the country. Therefore it seems to me desirable to endeavour at all events to resuscitate our Committee;³ and if when I go to Dublin, as I hope to do tomorrow, I find that this can be done, I will take the liberty of again writing to you. I am very much obliged to you for taking the trouble of writing to me. Pray do not think it necessary to answer this letter *unless* there is anything which suggests itself to your mind that I can do in this matter. My direction in Dublin where I hope to remain until Friday will be 4 Fitzwilliam Place.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 William Monsell (1812-1894), M.P. for Co. Limerick, 1847-74. Created Baron Emly, 1874. See *DNB*.
- 2 O'Connell had suggested the holding of a national meeting of landholders of Ireland in Dublin to confer with government on measures of famine relief, and suggested that a committee be formed for the purpose of convening such a meeting (O'Connell to Ray, 25 Sept., 2, 9 Oct. 1846, *Nation*, 3, 10, 17 Oct. 1846). A requisition dated 26 September, having fourteen signatories, including William Monsell, called for a meeting of Irish landowners at an unspecified date to induce the government to apply the labour rate act to productive work on land (*FJ*, 10 Oct. 1846). A resolution, dated 8 October and signed by twelve persons including four of the signatories of the above requisition and purporting to be the committee appointed to organise the meeting, declared, that, in consequence of Labouchere's letter of 5 October (see letter 3303 n1), the meeting would not be held (*FJ*, 10 Oct. 1846). In a public letter to Ray dated 16 October, O'Connell declared he would make no further mention of the matter for the present but hoped that others would take it up (*Nation*, 24 Oct. 1846).
- 3 The committee formed to organise the meeting (see above note 2).

3316

From William Torrens McCullagh to Derrynane

Chief Sec[retar]y's Office [Dublin Castle], 12 October 1846

Confidential

My Dear Sir,

Mr. Dillon has this day put into my hands your letter of the 8 inst. recommending his brother for an appointment as Sub-Inspector of Constabulary to which I have called the particular attention of Mr. Labouchere, and which I have been directed by him to say that he will not fail to lay before His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3317

From Pierce Mahony

23 William St., Dublin 12 October 1846

Confidential

My Dear O'Connell,

This affair¹ of John Shea Lawlor's with your son John is like every act of Lawlor's life, and as you perceive him and his infirmity as well as I do, I conclude that you will not notice him and that you will use all your influence with John and others to let the matter rest as it now is. I went at John O'Connell's request to the Police office and in order to prevent any futher discussion or irritation I joined Mr. Bernard Haly,² having first received your son's permission, in a recognizance to get Lawlor released.

He subsequently spent 2 hours with Haly and myself and all I need say is that my first impressions were confirmed. I wish you could be in Dublin.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 See letters 3314 and 3317a note 1.

2 Probably Francis Bernard Haly of Williamstown Castle, Williamstown, Co. Dublin.

From T.M. Ray

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin [12 October 1846]

[first part of letter missing]
conducted the correspondence.

T. Steele and I were at the *F.J.* office to a very late hour last night about the publications.¹

I have taken a very full report as I could of the meeting up to the close of Mr. O'Neill's very extraordinary speech.² It was a violent attack and so understood by this uncandid multitude³ though he tried to 'explain' it away.

Mr. J. O'C answered him and put him down most completely. Between the malignity of some and the miserable vanities of others we have indeed sad annoyance. We are doing all possible to keep steady and firm with the most intense anxiety that everything we say and do may meet your approbation, Dearest Liberator.

May God bless you,
Your ever faithful servant,
T.M. Ray

The above written at the meeting. Coming through the yard I met Mr. O'Neill. He asked me did I think his explanation satisfactory. I said why yes, but it was very necessary indeed for the meeting took you as attacking the Liberator and the Association.

My God, how could that be, said he, and I so devoted to O'Connell? I don't know, said I, but you see it was so, however your explanation has set it right. All I fear, said he, is that the Liberator will be annoyed. If I thought he would, I don't think I'd come again.

I said I did not suppose you would mind it in the least as he had so fully retracted.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 Probably in connection with the affair with John Shea Lawlor (see letters 3283 n1, 3312 and 3314). In a letter from Dublin, dated 12 October, to the *Freeman's Journal* John Shea Lawlor complained that on that day the newspaper had described his letter of 20 September to Ray inaccurately and had omitted to publish it and Ray's reply. The *Freeman's Journal* published all three letters on 13 October.
- 2 Delivered at the Repeal Association on 12 October, John A. O'Neill's long speech complained of the Association's conduct in the recent Dungarvan and Clonmel by-elections; claiming he himself had been prepared to stand for both constituencies and would have subscribed £1,000 to the expenses of a contest for the former had he been asked to

do so by the Association. He also complained that Cecil Lawless, who had joined the Association only since the expulsion of the Young Irelanders, should have been preferred for Clonmel to himself. John O'Connell promptly criticised O'Neill's speech, declaring it was meant as an attack on his father. O'Neill strenuously denied that he meant to criticise (Daniel) O'Connell and at his request he and John O'Connell shook hands (*FJ*, 13 Oct. 1846).

- 3 O'Neill's speech received much applause.

3318

To Stephen Barry, Fermoy

Derrynane, 13 October 1846

Copy

My Dear Sir,

I have only this moment received your letter of the 11th instant and hasten to reply to it.

Of course I should feel highly honoured by the presence at my habitation of the very respectable gentlemen you name but it is infinitely better that I should go to them than that they should have the trouble of coming to me. . . .

What I propose then is this — that you will fix with those gentlemen for a meeting at Fermoy at as early a day as they find it convenient, giving me the period you mention (two clear days) for my journey. I shall be prepared to start the day after I receive your letter, you recollecting that it takes two days to bring me a letter from Fermoy. . . .

I think it would be well that I should be accompanied to Dublin by at least some, if not all, the gentlemen you mention.¹ . . .

It is scarcely necessary for me to add that my arrival in Fermoy should not be accompanied by any popular demonstration. Our meeting will be constituted by gentlemen of every sect and persuasion and of course should not be tinged by anything of a party or even a political nature. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 O'Connell attended a meeting in Fermoy on 24 October of landlords, clergy and relief committees. Resolutions were passed condemning the delays and parsimony of the board of works' officials, the inadequacy of wages paid by the board, and the declared policy of Sir Randolph Routh to measure government aid by the amount of local subscriptions. The meeting called for an embargo on distillation and for the commencement of land drainage, and a project to improve the

navigation of the Blackwater from Cappoquin to Mallow. It was resolved that a deputation of one or more from each of the local relief committees should be appointed to present a memorial based on these resolutions to the lord lieutenant. O'Connell agreed to accompany the deputation (*FJ*, 27 Oct. 1846). It consisted of some 25 persons, including the Rev. Viscount Mountmorres, and waited on the lord lieutenant on 30 October accompanied by O'Connell, who presented and argued the petitions of the deputation. (For a full account of the proceedings, see *FJ*, 31 Oct. 1846). One of the officials of the board of works, Lt.-Col. Harry D. Jones, R.E., wrote: 'The Fermoy deputation were with us for an hour yesterday; O'Connell, when leaving the board-room, paid us some compliments, and said his opinion was changed since he had learned the difficulties we had to contend against.' (Jones to Charles Trevelyan, 31 Oct. 1846. *Parl. Papers*. 1847, L. 156).

3319

From Frederick Smith Dodsworth,¹ Thornton Hall, near Bedale, Yorkshire, 13 October 1846

Explains that he is the third son of Sir Charles Dodsworth and nephew on his mother's side of the late Lord Blayney. He is 23, can do farming, and has become a Catholic to the annoyance of his family. He asks O'Connell if he can find employment for him.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Frederick Smith Dodsworth (1822-1885), third surviving son of Sir Charles Dodsworth, third baronet.

3320

From Dr. John Nugent¹

73 Baker Street [London], 13 October [1846]

My dear Mr. O'Connell,

I received a letter from Duggan this morning with the measurements of a truss for you. I'll get you one made at once, suited to you so as to afford ample support without the inconvenience of pressure. In a few days I hope to send it to you and with it a few bottles of the aperients. The rheumatic pain you complain of is not with all your knowledge from 'the breaking up of your constitution'. In law and politics you are *quite at home*, to medicine and the ills of mortality you are a stranger. Whenever you feel any annoyance take in the middle of the day two small teaspoonfuls of Dalby's

carminative in half a glass of warm [the second leaf of the letter is missing]

[P.S.] I had a letter from Sheil yesterday from Long Orchard [Co. Tipperary] about a commission of his here. In it he says 'O'Connell is doing the greatest possible service to the Government and to the country in this dreadful crisis. His life is invaluable to the Empire.'

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 Writer identified by handwriting.

3321

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin 14 October 1846

My Dear Liberator,

Tom Arkins has requested of me when writing to ask if it was in your power to get the appointment for his son John. Poor man, I regret to say he is greatly embarrassed trying to keep up his house; the pressure is so great that he can't get in any money, and he says if John was settled he would get clear of business and live on the income he would have.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

3322

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Loyal National Repeal Association, Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 14 October 1846

Confidential

My Dear Liberator,

Tom Arkins mentioned to me yesterday evening that the Lord Mayor¹ hinted to him that negotiations are going on to get George Roe appointed Sheriff for Dublin city next year² and that if he be, his assessor will be Coates,³ a rank Tory, which might ruin us upon the election. The Lord Mayor thinks that T. O'Brien or some Catholic ought to be appointed now for the first time. I have

mentioned this to Mr. J. O'C[onnell] who says he thinks it of sufficient importance to [?speak] at once at headquarters about it, but bid me also to write to you. T. Arkins [? says] also he was told from the same quarter that [? the] judges' recommendations⁴ will be adhered to.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 John Keshan, wholesale woollen merchant and stock and share broker; lord mayor of Dublin, 1846.
- 2 Roe was appointed high sheriff for 1847.
- 3 Charles Coates (born c. 1812), eldest son of George Coates of Tankerley, Co. Wicklow. He was in due course appointed assessor.
- 4 The judges of assize nominated three candidates from whom the lord lieutenant selected the high sheriff.

3323

To Michael Lidwill¹

Derrynane, Thursday, 15 October 1846

My dear Sir,

You really mistake my position entirely. There is nothing so impossible as that I should comply with your request to procure you 'some situation'. The cause [*sic*] simply and singly is this, that it is utterly out of my power to do so. It is a species of application that, if I did make, would be totally disregarded.

Any person who seeks what is called a situation under government could not be listened to unless he was able to point out some specific office for which the nature of his claims could be investigated and his fitness tested. Unless he is able himself to point out some such office, there is nobody else who can possibly do it for him. The mode of application, as far as I understood, is by memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, stating the office and qualifications for it.

Do not think that I am unwilling to serve you. On the contrary, I know enough, quite enough, of you to be extremely anxious to do you a service if I possibly could, and to show you my readiness to be of use to you, if you will follow the usual course of memorialising for any office, I will readily back it with the strongest attestation in my power. You would then perceive by the result how little it is in my power to influence the Government; yet I am quite aware of the accuracy of the melancholy detail you give of your present circumstances.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 388

- 1 Michael Lidwill, probably of Beakstown, Co. Tipperary, son of Mark Lidwill of Clonmore, Co. Tipperary. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin.

From T.M. Ray to Derrynane

Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin, Friday, 16¹ October 1846
My Dear Liberator,

I have received your draft on the Hibernian Bank for £453 to pay bills etc. for the Association per list, and thank you much for kindly sending it. I am sure the balance must by this time be very much in your favour and I am uneasy lest you may be inconvenienced by advances. Still, without drawing upon you we cannot go on. I was all day occupied with the Aggregate Meeting of Catholics at the Mansion House originated by Mr. J. O'Connell respecting these Poor Law delinquencies.² I never saw a better meeting nor more ably sustained throughout. My impression is that it will have most important results, on other points as well as the immediate one, and show the Government what agitation they will awake if they do not modify this villainous system and coerce their officials.

J. Reynolds threw out at the meeting that the Lord Mayor, Keshan, should be the *new sheriff*,³ and you may have seen that Alderman O'Brien threw out a suggestion at the Corporation in his *own* favour. Thus there will be rivalry at once, for I believe the truth is each party is equally anxious for the honour.

I have not as yet received officially the resolutions passed at the People's Hall, Cork on Tuesday evening.⁴ It would appear from Maguire's threat⁵ that they think to coerce the Association. They lay wonderful stress upon the importance of Cork whereas Maguire himself admits its supineness in his leading article. There was besides serious division at the meeting.⁶

Mr. Brady⁷ who figured as the chief Young Irelander sent us his resignation with an insolent letter⁸ gathered from the *Nation* paragraphs. His letter is dated the 12th (Monday)⁹ yet he took a very mischievous part at that meeting on Tuesday evening.¹⁰

The money receipts are very slack but that is to be expected. Everything else goes on well and steadily.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13646

- 1 The letter is dated 15 October in error.
- 2 A meeting of Catholics was held at the Mansion House on 16 October under the chairmanship of the lord mayor, John Keshan, to protest at alleged persecution of and discrimination against Catholics in the workhouse of the south Dublin union by the guardians with the connivance of the poor law commissioners. It was resolved to petition parliament to amend the poor law with a view to enabling Catholic poor law officials to conscientiously perform their duties, and Catholic paupers to practise their religion. It was also resolved to petition for the

- removal of the poor law commissioners on grounds of gross neglect and bigotry. John O'Connell expressed regret that it had become necessary again for Catholics to meet as a body (*DEP*, 17 Oct. 1846).
- 3 Both Reynolds and John O'Connell expressed the hope that the present lord mayor (Keshan) would be the next high sheriff (*Pilot*, 19 Oct. 1846).
 - 4 The meeting referred to was held on Tuesday, 13 October under the chairmanship of Richard Dowden. Resolutions were passed asking that the 'peace resolutions' be revised so as to apply solely to Ireland and Repeal, and to 'remove any expressions that may seem to involve the abstract right of vindicating national independence by the sword — as regards other men or other lands in past, present, or future history.' The meeting believed this would secure the return of Smith O'Brien and the other seceders to the Association (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846).
 - 5 At the above meeting (John F.) Maguire said that when the response of the Repeal Association to the Cork resolutions was received, the people of Cork would know how to act (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846).
 - 6 The press report of the meeting notes many expressions from the audience for and against various speakers (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846).
 - 7 Edward Brady, apothecary, 17 Bridge Street, Cork; town councillor, St. Patrick's Ward. A Young Irelander, he was described as 'the father of the secession movement' in the *Nation* of 17 October 1846.
 - 8 Edward Brady to Ray, 13 October 1846, *Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846. In this Brady denounced 'the suicidal and anti-national policy' of the Repeal Association since the return of the Whigs to power. He claimed that a large-scale 'silent secession' was occurring daily among the working class supporters of the Association who had no benefits to gain from place-hunting and government favour (*Nation*, 17 Oct. 1846).
 - 9 Brady's letter is dated 13 October as published in the *Nation* of 17 October 1846.
 - 10 The meeting of 13 October (see above note 4).

3325

From Rev. Richard Macdonnell, F.T.C.D.

Trinity College, Dublin, 15 October 1846

My dear Sir,

When I had the pleasure of meeting you last April on the deck of a Liverpool packet you were kind enough to make enquiries for my eldest son, Richard Graves Macdonnell.¹ You had known him as the Honorary Secretary of the Polish Association. On being informed that he had gone out as Chief Justice to the Gambia you said that in case Lord John's party came into power, you would try and give him a help by cutting off a year of his time at the Gambia. He left the Gambia at the end of July on leave of absence, the term of which has been sadly cut up by a most protracted voyage. [He is now in London trying to have his leave of absence extended and to procure

a better position. His health has been affected by the Gambian climate. He has every quality suited to an appointment 'save in his being the son of a wicked Anti-Repealer.' The writer asks for O'Connell's support at the Colonial Office.]

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Richard Graves Macdonnell (1814-1881), eldest son of Richard Macdonnell, FTCD. Called to the bar, 1838; chief justice of Gambia, 1843; later, colonial governor in various places. Knighted 1871. See *DNB*.

3326

From John Hogan to Derrynane

7 D'Olier Street, Dublin, 15 October 1846

Copy

My dear Sir,

For I trust you will still allow me to call you so, after offering a few words in explanation of your letter of the 9th in reply to mine.

First, in reference to the contract for executing the statue, I never saw it, read it, nor signed it, and not having even a copy I cannot tell its contents. I am willing to admit, however, that the original memorandum made by the committee in your presence was to the effect you state, namely, that I should execute a statue in marble of you eight feet high for £1500. According to custom that does not include freight, insurance, pedestal, and other expences incidental to carriage etc. Unless expressly stated in it. . . .

It was proposed afterwards that the figure should be made colossal and increased to ten feet high. That alteration is not in writing, either, but it was agreed to in your presence, and that of your family and friends. Acting therefore on that understanding, . . . I undertook and executed the *colossal* in question. The increased size of the work and the consequent increase of expense and trouble is therefore the only question between us and as proof that the terms of the original memorandum had been substantially altered, I beg to remind you that in the receipt I gave you and which you accepted from me, I stated that the £400 which you were so kind as to advance me, was paid on account of erecting a statue of you ten feet high. . . .

The entire question therefore between us is one of degree, and as we were both in fault, in not reducing matters specifically to writing, and as I relied on you and on you alone, in God's name, Sir, let us try and settle the matter quietly between us.

You must be aware that to increase a statue or any other solid work two feet in height, doubles the size, and quantity of marble, and nearly doubles the cost, and the other expenses. This is a fact well-known. Without wishing to annoy you, I beg leave on the word and honour of a man to state that this *increase* in size, increased the cost, expense and trouble upwards of five hundred pounds to me.

I am willing therefore to make the two following propositions to you: First, that you should pay me what you think *fair and just under the circumstances and I will*, on the express condition however, that you will keep the amount of it to ourselves, for if it should transpire, as the standard of my future works, that I executed a colossal marble statue of, no matter whom, in first class marble ten feet high, for under two thousand pounds, my future lot in life would be miserable indeed, and all my past labours and studies unavailing.

My second proposition is, that as unfortunately there is no specific agreement between us, but only a memorandum on the books of the Association . . . you will have no objection to submit the matter to some mutual friend, and I pledge myself to abide by his decision.

I am a struggling stranger in this country without friend or friends but I have a double character to maintain that of my works, and of my integrity, and to use your own emphatic phrase, Sir, I would sooner dash the noble work to atoms and pave the roads with its fragments, than let it go abroad to the world either that I deceived you or gave as the standard of my merit that I could afford to execute a colossal figure . . . for the inadequate sum you now offer me. . . .

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3327

From Stephen Barry

Fermoy [Co. Cork] 16 October 1846

Respected Dear Sir,

I had the honour of receiving your kind favour of the 13th, this morning, which I at once showed to the Rev. Mr. Murphy and the other gentlemen here who expressed the greatest satisfaction at your proposal of coming here which they accept without hesitation. . . . We will calculate on your leaving the Abbey [Derrynane] on Tuesday morning so as to arrive here on Wednesday evening.

On Thursday we hope you will attend a conference of the deputies from the several Relief Committees which, to meet your views and to guard against anything like a demonstration, we submit should be held in the large room of the Savings Bank. Of course gentlemen of different shades of politics will wish to attend and the proceedings will be conducted as you desire.

Some of the gentlemen named to you will gladly accompany you to Dublin.

Our intimate and valued friend, Mr. Roche, could not on any occasion be left out by us even if you had not expressed a wish on the subject.

Sir Richard Musgrave, who takes so deep an interest in the navigation of the Blackwater, will also be invited.

... I will ask no others to meet you [at dinner at my home] but the gentlemen who intended proceeding to Derrynane on the deputation.

Will you kindly honour me with a line in reply to say when we may expect you and whether you would object to the presence of reporters on Thursday.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3328

To Benjamin Hawes

Derrynane, 19 October 1846

My dear Hawes,

This letter will be handed to you by the Chief Justice of Gambia, Richard Graves MacDonnell, who is returned from Gambia on leave of absence. He has served three years and a half, equal to a half century in our climate. He has had the fever over and over again. At length he has got leave of absence in the *usual* course but unhappily his passage home was so exceedingly tedious that it has cut up his vacation most sadly. He is a gentleman of great talent, considerable energy and perseverance but, alas, the prospect of returning so soon to Gambia is fearful, especially to his family and friends. He is the son of an old circuit companion of mine, a most particular friend and one of the most respectable gentlemen in the community. The father has been for several years past a senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, having never mitigated the kindness of his friendship for me though he says he knows he has two faults in my eyes, first that he is a Protestant Parson and, secondly, that he is a wicked anti-Repealer. You will not find fault with him on either

ground, and I certainly do not esteem him the less for the one or the other, knowing as I do that he is a high-minded gentleman.

You may perceive from the warmth with which I write my most sincere anxiety to be of service to this young gentleman. He wants to have his leave of absence as much extended as possible. In fact he wants to have a year of *his time* cut off in the Gambia or to be removed to a situation less pestiferous though not more emolumentary.

You cannot imagine how much you would gratify and delight me if you could assist this young gentleman in his purposes. It will be conferring a great personal obligation upon me.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 389-90

3329

From Rev. Thomas Lee,¹ Macroom, Co. Cork to Dublin, 26 October 1846

Asks O'Connell to use his influence with the government to have the Board of Works do something for the starving people in the Macroom area, even if it be only the commencing of the works unanimously passed at the baronial sessions. The peace of the country is imperilled by starving people who will not accommodate themselves to 'the indolent convenience of the Board of Works or economy lectures of Sir Randolph Routh'.²

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 Rev. Thomas Lee (died 23 Sept. 1861), P.P. Macroom, 1842-61.

2 Sir Randolph Isham Routh, Knt. (1785-1858), commissary-general of relief office, Dublin Castle. See *DNB*.

3330

From James Corry Connellan¹

V.R. Lodge [Dublin] 28 October 1846

My dear Sir,

His Excellency will have great pleasure in receiving you and the deputation from the County of Cork,² *here at half past 12 o'clock tomorrow* (Thursday). He is compelled to fix this early hour as Thursday is one of the days appointed for public business at the Castle when all the heads of departments are convened.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 James Corry Connellan (c. 1807-1885), second son of Peter Connellan and a native of Dublin; educated at Oxford; called to the Irish bar 1836; private secretary to the lord lieutenant, the earl of Bessborough.
- 2 See letter 3318 n1. The deputation were actually received on Friday, 30 October.

3331

From Robert Williams

V.R. Lodge [Dublin] 28 October 1846

Private

My dear Mr. O'Connell,

The appointment of Mr. Crook as upholsterer to the Lord Lt., on your warm recommendation, has been canvassed very strongly by a deputation of operatives who waited the day before yesterday on his Excellency. Pray give me a few lines to disabuse his mind on the subject and justify me in the course I thought proper to pursue.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3332

From W. McDermott¹

Upper Gardiner Street [Dublin], 31 October 1846

Dear Sir,

[He explains that he has been told of O'Connell's interest in his affairs and has been advised to write to him.]

At the instance of his Grace, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, and Mr. A.R. Blake, I was on the formation of the board of National Education appointed to supervise the literary department of that establishment and [? also] to act as the Catholic member of its Committees. [? In] that position I continued for some time when Mr. Carlile,² for his own personal ends . . . insisted that I should assume the office of Inspector of National Schools. Against this I remonstrated but in vain. What added to my disappointment was that I was then obliged to give up the practice of my profession. . . . However Mr. Carlile has left the board with anything but honour. . . . For the truth of this statement I can refer you to Mr. Gerald Tench³

of the exchequer, Mr. J.R. Corballis,⁴ the Provost,⁵ and many others exclusive of his Grace, the R.C. Archbishop of Dublin.

Under these circumstances, Sir, I am anxious to resign my present situation and obtain some other under Government where I may be more fortunate. A resident magistracy I should be happy to accept and perhaps I may here mention . . . that I have written several works on the law of this country, among the rest, 'The Criminal Code of Ireland,'⁶ a production of which Baron Pennefather and other judges on several occasions spoke from the bench in the highest terms. . . . [He seeks O'Connell's recommendation].

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 William C. McDermott, called to the bar, 1816. Author of several works.
- 2 Rev. James Carlile (1784-1854), minister of the Scots church, St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin from 1813 till his death; resident commissioner to the Irish board of education 1831-39. See *Boase*.
- 3 Attorney; registrar, equity side of the court of exchequer.
- 4 John Richard Corballis (1796-1879), second son of Richard Corballis, merchant, Rosemount, Roebuck, Dundrum; called to the bar 1820; Q.C. 1841; member of the board of commissioners of national education in Ireland from 1839. See *Boase*.
- 5 Dr. Franc Sadleir.
- 6 William C. McDermott, *The Criminal Code of Ireland, as amended by the late enactments* . . . (Dublin, 1829).

3332a

From Thomas Steele

Limerick, Wednesday morning [1846, probably November]
 Father of your Country,

I yesterday had a long and friendly talk with Mr. Wallnutt,¹ Mayor Elect, a firm Old Ireland O'Connellite, but one who in his anxiety for what they call here 'Reconciliation,' is not particularly clear in his Ethical and Metaphysical perceptions. He revived his former subject in another form, viz., that Deputations from *ALL* the Repeal municipalities of Ireland should wait on you.

I told him that if they did, and all the Repealers of the Empire, that they could not induce you to swerve one point from your Peace Principle; your principle that in the effort for the Repeal of the Union you would not permit any except moral force means, except in the sole case of repelling actual aggression.

But that you could not permit William Smith O'Brien or Mr. Tom Steele or every Whitefoot or Molly Maguire or Tipperary Disturber

or Terry Alt to select a *casus belli* for himself and act on it and wage war *at his own time and on his own judgment*. . . .

[P.S.] . . .

SOURCE : NLI MSS 15478

- 1 Thomas Wallnutt, a distiller and miller, a Protestant and Repealer. He was unanimously nominated as mayor of Limerick by the city council on 26 September and unanimously elected by them on 1 December (*Limerick Reporter*, 29 Sept., 1 Dec. 1846).

3333

*To his son Maurice*¹

Merrion Square, 4 November 1846

My dearest Maurice,

I enclose you another melancholy letter from Harvey² of Cork. Write to him to send up the bill to the Bank here and I will pay it.

All here perfectly well. O'Connell French³ just gone to Clongowes in perfect health.

Love to everybody. Has any work been done? and what?

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Written by another and signed by O'Connell.
- 2 Unidentified.
- 3 His grandson, *recte* Ffrench.

3334

To his son Maurice

Merrion Square, 5 November 1846

My dearest Maurice,

Can the list you send me of your bills be accurate? . . . What I want to know is not what particular bills you accepted for particular persons but for everybody. I cannot think you would equivocate with me. I will therefore take it for granted that you mistook my meaning. That meaning is to have an account of every bill you accepted or endorsed in any capacity for any person. Set my mind at ease as soon as possible on these subjects.

Set about the breakwater as soon as you possibly can so as to claim the money from the Board of Works to pay the labourers.

Write to me to say how many you have at the work the moment the employment begins.

I want you to press on the Board for our £400. Take care to have the accounts most accurately kept. Go through the form of giving a ticket to every man employed, and give it previous or on the day of his beginning to work. Be vigilant in matter of form as well as in substance. . . .¹

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 The following postscript has been added to this letter by O'Connell's clerk, John P. Slevin: 'Your father bids me add that if the sloop be in Cork it would be well to get a few casks of American beef and pork shipped for Derrynane.'

3335

*From Lord Clanricarde*¹

G.P.O. [London], 5 November 1846

Dear Sir,

I have had great pleasure in obeying the desire expressed in your letter of this 1st instant, by appointing Mr. Bartholomew Halpin Bag man in the Dublin Post Office.

The salary is £1.1.0 a week.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Lord Clanricarde was postmaster-general 1846-52.

3336

From Thomas N. Redington

Dublin Castle, 7 November 1846

My dear Sir,

I have received your letter relative to the magistracy of the City of Dublin and shall not fail to submit Mr. Powell's¹ name to his Excellency.

The appointment to the P.O. at Baltinglass is not directly with the Irish Government but your application has been forwarded for the favourable consideration of the Postmaster General.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 No one of this name was appointed to the police magistracy of the city of Dublin or received the commission of the peace for either Dublin city or county.

To his son Maurice¹

Merrion Square, 11 November 1846

My Dearest Maurice,

[re payment of bills, acceptances etc.]

... Send me a list of the presentments in South Dunkerron² and Iveragh and I will get them passed by the Board and the people set to work. I have ordered 10 tons of whole meal to be sent in the same vessel with 40 tons which Sir David Roche is sending. Let me know what you propose our sloop shall bring from Cork. If Eugene O'Sullivan be returned, see him and settle about everything.

The list of presentments I want is not the general list of those passed but the list of those you think ought to be approved of in addition to those that have already passed the Board. Whatever you think ought to be approved of, I will get it passed and the work begun as speedily as possible. Do not neglect above all things the road through John's property, I mean [the] Drumquinna lot purchased from the MacSweenys [*sic*]. I forget the names of the farms but you will understand me sufficiently to send me a memorandum of the actual presentments that I may get them approved of by the Board.

I think Dr. Barry should write to the Govt. to lend him a steamer to bring his Indian corn. His letter should be addressed to Sir Randolph Routh. I will see Redington tomorrow on this subject.

I have promised the Surgeon-General³ 3 dogs. He attended me most kindly and gratuitously. Let them be well looking, that is, let them have visibly the appearance of the beagle. He does not care how bad they are provided they are well looking.

Have you heard anything further from Bagg, the Attorney. I will send to him tomorrow and will take that bill off your shoulders.

... What quantity of corn or meal is in store in the government stores at Cahirciveen? Are the tenants aware of the abatement to such of them as paid the balance. I am very anxious you should [?] get] assistance to take up your bills out of the rents.

Your afflicted but most affectionate
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

1 Written by another, signed by O'Connell.

2 Derrynane was in the barony of South Dunkerron.

3 Sir Philip Crampton, M.D.

3338

From his son Maurice

Derrynane, 16 November 1846

My dearest Father,

I am sufficiently blameable for my conduct with regard to those bills, without any addition particularly of the charge of seeking to deceive you. The bill of Ally Primrose's you allude to was mentioned in my letters. . . . I mentioned it to you *here*. I stated it to you in the very commencement of this unhappy business. Most assuredly I had and have no design of deceiving you, and in this instance the evidence is multiplied that such could not be my intention.

With regard to my letter from *Hillgrove* [he explains why he and his sons accepted hospitality from the Primrose's at Hillgrove and states the visit had nothing to do with business] I neither drew nor accepted any bill, nor took a pen in my hand at all unless to write unlucky letter to you. . . . My Uncle James, McCan, the Grand Jury Secretary, and a captain of the 83rd who is Inspector of Relief Committees were at John O'Connell's [hotel]. There were also there the collector of customs, and a merchant from Kilrush about salvage. At Fitzgerald's [hotel] there were three or four engineers, some pay clerks and a parcel [remainder of letter not extant].

[P.S.] . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

3339

From his son Maurice to Merrion Square

Derrynane, 18 November 1846

My Dearest Father,

We have got twenty-three bags of the wheat meal landed and in store here. The balance, twenty-seven, making seventy in all of yours, which came with Sullivan's consignment, will, please God, be stored early tomorrow. . . .

The outcry for work at Cahir[civeen] continues still loud and vehement and the orders of the Board of Works are, I understand, causing fresh impediments, the last 'ukase' being that no one who has the grass of a cow is to get labour. This would confine the market indeed in this district. All are nearly equally without provisions, and

though the cowless creature may be something lower in the scale, yet the wants of the others are equally pressing. The result of all these changeable orders, all nearly equally ridiculous, is delay and while the Board are balancing straws, the people starve. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

3340

To Dr. Blake, Bishop of Dromore¹

Merrion Square, 21 November 1846

My ever revered and venerated Lord,

For the fifty years that I have been engaged in politics, I never received so bitter and heart-rending a pang as by the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant.² Oh, how unhappy I am that you, my loved and venerated Lord, should not more distinctly behold the real cause of disunion between us — between us, sincere Repealers, and those who have seceded from us. You do, indeed my dearest Lord, wrong me if you think that I am not most intensely anxious to heal the dissension that has arisen in our body. There is no practicable sacrifice that I would not make for the purpose of reconciliation. I would consent to any personal disgrace or ignominy for that purpose. I would suffer any infliction for that purpose. I would consent that the seceders should spit in my face instead of shaking hands, for that purpose. Do not, my ever venerated and loved Lord, doubt my perfect sincerity. But there are things which I cannot do, and which you are certainly the last man living to advise me to do, namely, to sacrifice principle and to risk and put in jeopardy the liberties and even the lives of all the members of the Association.

The point hinges upon this. We, the sincere Repealers, have placed the basis of our exertions on this: the carrying the Repeal by peaceable, legal and constitutional means and by *none other*. The seceders, on the contrary, insist that, in case we do not succeed by peaceable and legal means, we should reserve to ourselves the use in any favourable opportunity of the sword.

Now, my venerated Lord, I solemnly, as a lawyer of many years' standing, assure your Lordship, with the most perfect truth, that the plan of the seceders would, if we were to accede to or even tolerate it in the Association, involve every member of the Association, including your Lordship, in the guilt of high treason.

I do not, my dearest Lord, deceive you — I am incapable of doing it — and I most emphatically tell you that, if we were tomorrow to

admit the seceders upon their own principles, we should either dissolve the Association or render ourselves, in point of law, liable to at least imprisonment with the greatest risk of incurring actual execution on a scaffold.

I now, my venerated Lord, conjure you to withdraw your letter and not to require it to be read in the Association. If I were in your presence, I would go on my knees to ask this favour. I do pray you not to refuse me.

Such a letter, coming from you and making light of the difference between us and the seceders, would be considered by the public and made use of by the seceders as an approval of their physical-force principles; as an approval, in short, of the illegality and treasonable nature of their principles.

I know full well that no man living would be farther than you, my Lord, from intentionally giving the slightest sanction to the doctrines of the seceders.

I have received much and many acts of kindness from your Lordship. No man can revere you more than I do. In one thing alone can I compete with your Lordship, and that is, in the knowledge of law; and I solemnly assure you as a lawyer, that allowing the seceders to return to the Association without disavowing physical force, would involve us all in the guilt, and many of us in the punishment, of treason.

Permit me, then, my dear Lord, once more to ask you to withdraw your letter. I shall not call at the Post Office for the £3 until I hear from you again.

SOURCE: Dromore Diocesan Archives.

- 1 This letter is written by another and signed by O'Connell.
- 2 O'Connell read a letter from Blake to the Repeal Association on 23 November. This was, however, dated 22 (not 20) November and may have been an amended form of the earlier letter. Blake's subscription to the Association for 1847 accompanied the letter. In it he said: 'I have no doubt that you [O'Connell] will endeavour, by your advice and by your influence, as far as you can, consistently with just principles to heal those dissensions which distract, and afflict, and strike with dismay, the public mind; and I hope that all sincere Repealers — and they are still very many, *even among the seceders* — will, . . . meet your efforts for reconciliation as acts of condescension on your part, and when re-entered into Conciliation Hall, will not only adhere inviolably to your peaceable course . . . but will also strenuously . . . second your glorious efforts.' O'Connell praised Blake highly and moved that the letter be inserted on the minutes (*F.J.*, 24 Nov. 1846). The *Nation* published this letter prominently with an editorial comment to the effect that had it come from anyone else it would have been suppressed. It claimed it as a vindication of the Young Ireland position (*Nation*, 28 Nov. 1846).

3341

To his son Maurice¹

Merrion Square, 21 November 1846

My dearest Maurice,

Soon after I got your letter today I went to the Board of Works, and enquired whether there was any order sent to your districts to disemploy anybody having one cow. I was assured there was no such order sent, that the only order was to disemploy persons rated to the Poor Rates and even such persons were not to be disemployed if they could make out a special case of want; and surely everybody can make out a case of want unless those that are rich indeed. So I think there's no cause to be uneasy.

I was told at the Board of Works that at least one of the lists you sent me was ordered to be put in operation immediately. Do you want anything else? If you do, send me a list on a separate side of paper that I may detach it and send it in your handwriting to the Board.

I am afraid some mistake has occurred about the Cahirciveen town works; if so, send me a fresh list, and I think I'll get it passed.

I enclose you the list of your bills, amounting to near £2,000. I want the remaining list so that I may have all before me at one view. . . I hope and trust that you never will again accept a bill without letting me know it while I live. Let me know when the sloop actually sails. I think I'll send to Derrynane by her some tons of Indian meal which I expect to get at £10 a ton. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

1 Written by another, signed by O'Connell.

3342

From his son Maurice to Merrion Square

Derrynane, 22 November 1846

My dearest father,

Leonard,¹ who had been engaged on the works in the eastern part of the barony for these two or three days back, returned hither this afternoon. He brought no listings of any more works having been sanctioned. The people are getting impatient at being kept so long idle, particularly those about Loher and Ardkeanga. I sent you a week since a list of the works on your property which passed the

Presentment Sessions at Sneem and had hoped to have heard ere now that they had been ordered. . . .

[P.S.] The hounds for the Surgeon General² shall be sent to Cork in the course of the week.

SOURCE : O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Probably a board of works official.
- 2 Sir Philip Crampton.

3343

To Archbishop Slattery

Merrion Square, 24 November 1846

My revered Lord,

I am sure your Grace will pardon my not answering your respected letter when I tell you the cause. It was occasioned by the illness of my clerk¹ which prevented my being able to have this honour sooner.

I am now however able to comply with your Grace's request and accordingly I have the honour to transmit with this letter copies of the three petitions agreed to at the recent meeting of Catholic Prelates of Ireland.²

SOURCE : Cashel Diocesan Archives

- 1 John P. Slevin.
- 2 The three petitions concerned respectively, the charitable bequests act, the safeguarding of Catholic clergy celebrating 'mixed' marriages and giving regular clergy the same legal rights as secular clergy. O'Connell presented the first to the Commons on 2 February and John O'Connell presented the other two on 19 February (*DEP*, 4, 23 Feb. 1847).

3344

From Caleb Powell

Clonshavoy, Castleconnell, [Co. Limerick], 24 November 1846

Private

My dear Mr. O'Connell,

I can assure you it would be of the greatest advantage to the public

that our friend John Devitt should be selected for the office of stipendiary magistrate¹ and I have urged to Mr. Labouchere his appointment as much from regard for the public service as from personal friendship towards him.

Having cooperated with Devitt for several years as a justice of the peace for the County of Limerick I can confidently affirm his qualifications to be the protector of the poorer classes and the promoter of social order by the moral influence of the laws impartially administered. It would afford me the highest gratification if my recommendation could be made available with the Executive in his behalf.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Devitt did not obtain the appointment.

3345

From Rev. Michael Comyn,¹ to Merrion Square

Kilkee [Co. Clare], 26 November 1846

My Dear Mr. O'Connell,

Your compliance with the request of my friend Mr. Blackall to procure him a situation in the Customs will confer an obligation on me I shall never forget. He and his family are and have been strenuous supporters of your wise and Christian policy, and though a young man himself and strongly prompted by different influences to join the Young Ireland party, to my knowledge he has firmly resisted solicitation with a manly declaration he would forever adhere to the old and experienced *pilot* who for fifty years has so successfully braved both the battle and the breeze. In no part of Ireland have your adherents been so persecuted by the opponents of your present and past policy than here. . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Rev. Michael Comyn (or Cummins), (died 27 Oct. 1854), P.P. Kilkee, 1845-54.

3346

From Rev. M. Burke P.P., Clonmel, to Dublin

Clonmel [Co. Tipperary], 27 November 1846

My dear Liberator,

I send you £20 Repeal Rent to hand in on Monday, also a letter to be read if you think fit to have it read. It is long: I did not perceive its length until I had it finished.¹ My zeal to sustain you and check the Young Irelanders has inclined me to write it. I could not expect to subject you to the trouble of reading it. You can get Mr. Ray to do so if you think that [it] is of any service to the cause.

[P.S.] . . .

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 O'Connell read Burke's letter, dated 27 November, at the meeting of the Repeal Association on 30 November. The letter, which was very long, described the Young Irelanders as sincere but misguided, and argued that they could never hope to obtain any significant degree of support (*FJ*, 1 Dec. 1846).

3347

From Bishop George J.P. Browne,¹ Athlone, 27 November 1846

Seeks one of the first vacancies of county chairman (assistant barrister) for Daniel McDermott.² 'He is the son-in-law of one of my oldest and dearest friends, Patrick Dockry Esq. of Carrick-on-Shannon'. The bishop describes O'Connell as 'the father of our country'.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Rev. George Joseph Plunkett Browne (c. 1790-1858), consecrated bishop of Galway, 1831; translated to Elphin, 1844.
- 2 Daniel McDermott, called to the bar 1827. He was not appointed an assistant barrister but in 1847 was appointed secretary to the board of charitable bequests.

3348

From Henry Labouchere

Dublin Castle, 28 November 1846

Private

My dear Sir,

I understand that the petitions¹ lately agreed upon by the bishops for alterations in the Bequests Act and on some other subjects have been placed in your hands. If you see no objection to it, I should be very much obliged to you if you would let me have copies of them. Should they be long, if you would lend them to me I could have them copied here by my private secretary and returned to you without delay.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 See letter 3343 n2.

3349

From Thomas Mason, 32 Marlboro Street, Cork, 2 December 1846

Sends account of wine sent to Derrynane. 'I was never more particular than I was in the selection of the sherry, burgundy and hock.' Says that O'Connell's acceptance of a bill of exchange at three months will suffice.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3350

From Joseph Cartin, Dundalk, Co. Louth, 4 December 1846

Asks O'Connell to use his influence to obtain for Daniel Molony the post of paymaster of police for the Dundalk district,¹ made vacant by the death of Capt. Robinson.² Enclosed is the request for same signed by eleven persons, paying tribute to Molony's ability.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

1 That is, paymaster of constabulary for Co. Louth. Molony did not

- obtain the appointment.
2 Robert Robinson.

3351

*From Rev. E. McGaver,¹ Carrickedmond, Toshinny, Co. Longford,
4 December 1846*

Asks that Francis I. Davys, J.P.² for Co. Longford, 'of nice property but embarrassed and highly educated', be appointed a resident magistrate. He is the brother of Rev. Richard Davys of Co. Longford who acted for several years as secretary to the Longford County Liberal Club and built up the independent interest which had been weak, and who then went to America to collect money for the Ardagh cathedral and is now dead. Col. Henry White, M.P. is supporting the application vigorously and it has the backing of the bishop, Dr. Higgins, and the clergy of the county.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Rev. Edward McGaver.
2 Francis I. Davys, J.P., Clonbonny, Lanesboro, Co. Longford; appointed resident magistrate for Clare in 1847.

3352

From J. Walshe¹ to Merrion Square

7 Hume St. [Dublin], 4 December 1846

My Dr Sir,

I enclose the draft of my letter to the Lord Chancellor.² If *Ireland* require resident landlords the refusal of Lord Lucan³ to recommend my son⁴ to the commission of the peace is not the way to make Ireland happy. . . . You will oblige by adding or altering as you were so kind to say you would take interest in a young fellow[s] movements.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 John Walshe, attorney. His son was not appointed to the commission of the peace for Co. Mayo.
2 Maziere Brady.
3 George Charles (Bingham), third earl of Lucan (1800-1877), Lawn House, Castlebar. Lord lieutenant, Co. Mayo from 1845. See *DNB*.
4 John Walshe, Jr., Castlehill, Crossmolina, Co. Mayo. He was appointed a J.P. but probably not until 1850 since he is listed as such in *Thom's Irish Almanac* only from 1851.

To his son Maurice

Merrion Square 5 December 1846

My dearest Maurice,

As to Finn's account get a copy of it. Compare the dates. If there be any part of it not included in Primrose's charges, that must be paid. But, if Primrose has been enabled to charge me with any part of the account by Finn's trafficking in bills with him, that I am not bound to pay.

I send by this post to John Lynch¹ of Tralee £50 for the Relief Committee. I send this money in your name, that is, for you.² I send you enclosed a copy of the list of works about Jermyn's³, and Mr. Mulvany's⁴ letter explanatory of the result. See whether he has stated the facts accurately.

I think you may dismiss from your mind all idea of the Drainage Presentment, at least until the approach of summer.

If I knew what quantity of breadstuff you have ordered by the sloop, if any, I could carry out an arrangement I made today with Sir Randolph Routh to get Indian corn transmitted from Kilrush to you at Cahirciveen. But your omitting to send me a copy of the list of articles you sent to Cork for the cargo of the sloop, disturbs any arrangement of mine and the sloop cannot sail from Cork until I hear from Tom Fitzgerald.

In my last letter I gave you leave to purchase a ton or two either from Eugene O'Sullivan or at Cahirciveen. Do not do so unless necessary.

I wish you to be as abundant to the people as you possibly can, recollecting however that we have dreadful times before us.

P.S. Take care to have a look out before you [?decide] to have a renewed special sessions for increased works before the present presented works are approaching at all to be exhausted. Consult with Stokes⁵ immediately upon this point.

You know what terrible thing it would be to have the labour cease during the present times.⁶

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 John Lynch, Bridge Place, Tralee, chairman of the poor law guardians.
- 2 The *Kerry Evening Post* of 9 December 1846 reported that on 7 December John Lynch 'handed in £50, a subscription from Maurice O'Connell, Esq., M.P., making in all £100 subscribed by him to the funds of the Relief Committee of this district [Tralee]. Mr. Lynch stated also that Mr. O'Connell had contributed £100 to the lighting of this town.'

- 3 The Jermyn family lived at Scart, Castlecove, about five miles to the east of Derrynane.
- 4 William T. Mulvany, comissioner of public works, Customs House, Dublin.
- 5 Probably Henry Stokes, Kerry county surveyor.
- 6 Written by another, signed by O'Connell.

3354

*To his son Maurice*¹

Merrion Square, Saturday, 5 December 1846

My dearest Maurice,

I have just this moment got a letter from Tom Fitzgerald. There is no Indian corn in Cork. I have directed the sloop to sail as speedily as possible.

I will arrange to have at least ten tons of Indian meal sent to you from Kilrush as speedily as possible.

P.S. You need not send me a list of the articles: I got it from Tom Fitzgerald. There are no granes [*sic*] (for the dogs) to be had in Cork.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 Written by another and signed by O'Connell.

3355

From Sir Randolph Routh

The Castle, 7 December 1846

Sir,

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day and to acquaint you that agreeably to our arrangment (as I understood it), instructions were sent down to Commissary General Hewetson on Saturday last to hold a supply of ten tons of Indian corn meal at your order deliverable at Kilrush at the current price and I have also desired that officer to take steps to forward this quantity to Cahirciveen.

The payment should therefore be made by your son to Mr. Hewetson.

I am sorry to add that you must have mistaken me in the price you quote. Even at Cork the price of Indian corn had risen on Saturday to £17 per ton and I do not believe there is more than 4,000 ton in

that market.

The cargoes that are arriving are many of them damaged by the late boisterous weather.

Mr. Hewetson has orders to afford to you all facility in the business and your son will do well to put himself in communication with him.

His address is Commissary General Hewetson, Limerick.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3356

From Sir Randolph Routh

Dublin Castle, 8 December 1846

Sir Randolph Routh presents his compliments to Mr. O'Connell and begs to communicate to him the following extract of a letter from the Admiral¹ dated 6th instant. 'I shall have much pleasure in meeting Mr. O'Connell's wishes in sending round supplies if he will furnish me with the necessary particulars. The *Lucifer* in returning with the *Andromeda's*² rudder to Valentia takes round ten tons of meal for the Knight of Kerry and there would be room left for 20 tons without delay to the service.'

If Mr. O'Connell on any future occasion or even for his present purposes should desire to avail himself of this opportunity it is in his power to do so but in either case the orders to Commissary-General Hewetson continue in force who waits Mr. O'Connell's application to act.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 Rear-admiral Sir Hugh Pigot, Kt. (died 1857), commander-in-chief on the Cork station, 1844-47. See *Boase*.
- 2 The *Lucifer* and *Andromeda* were ships of the Royal Navy.

3357

From the Maitland Committee, Maitland, New South Wales, 8 December 1846, to Merrion Square

The Maitland Committee, formed at a meeting in the town of Maitland, protests against the renewal of the system of penal transportation from Britain to New South Wales which has recently been recommended by a committee of the New South Wales

Legislative Council. Protest meetings have been held in the colony to petition the queen not to sanction the renewal. 'We are not aware of your opinions on the transportation question but we know that you have always stood forward as the champion of equal rights and equal justice to all parts of the British Empire; and we therefore ask with confidence for your aid on this occasion.'

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

3358

To Unknown, 9 December 1846 from Merrion Square

Recommends Daniel Molony of Dundalk for a position. Refers to Molony's 'eminent utility in preventing the borough of Dundalk from falling into the hands of the Tories.'

SOURCE: Property of Gerald P. Lynch

3359

Public letter to Thomas O'Hagan, published in the *Pilot* 9 December 1846. Withdrawn.

3360

Public letter dated 9 December 1846 to Rev. John Miley published in the *Freeman's Journal* 15 December 1846. Withdrawn.

3361

To Frederick W. Conway

Draft

Merrion Square, 10 December 1846

My dear Conway,

I cannot allow your publication¹ of this date to pass without earnestly entreating of you to make use of your extensive circulation to arouse the fears and excite the attention of the resident landed

proprietors of Ireland. They are by no means sufficiently alive to the horrible state of the country.

You should impress upon their minds that we are only at the beginning of our calamities. Their commencement is full of horrors, and the worst is that every fact proves the daily augmentation of the most frightful evils.

A NATION, it is starving. If there be any exceptions, they are so few and so far between that they are not worth mentioning or being noticed. I repeat, the nation is starving, and to the all-prevalent famine is now superadded dysentery and typhus in their worst shapes. Nothing can be more appalling than the spread of these diseases. The typhus is setting in in its worst shape. It begins with total prostration of strength, and no stimulants are sufficiently powerful to rouse the latent energy of the frame, and death comes on with the greatest rapidity.

What is to be done? What is to be done? The famine will not reach the houses of the gentry but the pestilence assuredly will. Of course it will be met in those houses with greater strength and energy but its ravages may be still frightful. I do not wish to create any unnecessary alarm but it is impossible [*sic*] to see, that if the disease progresses, no class will be safe from its dire effects.

Am I not therefore warranted in calling upon the landed proprietors of Ireland to meet, to consult, to deliberate upon what is to be done? [draft of letter unfinished].

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 The *Dublin Evening Post*. This letter was not published and apparently not sent since the draft has the note, 'Part intended letter to D. Evg. Post,' written in the hand of O'Connell's clerk, John P. Slevin.

3362

To his son Maurice

Merrion Square, 10 December 1846

My dearest Maurice,

I am delighted to get your letter today for you had frightened me.

You have got the Indian corn of course before now.

Do you take care to have the men at the sea wall paid regularly? Surely you know that the Board of Works are to pay them up to the extent of £400. The accounts, you know, must be kept with the utmost regularity. State in your next letter how much has been paid by the Pay Clerk of the Board of Works for that job.

Of course, you should get as much money as you possibly can for corn and bread. If it were nothing else but to help you to pay off the rascally bills. But I know you will not be harsh to the people.¹

Polly² is a great deal better, and is taking the air at present.³

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

- 1 At this time the *Kerry Examiner* praised the efforts of Maurice O'Connell 'in providing for the wants of the tenantry upon his father's estates, and the poor of the adjoining neighbourhood', and held him up as an example to other landlords (*FJ*, 14 Dec. 1846, quoting *Kerry Examiner*).
- 2 Unidentified.
- 3 This letter is written by another and signed by O'Connell.

3363

From Sir Randolph Routh to Dublin¹

Dublin Castle, 10 December 1846

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date and to acquaint you that orders were dispatched to Commissary-General Hewetson to give every attention to your business and to forward your supplies at all possible speed.

I am sorry to acquaint you that a large concourse of people amounting to about 1,000 assembled round the commissariat depot at Cahirciveen, breaking partly through one of the windows but were finally induced to desist from further violence at the instance of the committee by whom a distribution of biscuit and meal was made to them.²

I regret that it is not in my power to make to you a sale of the biscuit in store³ at Cahirciveen but I think such a measure is not now wanting as directions have already been transmitted to Cahirciveen to open that depot for sale one or two days in each week which I trust will meet your object.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13649

- 1 This letter is printed (with some unimportant inaccuracies) in *Parl. Papers*, 1847, LI, 422 but is indexed erroneously as addressed to Maurice O'Connell.
- 2 The *Kerry Evening Post* of 9 December 1846 described this event. On 19 December three men were charged at Cahirciveen petty sessions with inciting the people to break into the depot. They were tried by Maurice O'Connell as chairman and two other magistrates. The cases against two of the defendants were dismissed and that against the third seems to have been adjourned (*Kerry Evening Post*, 23 Dec. 1846).

- 3 O'Connell's offer was rejected in London by Charles Edward Trevelyan, assistant-secretary to the treasury, who informed Routh that 'Mr. O'Connell's proposition to buy the whole of our depot of Cahirciveen, although perfectly well meant, is of course totally inadmissible' (Trevelyan to Routh, 12 Dec. 1846, *Parl. Papers*, 1847, LI, 366).

3364

From his son Maurice

Cahirciveen, 11 December 1846

[draft]

My dearest father,

I received your letter this morning announcing that you had paid for the corn to Mr. Hewetson, and I write him by this post as you desired. I have written to you several times during the last week. It is not my fault if you have not been fully advised of everything occurring in the district. I trust you have received my letters ere now.

The Commissary-General has ordered a military [*space left blank for about one word*] for the protection of the stores so that the application to Labouchere will be unnecessary. An additional police force has also arrived, which however came last and cannot be left here long. There are some uneasy spirits in the town but, though everyone complains, I cannot get any person who will lodge the proper informations to enable me to arrest them.

I do not at present think it necessary to purchase any of the Depot provisions. The Committee have purchased a quantity thereof which are on sale in the town and which will keep things going until our supply arrives, which I will distribute *solely among the tenants*. I have *not* taken any meal from Eugene¹ and do not anticipate the necessity thereof as I could supply myself cheaper at the Depot.

There are three months' provisions of Indian meal, wheatmeal etc. in the hands of the shopkeepers of the town. "Private Enterprise" however is keeping the price of its goods up to £20 per ton so that that stock is not very likely to be diminished while the Committee can supply the commodity at £18 as we propose to do.

Barry has gone to Cork to purchase a fresh supply of corn — if not to be had there, he goes to Liverpool. His conduct is beyond *all praise* as he certainly could have commanded £17 or £18 per ton for his meal which he sold at £15. *This* sum however left him a fair profit but the temptation to a greater was resisted.

Betsey was, as Jerry O'Connor² said, 'the same way'³ on the day I left Derrynane (Wednesday). I have not heard from thence since. As I return today I will report you on her state. I wish to God Nugent saw her. I shall have to spend the greater part of *next week here*.

We have heard nothing as yet about the works presented for in this village, touching which I wrote you before. If ordered, they would employ the town population, the most needy and the most of the population. Also, roads through the Dromquiny property at Lacka and Letter⁴ (in South Dunkerron) have not been sanctioned as yet. They are *most necessary* and would employ a very poor and large population. Want is very great in that neighbourhood. A poor woman, wife of a cottier on Denis Mahony's⁵ property, has died of starvation. The roads I mention would absorb all the needy in that vicinity.

I will send you by tomorrow's post a copy of a paper I got from the engineer *here* showing the state of the works in this barony (Iveragh). There is work enough until *March* in some districts but, about the town, they are approaching completion or exhaustion of the money rapidly. The improvement of the streets of the town, as presented for, would furnish a supply of work until late in February at the least.

All goes right on the works near Derrynane and I think that district will be a model to others. Leonard is a very intelligent fellow, good-natured and anxious to give satisfaction and, above all, not too important to take advice.

There is another Pay Clerk to be appointed for Iveragh. Richard Spottswood⁶ is a candidate and I beg, if you *should* be referred to, to give him a good word. If you could recommend his appointment, he thinks it would secure it.

Dr. Blennerhassett⁷ has written to me about the memorial of the Tralee Town Commissioners which I sent to John Slevin before his illness. They have only to the 1st January to provide the money. Pray dispatch their papers as soon as you can.

[P.S.] You need not be alarmed about my health. I am worked a good deal but I take every possible precaution, and temperance is my *sheet anchor*. Kiss my little girls for me.

SOURCE: O'Connell Papers, NLI 13645

1 Eugene O'Sullivan.

2 Jeremiah O'Connor of Brandonwell, Tralee, described as a 'tithe martyr'. He campaigned for Maurice O'Connell in the general election of January 1835. He farmed 120 acres.

3 O'Connell's daughter Betsey Ffrench was suffering from a serious emotional disturbance.

4 Lacka and Letter were townlands on the McSwiney property at

- 5 Drumquinna, Kenmare, Co. Kerry which O'Connell had purchased. Rev. Denis Mahony, J.P. (c.1796-1851), Dromore Castle, Kenmare, Co. Kerry. Church of Ireland curate of Templenoe, Kenmare, 1825-6; married as his first wife in 1827 Lucinda Catherine, only child of John Segerson of Westcove, Sneem, Co. Kerry.
- 6 Probably, Richard Spotswood, (died 27 January 1877) third son of Captain John Spotswood of Valentia.
- 7 Henry Blennerhassett, M.D., Strand Street, Tralee, chairman of Tralee town commissioners.

3365

From James Haughton

Committee Room, *Nation* Office, 15 December 1846

My dear Mr. O'Connell,

I am requested to inform you that, at a meeting of the Seceders held this day as above, the following gentlemen — Mr. Duffy, Mr. Dillon,¹ Mr. O'Gorman and myself — were appointed as a deputation to wait upon you and represent the feelings of the meeting. We shall be happy if you can appoint any hour this day to meet us.²

SOURCE: Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four Years of Irish History 1845-1849*, 344n.

- 1 John Blake Dillon (1816-1866), the celebrated Young Irelander. Son of Luke Dillon, Co. Mayo; educated Trinity College Dublin; called to the bar, 1841; joint founder of the *Nation* newspaper, 1842; took part in insurrection of 1848; M.P. for Co. Tipperary, 1865-66. See *DNB*.
- 2 In the Repeal Association on 7 December O'Connell suggested that a conference be held, representative of both sides, to consider a reconciliation between the Association and the Young Irelanders (*FJ*, 8 Dec. 1846). This suggestion produced the above letter. The conference, which took place on 15 December, did not lead to a reconciliation.

3366

To Archbishop MacHale

Merrion Square, 24 December 1846

My ever-revered Lord,

I have not as yet had any reply from Mr. Redington. I write, however, to say that as far as my opinion goes, I should much approve of the idea your Grace has thrown out of writing yourself to

that gentleman. It would be the mode most likely to contribute to success.¹

SOURCE : Cusack, *Liberator*, 746

1 Probably on famine relief.

3367

To Archbishop MacHale

Merrion Square, 26 December 1846

My revered Lord,

I have this moment received the enclosed private note from the Lord Lieutenant. I know that no secrecy is violated in allowing you to read it. Besides, I wish that you should have the satisfaction of knowing how promptly his Excellency has taken up your complaint.

I have but one moment to write and therefore only request of your Grace to return me the enclosed as soon as you have read it.

SOURCE : Cusack, *Liberator*, 746

3368

From Lord Bessborough

Viceregal Lodge [Dublin], 26 December [1846]

My dear Sir,

I return Dr. McHale's letter and I have desired that Sir John Burke may be requested to give an explanation of the circumstances complained of relative to the appointment of a chairman to the Relief Committee.

The government have not interfered in these appointments as they have been left with the Lieutenant of the County, and those bodies are constituted under a general circular to Lieutenants and Vice-Lieutenants of Counties. I am very sorry this difference has occurred and should be very glad if it was in my power to remedy it.

You will perhaps think it well to mention this to the Archbishop as anything that comes from him must be entitled to the best consideration that I can give it.

SOURCE : FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 398-9.

3369

From Sir Randolph Routh

The Castle, Dublin, 11 January 1847

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure of your letter this morning and I beg to acquaint you that I send down the necessary orders for the sale of the 10 tons of meal deliverable at Cahirciveen to your son Mr. Maurice O'Connell agreeable to your wish.

As I am writing to you I take the liberty of suggesting to you when you go to England to purchase as an experiment a few cwt. of the following seed:

10 lb. p: acre Long Altringham carrot, giving the largest produce of any other, good for the table as well as agricultural purposes. May be used in July as a vegetable.

Hollow Crown parsnip . . . 8 at 10 lbs. per acre. Best to be left in the ground till autumn.

The above should be sown in March and the price is usually about £8 or eight guineas the cwt, and would be a fair charge upon the relief fund.

Your example would be of the highest value.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

3370

To his son Maurice, Derrynane¹

Merrion Square, 13 January 1847

My dearest Maurice,

I enclose you a letter from Sir Randal [*sic*] Routh about the ten tons of Indian meal in Cahirciveen. It will enable you to deal with the tenants as you can give them their own time for payment of the meal provided they pay the half-years's rent. You know you must feed my staff, huntsmen and [Mc] Crohan.

What demand has been made for the price of the ten ton of oatmeal? If necessary borrow the money from Barry and draw upon me 3 days sight. In haste.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Written by another, signed by O'Connell.

3370a

To Maziere Brady

Merrion Square, 19 January 1847

My Lord,

I am literally ashamed of giving you so much trouble on account of my young friend Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell; but the truth simply is, that I feel a subdued indignation at the manner in which Lord Bandon has permitted himself to treat this young gentleman.

I beg leave most respectfully to solicit your Lordship, when you have leisure, to peruse the documents which I send:

No. 1. Copy letter to Mr. O'Connell

No. 2. Mr. Paul Kingston's¹ Declaration

No. 3. Mr. John O'Connell's² Declaration

No. 4. Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell's Declaration

No. 5. Certificate of Magistrates

I think it best not to encumber your Lordship with any more documents, indeed I fear I have been too troublesome in that respect. However I deem these necessary to demonstrate that Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell was never in any retail trade whatsoever, nor concerned with any retail, and that nothing can be more unfair than the alleging that the payments made for his father (on account of oatmeal imported by the Relief Committee) to Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell, had any thing whatsoever to do with any kind of retail trade.

I restrain myself from troubling your Lordship at any greater length. I have trespassed too much already, nor should I have persevered so long, if I were not able most conscientiously to pledge myself to the perfect fitness of my young friend to the commission of the peace.

Awaiting your Lordship's final decision with respectful acquiescence.³

SOURCE: David Feldman Ltd.

1 Paul Kingston, miller and corn and flour dealer, Bantry, Co. Cork.

2 John O'Connell, corn and flour dealer, the Quay, Bantry, Co. Cork.

3 Jeremiah O'Connell was not made a justice of the peace.

3371

To Maziere Brady

Merrion Square, 22 January 1847

My Lord,

I spoke to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant¹ on the subject of the Magistracy of Dublin and the propriety, if not necessity, of augmenting the number of Magistrates and of taking care to give to the hitherto excluded class some approach to equalisation. His Excellency was pleased to direct that I should communicate with your Lordship on the subject and to authorise me to say that he had given me such direction. I therefore feel warranted in at once calling your lordship's attention to the matter.

The state of the Magistracy of the City of Dublin is this: excluding from our consideration four Magistrates recently appointed by your Lordship, of whom two are Protestants and two Catholics, there are twenty-six persons holding the commission of the peace in the City of Dublin. Of these no less than twenty-three are Protestants, and of the three Catholics² they are not all gentlemen who sympathise with their co-religionists.

I respectfully submit to your Lordship the propriety of a prompt measure to remedy this grievance.

In order to do so I with all deference refer to your consideration the names of twenty-one gentlemen all of whom are in that station of life and independence of circumstances, as well as of that character and conduct, as fully to justify their holding the commission of the peace. Of these, sixteen are Catholics and five Protestants, and I have not included any one in the list but a gentleman whose appointment to the Magistracy would do credit to the Government.

This inequality of the Magistrates is an evil which requires remedy, and the more especially as the Magistrates have such great powers of appointing guardians under the poor laws and of controlling the guardians elected by the ratepayers.

Whatever decision your Lordship shall come to I am ready beforehand to believe will be the right one.³

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 400-1

1 Lord Bessborough.

2 John Ennis, Sir John Power, Bart. and Stephen Grehan.

3 A comparison of the Dublin directories for 1847 and 1848 suggests that O'Connell's letter was effective. In addition to the four just appointed nine magistrates were appointed during 1847. All or nearly all of them were Catholics.

3372

To his son Maurice, Derrynane¹

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, 2 February, 1847
My dearest Maurice,

I can't consent to your accepting the bill you mention. It will injure you to have your name upon so many bills. I wish I could live to see the day when your name was not upon a single bill.

I am sincerely sorry that there should be any difference of opinion between you and Stokes. A word from him privately given might do a great deal of mischief without any opportunity of remedying it. Get friends with him as soon as you possibly can.

Your order for £200 has been just presented. I have referred it back to Dublin where I left with Morgan a cheque for the amount. Write instantly to Morgan and to the manager of the National Bank in Dublin about the cheque I left for the purpose of paying your draft.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Written by another, signed by O'Connell.

3373

To P.V. FitzPatrick

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London 8 February 1847
My dear FitzPatrick,

You have enclosed £5 cheque. Be so kind as to distribute the money thus: £2 to St. Vincent [de] Paul's Society, and £2.12.0 — being a shilling a week — my annual subscription, to the Society for *the Propagation of the Faith*. And give the remaining 8s. as a separate donation from 'Anonymous' for the same charity.

I dare say you have heard of Jack Nugent or seen him. He left me in good spirits but my stomach has been a good deal affected since. It however has not lessened my strength, blessed be the holy will of God.

There is nothing in the nature of news. The prospects are dismal. At a period when the Parliament could not do half enough for Ireland it is not disposed to do half as much as it can. There's every reason to despond of anything like efficient succour.

If it be in my power I shall say a few words this evening.¹

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 402-3

- 1 O'Connell on this evening briefly addressed parliament on the subject of the poor relief (Ireland) bill. He declared that only 'a great national act of charity' could save the lives of a quarter of the Irish population. 'Food must be procured for the people wherever it could be got, and at whatever expense. They ought to use their power generously and magnificently to rescue that country. The Irish at present could do nothing for themselves' (*FJ*, 11 Feb. 1847). This was his last speech in parliament.

3373a

To O'Conor Don

83 Jermyn Street [London], 9 February 1847

My dear O'Conor,

I have just been informed from Dublin that there are several situations there vacant in the "Permit Office". Can I ask you to ascertain the fact for me? And if so, whether I could procure the appointment of a very deserving and worthy client of mine, Mr. Edward Leonard? He is a man of excellent character and quite competent ability; and as the situation is one of no great emolument I should hope I may be able to procure it for him. Will you, my most esteemed friend, give me your kind assistance?

SOURCE: Clonalis Papers

3374

To Pierce Mahony, Stephen's Green Club, Dublin

British Hotel, Jermyn St., London, 11 February 1847

My dear Mahony,

I have had the melancholy affliction of pointing out the futility of the suggestions contained in the document you have now sent me. It is sorrowful to have it produced again, and the very same demands made on me after my repeated assertions that it was not in my power to enter into any such arrangement. This alone is sufficient to show the impossibility of any such arrangement being carried out, namely, that my life is certainly not insurable.

I will not reproach you for writing to me on this subject but as a man of business you ought not to present such a document to me.

However, I repeat I will not reproach you. Unhappily I have neither health nor money to embark in the transaction. I literally cannot do it.

SOURCE: Rathcon Papers

3375

To P.V. FitzPatrick

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, 12 February 1847

My dear Friend,

I thank you for your cheering letter. Do not however deceive yourself. Poor Nugent is so anxious to have me well that he mistakes his wishes for his opinions. May God's holy will be done.

How pleased I should be if I were within the reach of Dr. Miley. But that is idle as I am not strong enough to return to Ireland in such weather as this. However it would be wise of you to be making your arrangements as if you believed me and knew in what a bad state my system is.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 404-5

3376

To P.V. FitzPatrick

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, 16 February 1847

My dear Friend,

How delighted I am to hear of Dr. Miley's kind, kind intention.¹ The moment you receive this letter wait upon him with my most respectful and most affectionate compliments. Make with him whatever arrangements are the most suitable and the most respectful for his coming over here. I would not hurry him but the sooner he finds it his convenience to come, infinitely the better. Take care not to say anything that might induce him to incommode himself but do everything quietly to facilitate his coming and present him with my most affectionate veneration and gratitude.

Of course you will insist upon his accepting the full amount of his expenses on the journey.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 407

1 Of accompanying O'Connell on his journey to Rome.

To P.V. FitzPatrick

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London, 1 March 1847

My dear FitzPatrick,

They deceive themselves, and consequently deceive you, who tell you that I am recovering. God's holy will be done.

I enclose you a cheque for £50 and Conlan's bill.¹ I allocate to my son Dan the proceeds of that transaction, and make him a present of it at once.

I wish there were a schedule made out of my policies of insurance on my life. Bianconi² will assist you as far as the Bank goes, and he is a most clever and intelligent man as well as a most friendly one.

I send you my small keys through the Post Office. The *Flat-headed keys*, two in number, belong to the standing desk at the window in my study. There is another standing desk in my bedchamber which contains information on the same subject. There is a correspondence with a lady³ which you may read yourself because it contains nothing disreputable. Of course, when you have read it, destroy it.

You will find all the papers relative to the insurance by the Pims now equitably invested in Cullinane, and you will find a distinct statement of the amount due to him, leaving a balance of at least £700 in my favour — I should say £900.

How much does John owe you for the house?⁴ Call on Curtis⁵ and get him to send me a power of attorney to sell out another £1,000 stock. My illness is very expensive, and the times are indeed bad. God's holy will be done.

See John Smyth⁶ and find out in whose custody the five policies for £1,000 each are. I hope that after my death the trustee⁷ will not give any trouble.

There is no incumbrance affecting John's property⁸ but my sister's⁹ jointure of £100 a year Irish and two sums, one to Ellen Farrell,¹⁰ the other to Catherine McSwiney,¹¹ not amounting together to £400. You are aware that I have made provisions, by the insurances in the trustee's hands, for the payment of these charges. Perhaps on second thoughts it is better to say nothing to John Smyth till the time arrives.

SOURCE: FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 408-10

1 Accepted by O'Connell for the accommodation of Robert White. O'Connell had eventually to pay the bill, with heavy costs, and lost £600 by the transaction. White pleaded claims upon O'Connell to the same extent as a full set-off. (FitzPatrick, *Corr.*, II, 409n).

2 Charles Bianconi was a director of the National Bank of Ireland, the

bank referred to in this sentence.

- 3 The lady was probably Rose McDowell.
- 4 Gowran Hill, Sandycove, Co. Dublin, which John O'Connell rented from P.V. FitzPatrick.
- 5 Patrick Curtis, insurance agent and member of the stockbroking firm of Curtis and Woodlock, 42 Dame St., Dublin.
- 6 John Smyth, law agent to the Dublin corporation (see letter 2490n1).
- 7 A reference to John O'Connell's marriage settlement, dated 20 February and registered 26 February 1838. Its two trustees were O'Connell's son-in-law, Christopher Fitz-Simon, and John Doherty, merchant, 9 King's Inns Quay and Lower Rathmines Road, Dublin. The five insurance policies, taken out on O'Connell's life, were part of the settlement. O'Connell was obviously referring to Doherty as the trustee likely to make "trouble" since Doherty did, in fact, raise objections later on, in the matter of the marriage settlement (see Patrick Maxwell, solicitor, to Pierce Mahony, 15 August 1849, Rathcon Papers).
- 8 At Drumquinna (also spelled Drumquinny), Kenmare, Co. Kerry.
- 9 Bridget McSwiney.
- 10 Daughter of Myles and Bridget McSwiney and wife of James B. Farrell, sometime county surveyor of Wexford.
- 11 Daughter of Myles and Bridget McSwiney.

SUPPLEMENTARY LETTERS

3378

From Hunting-Cap to No. 75 Dame Street, Dublin

Derrynane, [Thursday] 30 January 1800

Dear Dan,

Last Monday your letter of the 18th arrived here by which I find the terms of the loan¹ were not then settled; from various circumstances it may be presumed they will be as advantageous to the subscribers as any that have been these four years. Nothing but an intemperate competition can prevent it, for commercial people are certainly at present not redundant in superfluous property, and credit is more confined and diffident than usual. As you, having the fund ready, will pay in directly the sum you contract for, the discount you'll obtain for prompt payment you'll add to it, and put in also, except any fraction not amounting to a pound sterling.

The newspapers have communicated the substance of what passed at the Roman Catholic meeting in Dublin the 13th inst.² For me I have always disapproved of what I conceived to be an unwise and intemperate conduct in that body for some years back, whether they assumed the character of the Catholic Convention or of the aggregate or select meeting of the Catholics of Dublin in all their

deliberations. (If their meetings can properly be considered as such) they seem to me totally to have lost sight of what in my humble opinion should be the main object for their consideration and that was, whether it was to the benignant interposition of the executive Government or to the generous and spontaneous liberality of their countrymen who composed the two houses of parliament that they were really beholden for the favours they had received and to which it was, upon sober and rational reflection, they were to look up for a farther extension of them, at a time that Orange Lodges are rapidly spreading through the Kingdom and that the hostile and rancorous spirit that forms and pervades them is so generally known, is it not peculiarly unfortunate that the Catholics of the metropolis would not attend to that consideration, and not deprive themselves and their brethren of the only support and shelter they had — the countenance and kindness of the executive Government — by coming forward in a distinct body and entering into impotent resolutions, which will not strengthen the cause they meant to support, and will leave them friendless and hopeless, but unhappily they have all along been the dupes of designing and insidious men, who under a mask of fellowfeeling and liberal friendship were slyly and assiduously and treacherously urging them on to their ruin, subtly depreciating the favours they received, and artfully holding out objects not attainable at the moment, to excite their impatience and involve them in ill-timed and intemperate measures and demands. With respect to the part you took in that business, had I previously known or suspected it, I would by no means have consented. I know you have a facility of disposition which exposes you to rather an incautious compliance with those you live in habits of friendship with, and I am also aware that professional young men are in general disposed to accede to measures that place them in a conspicuous point of view. In some instances it may be useful, very frequently not. The little temporary attentions it produces soon expire. Popular applause is always always short-lived but the inconveniences may be serious and lasting. In the present case I must earnestly recommend that you keep clear of all farther interference, the part you have taken must have rendered you unacceptable to Government, and it is therefore necessary you should be particularly circumspect and correct with respect to your words and conduct.

Tom Conway³ left this on Thursday the 23rd to join his regiment. He left me directions how to dispose of that money when it came to my hands but I postpone paying it till I hear from you again least he may call upon you and take it up. Should he do so you are to stop from him £1.16.0 he owes me, a guinea for sister Nancy⁴ and 7/7d for old Jenkin.⁵

Captn. O'Connell of Riverstown⁶ mentioned you were to draw money for him and that he would leave in your hands seven guins. he owes me. Take care to stop the seven guineas if you get any money for him. Next Monday will I suppose produce great debates in the House of Commons. Let me hear from you soon and mention when our Kerry assizes are to be.

SOURCE : NLI, MSS 15473

- 1 This could be either a British or an Irish government loan.
- 2 At this meeting O'Connell proposed five resolutions against the Union which were passed unanimously. In his speech he said: 'I know that although exclusive advantages may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish Catholic to seduce him from the sacred duty which he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages as a *sect* which would debase and destroy them as a *people*.' (*DEP*, 14 Jan. 1800). See also letter 444.
- 3 Either Thomas Conway, who received a lieutenancy in 1795 in Conway's (6th) regiment in 'Pitt's Irish Brigade,' or Maj.-Gen. Thomas, Count Conway (see letter 10, note 3).
- 4 Hunting-Cap's sister Anne who married August 1773 Maurice Geoffrey O'Connell of Lative, near Kilkeeveragh, Portmagee, Co. Kerry. He was a granduncle of Charles O'Connell, M.P., son-in-law of O'Connell.
- 5 Probably Jenkin Conway, a cousin of Hunting-Cap's but who is otherwise unidentified.
- 6 John Charles O'Connell. For his identification see letter 443.

3379

To Hunting-Cap, Derrynane, Tralee

19 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin, 21 February 1801
 [early part of letter missing]
 [much on the sale and purchase of lands but too illegible for publication]

I beg you may favor me with precise rules as to my offers but it is perhaps better to reserve that until we meet at Tralee. . . .

I shall be extremely anxious to have the pleasure of seeing you. We shall have the Kerry assizes as usual in spring, in the passion week. . . .

The present singular state of things [? must] assure you that I will take no [? further] part whatsoever in the politics of the Catholics of this City. Public addresses are talked of, but until you [? condone] the contrary I shall remain in the safe [? state of] obscurity. . . .

I got a letter from the General [Count O'Connell]

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

3380

To his wife

Dublin, Monday, 29 November [1802]

[No salutation]

How like a journal I begin the date of my letter, and the fact is that I mean it so, for I will indulge myself this night too in writing to my dearest darling, to the sweetest and most beloved of her sex. . . . Should I not be a little angry with my *best* of girls for desiring me not to write to her when I am hurried by business — as if my first business and my only sweet duty was not to endeavour to please you. Indeed, Mary, it is so. The God of Nature in whose presence we were united, is the witness I call to attest the sincerity of my assertion when I declare that you are my only study. To make you happy, to engage your affections is my only business. . . . [further expressions of affection].

As for the child,¹ darling, I insist on it that it must be a daughter. I *will* have it a daughter. I am the father and can not bear to have it anything but a daughter, a girl like her dear sweet mother, very fair and *cherry* cheeked, *beautiful* fair hair, a saucy nose a little cocked, white teeth very even but a little advanced, thin lips, breath sweeter than all nature. Small person but full in its shapes, and legs exquisitely well formed. There now is exactly the form of the little girl I will have from you. Recollect now, I bespeak just such a one. As for the mind of this little darling, it will copy its mother. I will say to it when the reason begins to expand: 'Resemble your mother. You, my child, have only to unite every amiable and endearing quality and you [will] then be like her. She is modest, she is sweet-tempered, she is most virtuous, she is affectionate, attentive, tender, charitable and therefore she is beloved.' . . . Darling Mary, one of the powerful motives which first attracted me to you was that I saw in you greater capability of every thing that is great and really virtuous

in the extended meaning of that word than any other young woman I met with. Your heart, I am sure, meets mine when I say you feel the conviction that in virtue alone is there any happiness. If we act well we are rewarded; and love is perhaps the first as it is the only reward of those who think as we do. Let us however endeavour to merit that reward by devoting our lives not to the gloomy parts of religion but to its more solid objects — the doing of good. I am running into a kind of sermon, for the fact really is that since our marriage I have grown somewhat more serious on these subjects. I always had a kind of meditative piety but it has grown alive and in some measure. [Be] sure you pray for me, Angel, I cannot tell what pleasure I feel in thus pouring out my mind to you. I have a great delight in thus simply placing my thoughts before you. Darling goodnight.

SOURCE: NLI, MS

I Their first child, Maurice.

3381

From his wife at Carhen to Tralee

Carhen, Friday Night [12 August 1803]

[no salutation]

How highly flattering to me, my dearest love, is the affection and kind attention I experience from all your family here, your dear Father and Mother in particular who seem to vie with each other in giving me proofs of their affection. As for our dear little Maurice,¹ he is already a favourite with all his *acquaintances*. It would please you to see how much he is caressed by his grandfather who regularly pays him a visit early in the morning and at night before he goes to bed, in compliance with his and your mother's wish. I have got a nurse for him as they thought me too delicate to suckle him and that confinement would not agree with me. I parted with my darling with a good deal of regret. He is improved since he came here and is, thank God, mighty well. His battles he fights as well as usual, and at the rate he goes on he will by the time you see him be a stout fellow. The Iveragh air agrees I think, much better than the city air did with him. I assure you they all here say he is grown fat. His nurse only came to him today. She is wife to Jack Darby,² your foster brother, for which reason I preferred her to any other nurse though she does not speak a word of English which to me, you know, is unpleasant but as I have

got her sister-in-law, Moll, to attend also to him I shan't find it so disagreeable as I otherwise would. You can't think what a nice room we have got inside the drawing room, by far the snuggest one in the house. I need not tell you, my darling, how anxious I am for your return. How often do I wish Tralee was less distant from this than it is, for this reason that I would have the happiness of seeing my darling two or three times before his departure for Cork. Those three days, my love, that you will spend in Tralee before the assizes commences you would spend here, were it not for its being such a length of way and so bad a road but as you are well, I am satisfied and look forward to our meeting (in three weeks more) with a great deal of pleasure. I am much afraid I committed [*sic*] a sad mistake by not desiring Thornton send his carriage for you sooner but you won't, I know, be angry with me for it. It was only yesterday on receiving your letter that I recollected your directions were to have the carriage meet you last Wednesday in Limerick instead of its only leaving Tralee on that day. It was, I must own, a very stupid thing of me. John³ will be the bearer of this. He returns tomorrow evening. Remember you will write if you have time. For God's sake try and send me my cloathes, which I wrote to my mother about, and tell her not to forget the cradle for Maurice or his cockades. Get my mother to buy me a yard of yard half wide thin muslin, a cheap kind. Tell her it is for handkerchiefs. Send it to me by John and send me by the post a pair of pattens. Our darling little boy sends you twenty kisses by his uncle with whom he is a very great favourite. Your mother and aunt, the girls and your Father desire their love most affectionately. Kitty⁴ is a very nice girl, very much improved since I saw her last, and your aunt is one of the sweetest women I ever saw. Give my love to my mother, Rick⁵ and the Betseys,⁶ not forgetting Ellen⁷ and the James's.⁸ For the present, my darling, I must bid you adieu with requesting you will take care of yourself. I was very uneasy about your throat until I got your letter, having heard sore throats were rather fatal this some time back.

P.S. Thomas⁹ took the letter to Derrynane as you directed. He went there this morning to see his family.

SOURCE : O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Their infant son Maurice.
- 2 Jack Darby Moran since Moran was the name of the family to whom O'Connell was fostered out.
- 3 O'Connell's brother John.
- 4 O'Connell's sister Kitty.
- 5 Mary O'Connell's brother, Rickard O'Connell.
- 6 Mary O'Connell's sister Betsey, wife of James Connor.

- 7 O'Connell's sister.
 8 Unidentified.
 9 Manservant.

3382

To the Knight of Kerry, Clonmel

"Post Office", Dublin, 6 December 1803

Dear Sir,

My father has directed me to apply to you for liberty to set the *demesne part* of the farm which he holds under you in the Island of Valentia called *Ballyhearney*.¹ He cannot do so without your consent under hand and seal.

This has become the more desirable to him as he now means to quit his residence in Iveragh. But both he and I feel that we have no right to call on you for his accommodation as a matter of favour. I shall therefore propose to you what strike me to be at least adequate terms of satisfaction for the liberty we require. They are — first a direct and solemn pledge on my part not to let the demesne to any person unfit to occupy the house built on it. 2ndly a covenant to lay out fifty pounds now in improvements — and 3rdly a fine of fifty pounds to be paid with the gale next after the letting — or to be allowed out of my father's part of the fines of your College farm² in the Island.

I have also to mention that the executors of the late Mr. Johnston³ claim ninety-five pounds as due to them for houses built and improvements made during your minority — that so much was laid out by them or rather by Mr. Johnston they have already proved — but they certainly have not as yet proved that the entire ought to be repaid to them under their covenants. Now if you should prefer the buying off of this claim to the payment of the fifty pounds I have already offered I shall embrace that part of the alternative.

It really is my wish to make a fair and adequate proposal, and I have not presumed on any offer until I had convinced myself that the terms I mention while they will be — if accepted — useful to my father, cannot be considered as disproportioned to the concession which he seeks.

I have mentioned those terms to Judge Day. He seems to think them reasonable.

- 1 East and West Ballyhearney are townlands on Valentia Island, Co. Kerry.
- 2 Part of the estate held on lease from Trinity College, Dublin.
- 3 Unidentified.

3382a

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, 22 November 1804

My darling love,

Your letter of yesterday has filled me with such anxiety for my poor little boy¹ that I have had the most horrible dreams about the infant all night, and though you know that any thing of that kind is not at all calculated to disturb me yet the thing's occurring will shew you what an impression his situation has made on my mind. Poor babe how my heart bleeds at losing him so early in his days for much indeed do I fear that he will not escape contagion.² If he should still be safe, send him off I entreat by the nurse without delay. Send her and some other careful woman in a carriage and send an express to my nurse to meet them on the way. Do dearest darling if he be able to travel put him at once out of the reach of this fatal disorder. But do not think of stirring yourself until you are quite well. I beg, I entreat, I *order you* not to leave Tralee without the permission of Dr. Connell.³ Surely my heart the women will take every care of the infant, and you are so infinitely more precious that you would commit a crime against the husband that doats of you were you to incur the slightest risk. . . .[expressions of affection].

I am much given to melancholy on *this* subject. In health I am perfectly well. . . . I weep whilst I bid you hug my little baby. May your letters shew that these are vain fears that disturb the heart, the very soul of

Your fond love,
Daniel O'Connell

[P.S.] Segerson⁴ pays £167 for his liberty. Davy⁵ remains to have the costs taxed. I write by him to my father and mother. Davy will take the lace you want.

- 1 Morgan who was born on 31 October 1804
- 2 The disease feared was measles.
- 3 Dr. Rickard O'Connell.
- 4 John Segerson.
- 5 Probably David Fitzgerald, attorney, Tralee.

3382b

To his wife, Tralee

Dublin, [Monday] 10 December 1804

My dearest love,

I got your *measure* yesterday in a letter as affectionate as usual and somewhat enlivened in its style by our approaching meeting. My sweet Mary, how I doat of you and how delightful the endearing effusions of your heart are to mine. I think of you with the softest tenderness and the most *pleasing* affection. I can not tell you how much and how long I amuse myself when we are *thus* separated by thinking of and even talking to you. Certainly my love no woman ever inspired so sincere a passion as you, and no woman ever conferred so much happiness.

I have given your directions to McCarthy¹ and have set him at work; the colour he has chosen as most fashionable is a very dark one, he promises me faithfully to have it ready by Sunday, on which day I do most anxiously hope I shall set out to my love. The only thing that can delay me till Monday is that this damned Carman is only just arrived and he has brought me papers which I must finish before I leave town.[expressions of affection].

Remember heart you are to repay me in kisses for the things I carry you. I will exact the full payment, and there never was a debt discharged with such pleasure to both parties. . . . Hug my little boys for

Your ever fond and faithful
Daniel O'Connell

[P.S.] I am almost *sure* of getting off on Sunday.

SOURCE : NLI, MSS 20739

- 1 Probably Jeremiah McCarthy, the Dublin tailor.

To the Knight of Kerry, Ballinruddery, Listowel

12 January 1808

My Dear Sir,

I am honoured with your letter of the 7th and beg of you to accept not only of my most sincere thanks, but those of the leading Catholics here — all of whom feel much gratitude for your kind attention.

Lord Fingall held another *private* meeting this day. Another will be held on Thursday and again on Saturday. The object is to arrange the plan of proceedings for the public meeting which is fixed for the 19th.¹

There is not a second opinion as to the propriety of petitioning amongst the Catholics of Dublin and its vicinity. I think I may assure you that the petition will be before the house within three weeks after the first day of the Sessions. Very little discussion can take place between us here — I hope there will not be a difference of opinion at the general meeting.

Mr. Grattan is to be called on to present the petition² — on this subject some little difficulty *arose* — the opposition however was but slight. It is indeed said that he will advise a postponement. Lords Grey and Ponsonby³ — Sir John Newport — Mr. Parnell⁴ and others are decidedly in favour of pressing the measure.

Should any obstacle arise with Mr. Grattan we must trespass upon you. Allow me to say that both your talents and your zeal render it impossible for us not to give you this trouble should Mr. Grattan not meet us with his usual cordiality.

Having said this much for others as well as for myself — suffer me to assure you that to preserve your kind opinion will always be a pride to me — and that in every occasion of life you may rely upon my trivial perhaps — but certainly most zealous services — whenever you wish to command them.

I remain, with much respect your most faithful,
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : Knight of Kerry Papers

1 Unidentified.

2 Henry Grattan, supported by the knight of Kerry, presented the Catholic Emancipation petition to the Commons on April 12 (*Hansard*, XI, 32 *et seq.*).

- 3 Probably Rt. Hon. George Ponsonby but possibly John (Ponsonby) (c. 1770-1885), second Baron Ponsonby.
- 4 Henry Brooke Parnell who succeeded as fourth baronet in 1812.

3384

From the Knight of Kerry

Ballynruddery, [Co. Kerry] 21 January 1808

Copy

My Dear Sir,

Since I acknowledged the honour of your former letter I have been once more forced to join my Regiment¹ as an *amende* to my Lord Harrington² for having left quarters [?] without leave. This circumstance has prevented my being in London for the meeting of Parliament, and as I have missed the first day, I shall, now, regulate my Motions by the notice you have been so good as to give me.

You and your friends very much overpay my attention to your commands, in writing to the Speaker,³ whose answer I shall communicate the moment I receive it.

But what is much more serious you greatly overrate my capability of doing any justice to your cause. To be selected (*quanto intervallo!!*) to Mr. Grattan from amongst your representatives must be to my mind a most flattering distinction.⁴ But although I will yield to no man in zeal it would be treachery to your interests not to deprecate the placing of that important trust the Catholic cause in any hands but his — and whilst my devotion prevents [?] me to shrink from any difficulty I would on your account deplore [?] that such an honour [remainder of letter illegible]

SOURCE: Knight of Kerry Papers

- 1 The knight of Kerry was a lieutenant-colonel in the Kerry militia.
- 2 General Charles (Stanhope), third earl of Harrington, commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland 1802-12.
- 3 Charles Abott (1757-1829), speaker of the House of Commons 1802-17. Created 1817 Baron Colchester.
- 4 See letter 3383.

From his wife to Danl. O'Connell Esqr., Barrister, Post Office, Cork

[c. 10 April 1808]

My Dearest Love,

I feel very lonely at not having had a line from you since Wednesday last owing, I know, to the irregularity of the Post from Tralee to Limerick. I dare say I shall have two letters from you on Monday, one of which I ought to have got on this day. It is really a provoking thing at a time like this (when my anxiety to hear so regularly from Tralee) to have the Posts so irregular. Of my dearest Edward¹ I expect to hear but a poor account. May God restore him to us. On his divine Will I place all my confidence, and for the worst I am prepared.

How are you, darling, after all your wrangling, I suppose by this time on your way to Cork where I expect you will make another small fortune. The day I wrote to you last I paid McKenna's² bill and got your acceptance with a receipt on the back of it, and yesterday I paid the Fire Insurance, £3.3.11 for you. So you see, heart, if you are sending me the money how fast I *am disposing* of it again, and how incumbent it is on you to be *prudent* with so large a family to support in Dublin where every article at present is as dear as dear can be. Our babes, are thank God, very well. Were you to see Kate I think you would be greatly delighted. Oh she is a sweet babe, and the exact image of you. Maurice is very good. So indeed is poor Morgan, except at school time. Ellen is really a sweet disposed little creature as ever I saw, and is getting very good. I hope you will send James³ home from Cork. Maurice is continually talking of him. Every night he says he dreams of *him and of you*. Miss Lynch⁴ is greatly pleased with him he is getting on so well with his book though sometimes he tells her he is in a *perspiration* from saying lessons. She then lets him play about for a while, and he returns to his book with great cheerfulness. His great wish is to read before you but Miss Lynch does not wish to let him begin until he knows how to spell, both in book and out of book, very well. Sometimes she indulges him in letting him read some easy lessons in the spelling book, and he is greatly proud of his success. When he is once able to read, I think he will be as fond of his books as you are. His rage for the army still continues yet he sometimes says he will be a lawyer like his Father going circuit with James' son for his servant. He is determined Jenny⁵ must be the wife for James. You would laugh were you to see how he dances with passion when Pat⁶ attempts through fun to play

with Jenny. He says he must keep her for his own James. We are *all* going out in the carriage, the day is so very fine. Kate is just come equipped for the jaunt and looks so sweet. Poor Mrs. Ryan is recovering slowly. I have not seen her but I hear from [? her every] day. I am afraid she will be jealous [? with me] but really I don't like to be seen going [? to the] place she is in. If I could be of any use [? to her] most cheerfully would I go to her. Good [? bye, my] love. I shan't conclude my letter until [? I return] from our airing. We are just returned. [two or three words missing] pleasant day. I called at Nolan's in [one word illegible] Street and bought a pair of blankets prepa [ratory?] to Betsey O'Connell's arrival. At all events we would want them in a few months, and I thought it better to buy them at once.

Maurice desires his love to you. Morgan and he came in this moment together. The former I asked what I should say to you for him. His reply was to bring him a [?] Gun.

Dearest Love, remember me to Aunt Nagle and believe me ever most truly your fond and affectionate.

Mary O'Connell

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Edward O'Connell, Mary O'Connell's brother.
- 2 Arthur McKenna. For identification see letter 154.
- 3 O'Connell's servant.
- 4 The governess.
- 5 Domestic servant.
- 6 Domestic servant.

3386

To Lord Fingall

Merrion Square, 2 March 1810

My Lord,

I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 19th Inst. which I laid before the general committee. I am directed to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed resolution.¹ It is but a small tribute to those exertions to which the Catholics are so much indebted, and for myself I take the liberty of saying that no individual can participate more cordially than I do in the universal sentiment entertained towards your Lordship.

I am further directed to inform you, my Lord, that the Committee requests you will be pleased to entrust our parliamentary advocates with the choice of the time of discussion. The committee is quite convinced that by leaving your Lordship an ample discretion on this head they consult their best interests. For Mr. Grattan it would be impossible to increase that enthusiastic regard entertained by every Irishman for the man who is the hope as well as the pride of his country.

I have the honour to be with the most profound respect My Lord,
Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Daniel O'Connell
Acting Secretary

SOURCE: Fingall Papers, NLI 8023 (11)

- 1 A sheet in O'Connell's handwriting is enclosed in the above letter, and reads as follows: 'At a meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland held at No. 4 Crow Street on the 1st of March 1810, Lord French [ffrench] in the chair, it was unanimously resolved that the earl of Fingall does possess the full and perfect confidence of the Catholics of Ireland. Daniel O'Connell, Acting Secretary. The meeting is not noted in the newspapers.

3387

From his brother James

Derrynane, 18 December 1810

My Dear Dan,

Before this letter reaches Dublin you will have received my letter of the 15th inst. by which you will perceive that I am making every exertion in my power to make you a considerable remittance early in January, and I have no doubt I will be able to do so.

I have also forwarded Sir Rowland Blennerhassett a copy of the receipt you mentioned, and if any thing this *old fox* did could surprise me it would be his having the impudence to deny a payment so lately made, and which I am convinced is regularly entered in his rent book. Heretofore he often acted honestly (because he thought it the best policy) but now that he has arrived at the rank of a baronet I suppose he thinks it unnecessary to ware [*sic*] the mask any longer.

What you say about Kit Moriarty¹ really astonishes me, and I will candidly confess I see the matter in a very different light from what you do. However, I am perfectly aware I am not by any means as well qualified to give an opinion on this or on any other subject as you are. Feeling as I do I think it a duty I owe my sister² to state my objections to her union with Mr. Moriarty. My first and chief objection is on account of his bad state of health which indeed had he even a landed or monied property already realized ought to be serious obstacle to any young girls marrying him, but at present he has nothing but his profession, and should he be prevented by *increase* of bad health from attending to his business, whatever he has heretofore made would be soon consumed, and we would have the vexation of seeing her reduced to the necessity of returning for support to her own family, perhaps with the additional incumbrance of two or three children. Had Moriarty been a strong healthy young man I would agree with you in thinking that there would be a very fair prospect of his coming forward in the world from the support and assistance he would get from us all, were he married to Ally, but on his health alone every thing would depend. And let any person look at the man and he will at once perceive the ravages ill health has made on his delicate frame. In fact he and I have had many conversations on the subject, and the young man candidly admitted that he had been very ill for the last four or five years, and though I do not pretend to any skill in Physick, the odds are ten to one that he will not live five years.

Ally's fortune is certainly very inconsiderable, and I have not myself the means of adding much to it. At present however I would even now most cheerfully give her two hundred pounds provided she was married to any man who I thought would be entitled to her. In the event of my outliving my Uncle Maurice I would give her five hundred pounds which would enable her in addition to her present fortune to live comfortably though she should never marry.

I heard myself when in Dublin last summer that Kit Moriarty made a good deal of money by latitats and that he carried on some low mean traffic with the Hicksons³ of College Green and some other shopkeepers, that he agreed to give them half the profits of any costs he recovered from any person who they employed him to sue. An income made in this way cannot be reckoned on much. Indeed I never heard that he ranked among the respectable men of the profession in this County, and though the young man should be getting into business I do not think until he [remainder of letter published as letter 315].

- 1 Christopher Moriarty seems to have practised as an attorney in Dublin until 1848 and he appears to have been the father of a distinguished scholar, Edward Aubrey Moriarty (see *Boase*). He is noted as unidentified in letter 315, note 2.
- 2 Alicia (Ally) O'Connell. She later married, instead, William Francis Finn.
- 3 John C. Hickson and Robert Hickson, woollen merchants, 26 College Green, Dublin.

3388

To Knight of Kerry, Blackrock

Merrion Square, 31 December 1811

My Dear Sir,

May I ask of you to let me know when I could obtain half an hour of your leisure as I want to talk to you upon public business of a nature rather interesting. I will wait on you at any moment you appoint either at the Rock [Blackrock, Co. Dublin] or in town.

SOURCE: Knight of Kerry Papers

3389

From his brother James

[? January 1812]

My dear Dan,

Enclosed you have three guineas being the amount of my subscription towards the Catholic petition.¹ I have no money of my brother John's in my hands and really do not know where you are at present to look for his subscription. Between ourselves he owes me over £180 which is more than I can well afford to be in *advance* for him.

Indeed, my dear fellow, I have not words to express the gratitude I feel for your kind and affectionate letter. The solicitude you show for the recovery of my health is truly grateful to me as it adds one to

the many proofs you have given of your more than fraternal love for me.

I am, thank God, much recovered for the last six or seven days. I scarce find any return of the pain in my head, my appetite is very good and I sleep very well. I had a letter from Doctor Moriarty the day before yesterday in which he directs me to take a bottle of the Cheltenham waters every second day. He also says that my complaint is a billious one arising from an over secretion of bile, and of course more or less an affection of the liver, and that his wish and advice is that I would try an [? alternative] course of calomel. It will be necessary for Moriarty to come here for a few days while I am taking this though I have a great aversion to taking mercury particularly at this season of the year. However, if I do not feel myself quite well in the course of six or seven days I will send for Moriarty and try what effect it may have on me.

Indeed I would much rather be confined here than in Tralee, and with respect to any advantage I may obtain by having more physicians than one to consult in Tralee, I do not think any thing about that, as my complaint is become so general a one that every regular bred physician knows the mode of treatment in it.

I send my mother by the man that carries this the balance of her Sept. gale £45.17.8 as I paid her £36.2.6 last month. With respect to what you mention about any money she had in her hands at my father's death I believe it did not exceed £16 and she would possibly deny having so much itself so that it is not worth making any [one word illegible] about. I also send Ally² £18.6.3 which will be paying her to the first of December next.

I read the Deed for my Uncle Maurice as he was most anxious to see it, and indeed there was nothing in it we need wish to conceal. He was [remainder of letter missing]

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 Probably the petitions to parliament for Catholic Emancipation in the spring of 1812.
- 2 O'Connell's sister Alicia (Ally).

From Lord Kenmare

Killarney, 1 August 1812

Lord Kenmare presents his compliments to Mr. O'Connell. He had the honour of receiving his note of the 28th this morning. Lord Kenmare would be very sorry that Mr. O'Connell should think that he could consider him or any gentleman responsible for the report made of their speeches in newspapers. All that Ld. K. mentioned to Doctor Sugrue was to state to Mr. O'Connell that he never did receive any *written document* at any time from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales holding out any pledge or promise with regard to the Catholic claims, either in his Royal Highness's own handwriting, which Lord Kenmare can safely declare he never saw one line of, or from any other person by the order or permission of his Royal Highness.¹ [about six lines illegible] Lord Kenmare believes that the person now in Kerry to whom Mr. O'Connell alludes is his friend, Mr. Dominick Rice, to whom Ld. K. has the pleasure of writing to some times. He also thinks most likely that it was in 1808 tho' he cannot be positive, as he never keeps copies of the few letters he writes. If Mr. Rice has kept Lord Kenmare's letter, he would hope that Mr. O'Connell would find on looking over it again that Ld. K. did not mention anything of *written documents*. [about four lines illegible]

Lord Kenmare after this declaration will not trouble Mr. O'Connell any farther on this subject. It never was his wish to have any thing relating to this correspondence brought into notice in the newspapers, and he begs leave to assure Mr. O'Connell that he feels as anxious and zealous as any one for the Catholic cause and for preserving unanimity and harmony in that Body. Lord Kenmare will conclude by requesting Mr. O'Connell not to consider this first communication which he has the honour of having with him thro' their common friend as being meant to be in any shape disrespectful to him on the part of Ld K. as many of his friends in England had enquired from him the date and other particulars of the *written document in question* [about two lines illegible]. He was ignorant in whose speech it was reported to have been said as having been on his way to Killarney he had not seen any of the Irish newspapers of that period.

SOURCE: NLI, MSS 15473

1 At the Catholic meeting in Dublin on 18 June (see letter 374, note 3)

O'Connell said that at the time of the Whig Government of 1806-7 the Prince of Wales urged the Catholics to desist for the present from pursuing their claim to Emancipation. At the time he promised several persons to give favourable consideration to their claim in the future when he would be in a position to do so. O'Connell added: 'The Earl of Kenmare has in his possession a written document from the Prince exactly to the same effect.' (*Patriot*, 19 June 1812).

3391

From his wife to Derrynane

Cork, 21 September 1814

My Dearest Love,

Last night I had the happiness of getting your first letter from Derrynane. The conclusion of it has given me some uneasiness. Were your Uncle aware of the charge he wishes you to impose on me I think he would altogether abandon it. I have, my love, a large young family sufficient to give me care and anxiety without the addition of an *only* child whose constitution and disposition are not yet formed, never under any control or restraint but indulged by a mother whose only comfort she has been. The management of a child of this description would be an arduous undertaking to me and to any governess I may have nor will any governess take charge of more than three pupils. My Betsey is now old enough to make the third and John in another year will be fit to be instructed. To be candid with you, love, I have every objection to taking charge of Catherine¹ or indeed of any child but my own. When I gave up Mary Anne² to her mother it is a sufficient proof how much I dislike so great a charge. Nor would I ever have taken Mary Anne at so early an age only her father was leaving the kingdom and could not afford keeping her at school in his absence. If Catherine had not good friends I would be the first to come forward for her and indeed at the age she is at present a year in Dublin would be of very little service to her. Let her Uncle fix her at Miss Curtain's³ for four or five years and at the end of that time a year with me in Dublin will be of more use to her than three at present. Consider, Love, for one moment at the age of nine, a hundred and fifty miles away from her mother, what I would feel if any accident or illness occurred to her. There is nothing under the canopy of Heaven I would not do to give you a moment's gratification. You deserve every thing from me, and if you can after the reasons I have given you, ask me to take Catherine, your request shall at all risks be complied with.

Your mother is certainly to go up for the winter with her maid. Your Uncle⁴ comes to you to a certainty in spring. I must of necessity give up my own room, and those rooms that are building at present will not with safety be fit to inhabit until May. This I have from [Danie] Moore through Mrs. Shiel. I have not yet seen Miss McCarthy. I fear the hint I got respecting her had not her sanction. James Sugrue was here this morning I fancy looking low spirited. He told me Mazier⁵ of Dublin has failed, and some other failures have also taken place. God grant you are not involved for Sugrue. I am glad to hear the old gentleman is so well and so pleased with the boys and most truly delighted am I to hear our dear James is so well. Remember me to him [?most] affectionately. Your girls are very well and unite with me in love to you and the boys. I had nearly forgot telling you the *Protesters* here are greatly displeased with Lord Donoughmore for condemning the Veto and the rescript.⁶

[P.S.] Take care to lock up my letters while you are in the country. Don't be leaving them in your coat pocket. *Servants* are often curious. I dare say Catherine never had measles, hooping cough or any other complaint incidental to children.

SOURCE: Office of Public Works, Dublin

- 1 Catherine O'Connell (1805-1875), daughter of Daniel (Splinter) O'Connell and Ellen, sister of O'Connell. Married Denis McCartie, Headfort, Co. Kerry on 16 August 1823.
- 2 Mary Anne McCarthy, a relative of O'Connell's.
- 3 Miss Fanny Curtayne's ladies boarding school, New St., Killarney, Co. Kerry.
- 4 Count O'Connell.
- 5 Probably Andrew Maziere and Co., brewers, 73 James's St., Dublin.
- 6 In his public letter to Charles Sugrue (see letter 494, note 2). The 'Protesters' were opposed to the veto but they probably considered it no help to their cause to have the veto condemned in a letter that was generally considered offensive.

From Denys Scully

private

Tuesday Eveng., 31 January [1815]

Dear O'C,

Upon turning the matter over, I think that En[*cas*] MacDonnell was right in recommending a speedy publication — in your case — tho' it would not be so advisable in an ordinary case. Publicity was the original end and purpose of this aggression. The crowds and general Interest, this day evinced, have rendered the subject impossible to be suppressed, and it would be injurious to you to participate in any desire to keep back the facts. In these cases, the first statement is almost every thing, especially for the Provincial and English Prints.

Therefore, as you mentioned the *Freeman*, I think it would be quite right to have a full Narrative tomorrow,¹ *as from the Editor*, or his news Collector, properly couched in stating the public Interest, the pains taken to collect the entire facts from such sources as were accessible, placing the origin and moving principle of the affair upon the true footing, and then arranging every fact in due order — D'Esterre's situation in the Corporation and Advertisement as candidate for the Sheriff's Gown — his personal objects — and probable encouragement from his party — his Letter to you — the Answer — his second letter, returned unread — your brother's note — Geo. Lidwill's conversation with Nugent² on Saturday — G. Lidwill's letter to you on Monday and departure from Town. This closes the principal affair. The Supplement may slightly advert to his impertinent letter to your brother, and his evasiveness upon being called upon by your brother, his swaggering this day in the Hall (where he was certain that *the place* must protect him), his disappearance when you came into it, and so down to the arrest of both this evening, contrived as a last refuge for his broken and detected spirit. The Summary is this: that he appears to have abandoned his first object of quarrel in order to seek another with a man who had given him no cause of offence. In the first case he has failed to send the Message which he professed to intend sending, and in the second, he has staggered and slunk from the Message actually received by him.

I am sure that En: McD: will execute this right well, and that it will be quite proper on every count to have it done with decision and dispatch.

Yours truly,
D.S.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 The next issue of the *Freeman's Journal* (2 February 1815) carried an account resembling, though not identical with, that suggested by Scully. The duel with D'Esterre occurred on 1 February.
- 2 Edmond Nugent, College Green; sheriff's peer, lord mayor of Dublin, 1828.

3393

To Knight of Kerry, Ballinruddery, Listowel [Co. Kerry]

Merrion Square, [Tuesday] 18 April 1815

(Private)

My Dear Sir,

This post carries you an official letter by which you will see our anxiety to commit the general petition of the Catholics to your care. May I beg of you to transmit your answer under cover to me *by return of the post*. Pardon this urgency but the association meets on Saturday and I wish to have your answer for them. I will confide to you under the strictest seal of secrecy that one of our number applied privately to Ponsonby but he expressed a desire not to be selected. You are the person who combine[s] all our inclinations and wishes and I have almost ventured to promise that you would comply with our desires — to present the petition — and procure a discussion this Sessions. For my part I really do feel great interest at your having the constant management in future of our petition. We have been so harshly used by some of the great folks — I allude to Grattan — that I am for the sake of the cause very anxious that we should be in the hands of so sincere a friend to the measure.

You may rely on it that you are the first person to whom this request has been made by the committee since Grattan declined.¹

SOURCE: Knight of Kerry Papers

- 1 A Catholic meeting in Dublin on 24 January 1815 resolved to entrust a petition for unqualified emancipation to Henry Grattan (*DEP*, 28 Jan. 1815.). On 15 February Grattan replied that he would present the petition but could make no previous declaration of his opinion on the matter (*DEP*, 18 Feb. 1815). The issue at stake was unqualified emancipation as opposed to emancipation with a veto. Grattan's reply was treated by O'Connell as a rejection of the petition (*DEP*, 18 Feb. 1815). In due course the petition was presented to the Commons by Sir Henry Parnell (*Hansard*, XXXI, 246-7). When Parnell introduced a motion for unqualified emancipation on 30 May he was supported by the knight of Kerry who expressed his hostility to a veto (*Hansard*, XXXI, 474 *et seq.*).

From his brother James

[c. 1 October 1815]

My Dear Dan,

I received your letter together with the Deed. With respect to what you mention about the £33.15.0 it is perfectly clear that you are entitled to that sum, both now and at March, as by the return I made my uncle, I charged your property with £227.10.0 for my mother for this present year, instead of £180 which is what he is entitled to but as my uncle must see this Deed sooner or later he would at once discover the mistake, and would the reader do so, as he would think my mother had been overpaid, as if I were to send you this money now, I should as a matter of course, in settling with my uncle for the receipts of your May rents, claim credit for £113.15.0 pd. my mother instead of £80 she is entitled to get the 29 of last month.

You know, my dear Dan, there is nothing in my power that I would not do to meet your wishes, and indeed I would again recommend to you to tell my uncle that it would be necessary for you to get from £400 to £500 a year of your income¹ in addition to your professional resources to support your present establishment. When I go to Derrynane, if you thought proper, I could when a fit opportunity occurred, tell my uncle your wish of being allowed some small part of your income, at least for two or three years to come, and indeed I think his own good sense will point out to him how much better it would be to allow you the sum I mentioned than let you get in debt, the more particularly as you would leave so large a part of your income to discharge any incumbrances that affect it. Let me hear from you fully on this subject.

Bearer carries you the balance due to you of the £30 that remained in my hands after paying the different sums at foot. I only charge you for one cask of butter as I intended to send Mary one myself before she left Tralee. Both the pigs at Carhen are yours, but Mrs. Primrose, who I consulted about the salting of them, said that they could not be done before the latter end of November, as it would be impossible to save them sooner.

I leave this for Derrynane on Saturday and am glad to tell you that I am now, thank God, quite recovered. I have got entirely rid of the pain in my head and am [remainder of letter missing]

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 That is the income from the lands Hunting-Cap had bought or made over to O'Connell but of which Hunting-Cap was retaining the income.

3395

From his son Morgan

3 August 1816

My Dear Father,

I know you would be very glad to hear that I have got a high place in My Class. I was examined in the latin fables of *Phadrus* [*sic*] and in some french anecdotes in which Anecdotes I missed three Words. I have now begun *Casar* [*sic*] and *Greek*. After the vacation I am to commence Geography and ever so many things. I study a little every day. We landed here on Wednesday and enjoyed ourselves very much at the wedding. Betsy wanted to know if Mama would like to be in Miss Beaty's Place. My Mama bid me tell you that she did receive a letter to Day from you and also that she will write to you on Monday. She sends her tenderest love to You. Little *Ducky*¹ was quite gay on the other night when the wedding was going on. Indeed she is gay every day and night, the girls are very well.

Answer this as soon as you possibly can. All here write in love to you, and believe me, my Dear Father,

your Very affectionate and fond

Son

Morgan O'Connell

[as a postrscript][from his wife]

My Dearest Dan,

I got no letter from you this post. I am as *yet* very well and my spirits tolerable.² Mr. Rose sent me the ten Guineas yesterday but no money from any other Person.

Ever yours

M. O'C

SOURCE: Property of Mrs. Barbara Brown

1 O'Connell's infant daughter Ricarda who died young.

2 Mary O'Connell was soon (22 August) to give birth to Daniel.

3395a

To Rev. Michael Blake, P.P.¹

Merrion Square, 28 December 1821

My Respected and Dear Friend,

I inclose you a copy of our plan² of Domestic Nomination³ accompanied by a copy of a note⁴ I received from Mr. Plunkett⁵ and of his observations⁶ upon the plan with my reply.

I had two conversations with Mr. Plunkett upon these subjects in both of which he evinced an inclination to come to an arrangement satisfactory to all parties — to the Catholics as well as to the Government. He appears to me to be quite sincere.

You will perceive that the unlimited negative⁷ contained in the last bill⁸ is given up. Direct patronage is therefore no longer sought, and the question which remains for our consideration is whether we can accede to a limited negative according to Mr. Plunkett's sense, that is, without cause assigned.⁹ From the conversation I had with him I believe he would be content with a negative upon two out of three, so that if the Government declared the first and second unfit, the third person selected should be appointed without any kind of reference to the Government, and I think he would also accede to the following plan, namely, that the Electors should at each election instead of one, select three persons out of whom the Government would nominate one, so that one of the three must be a Bishop.

Let me have your candid and conscientious opinion upon these modifications suggested by Mr. Plunkett. Emancipation would be a great good. But we have to answer to our consciences and to our God for our conduct in endeavouring to procure it, and no human motive should induce us to accede to any thing that may be directly or indirectly inconsistent with or detrimental to that Religion which has been faithfully preserved by our fathers and cannot be tainted by their sons without great guilt.

I beg as speedy a reply as may suit your convenience.

SOURCE: Dromore Diocesan Archives

- 1 At this time the vicar-general of the archdiocese of Dublin. This letter is written by another but signed by O'Connell.
- 2 This plan is published in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 24 January 1822, and also in John O'Connell's *Select Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, M.P.*, (Dublin 1855), 153-5.
- 3 By domestic nomination is meant nomination by the appropriate Irish bishops and clergy free from any intervention by the pope.

- 4 Not extant.
- 5 William Conyngham Plunket.
- 6 These observations are published in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 24 January 1822 and also in *Select Speeches* (see above note 2), 155-6.
- 7 By an unlimited negative was meant an arrangement whereby the ecclesiastical authority would nominate candidates to a vacant see, and the crown could continue to reject the candidates indefinitely until a candidate would be nominated acceptable to the crown. The right to reject an indefinite number of candidates, if exercised with determination, would be tantamount to a right to nominate.
- 8 Plunket's bill of March 1821 (see letter 894, note 1).
- 9 That is, that the crown need not give any reason for objecting to a candidate.

3396

*From his brother James to Cork*¹

[15 (*recte* 16) September 1823]²

I think you *have now good* reason to know that no person could be found on your credit to part with their property, no doubt *you have got Promises*, but even these Promises must imply your being able to secure the money to be lent, but great as the risque I run with you as to the ultimate loss of a sum exceeding three thousand one hundred pounds which I will be actually involved for you *when I sign another £500 Bond* what is that compared to the risque I incur should our Dear and venerable uncle at Derrynane hear of it, you will also say that is impossible. I admit *it is improbable but is it Honest, I will repeat, Honest*, of me as a father and an Husband to do an act that may destroy my family in an attempt to uphold a Brother who has squandered and dissipated *over fifty thousand Pounds earned by Profession* and actually involved his Patrimonial property in debts that far exceed the value of it had I the power of selling out the inheritance, and I will add, to run this risque for a Man who in the present desperate state of his affairs *allows his family* in the course of 18 months to run such a course of extravagance as must be incurred by a [one word illegible] from Dublin to Peau [*sic*], from that to Tours (where a barouche was sent from Dublin to them) and at the moment you were writing those letters containing such powerful and eloquent appeals to my feelings as a Brother to rescue you from ruin and disgrace, your family with their carriage and servants are fixed in the most splendid and expensive lodgings in Paris (those occupied by my friend John Bernard when I was in that City). It is notorious that Paris conta[ins]

more temptations for female vanity to lay out money than any Metropolis in Europe. What I would earnestly recommend to you, a recommendation which I dare say you will not attend to, is to write to your wife to leave Paris at once for Devonshire in England, where it appears you intend *for some short time*, they should take up their residence. Your son Maurice, who has gone *twice to Paris from Dublin in 12 months*, being now there, can accompany them, and will enable you to remain in Dublin attending to your Profession and by that means save the additional expense of your Journey besides the money you will earn at Home.

I cannot conclude this long letter without making some observations *on the few lines my Brother John favoured you with. His epistle is cold Hearted, insincere and grossly false.* My dear uncle never required him to take an oath not to join you in any security for money. It was *indeed quite unnecessary for him to do so though this proud[?] gentleman* has joined Dan Darby [one word illegible] in Bonds for £4000. He also became security to Sir R. Blennerhasset [t] for the subsheriff for *an unlimited Sum*, but he never did you an act of kindness. *If he has attempted or does attempt to injure you or your children* with my uncle, may the dearest Hopes of his Heart in this world sink into an early grave and may the finger of Providence be on him to *doom him to a long and wretched life.* Oh may he have time to repent crimes of so black and base a nature which would justly subject him to eternal torment. The £1700 of the General's money he consented you should get (half of which is his now) was *at my desire. He was obliged to do so because I allowed him to take £1200 out of it for his own purposes.* I have enclosed Ch. Sugrue this Bond for Mr. [name illegible] and conclude this long and I fear you will think unkind letter by hoping I may live to see the day when you will enjoy comfort and independence in the Bosom of your charming family. . . .

affect. Brother

James O'Connell

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 This letter is a continuation of letter 1050.
- 2 The letter is endorsed 'The Postmaster of Killarney will thank Mr. T. Fitzgerald to have this letter delivered on arrival, it being on most urgent business.'

3397

To Knight of Kerry, House of Commons, London

Merrion Square, 30 June 1825

My Dear Sir,

I intended every day since I received your first letter to have written to you but I am so pressed as not to be able to command an instant.

I enclose you the account of your debt to me for your share of fines and of *increased rents*¹ to the first of May in this year. It leaves you £194.3.4 in my debt.

I did wish to be a director in the new company² — and I wish now to get 19 shares. Can you with perfect convenience make my deposit of 10 per cent on that number. I will put all my shoulders to this undertaking.

If I do not succeed in getting the College to consent to an act enabling them to make a lease of their Iveragh lands for lives I will remove Cahirciveen town to the lands of Carhen about a quarter of a mile from the present situation and on my own fee simple estate.

Would you take the trouble of asking Mr. Scarlett³ whether he got a petition I sent him for the removal of Lord Norbury. It is horrible to have the wretched old man trying causes and at the criminal side it is shocking beyond expression.

I am obliged to write to you in the greatest hurry but within a week I will be able to enter into the subject of this company with more attention to its details. I feel the greatest anxiety for its success.

SOURCE: Knight of Kerry Papers

- 1 For the lands held on lease from Trinity College, Dublin.
- 2 The American and Colonial Steam Navigation Company (see letter 1242, note 3).
- 3 James Scarlett, M.P. For his identification see letter 1178, note 7.

3398

From his brother James to Merrion Square¹

[postmarked 16 January 1826]
[early part of letter missing] you in the name of common sense what foundation you have for making so unjust, so groundless and so absurd a charge, but we defy any man living *but yourself* to [two words illegible] conduct on this occasion to any thing unkind or unjust, and give me leave further to add *that feeling as you say you did*, it required much a greater share of duplicity than I thought it possible for any man of honour to possess to meet both John and me in the way you have done since August last, and as you were the first who charged me with an act, *so like what was unjust*, it is fortunate for us both that all money dealings between us have now for ever ceased.

The copy of the family Deed is forwarded to you by this coach, that was not registered.

Believe me, my dear Dan, to be *as I ever was, your unkind and unjust brother*,

James O'Connell

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 This letter is probably the later part of letter 1277.

3399

To the Knight of Kerry, Ballinruddery [Listowel, Co. Kerry], from Derrynane, [Thursday] 19 October 1826

O'Connell seeks to make an amicable settlement about rents and alleged debts between John Murphy¹ and the knight. He suggests a conference in Tralee to discuss the matter, and says that 'Dr. Church's² rent accounts of your Valentia estate' could help to resolve the problem. He quotes Murphy as saying: 'Mention to him [the knight] that I do not wish to fall out with him at all.' O'Connell adds that 'I must leave Tralee peremptorily on Tuesday morning.'

SOURCE: Knight of Kerry Papers

- 1 Murphy is obviously a substantial tenant farmer or middleman on the knight of Kerry's estate on Valentia Island, Co. Kerry.
2 Dr. John Church, Gurtinard, Listowel, Co. Kerry, land agent.

3400

To the Knight of Kerry

Tralee, 25 October 1827

My dear Knight,

You will again oblige me exceedingly if you will *try* how my brother-in-law Capt. O'Connell¹ could get a cadetship in the India Co. service for his second son² who is my namesake. He is a very gentlemanly young man — quite fit for the military service. His principles of honour are pure and firm — and he is in every respect qualified for the service. I need not say how much obliged I should be if you could assist my nephew in this object. Indeed it is to me one of the most anxious interest. I therefore take the liberty of pressing this subject on your kindest consideration.

I have a notion that a commission in the marines may perhaps be had for him. What do you think of the *facility* of doing so.

SOURCE: Knight of Kerry Papers

1 Rickard O'Connell.

2 Daniel O'Connell. He is identified in letter 1121, note 7. He went into the Royal Marines, not the East India Company. See also letter 1421.

3401

To his wife, Derrynane

Merrion Square, 15 November 1827

My own own Mary,

I can only implore of you to console by all the arts in your power our poor darling Ellen Connor.¹ Remind her of the obligations and rewards of religion. Tell her how — but alas — alas. There is but resignation to the will of God that can mitigate her sorrow. My Ellen² wept to be sure but she is tranquil and no danger of mischief. I sent down Maurice. We are all well. My heart bears the horrible blow surprisingly. Rally yourself sweetest darling too. Is it not most consolatory that he should have begun with religion. Can any thing be half so consoling. Darling I rely on your good sense and good feeling. Let me hear from you of course as usual. Let me have a long long letter. Oh darling do not aggravate my misery by your injuring your health by grief.

I can not tell you what my feelings of anxiety for you all *ought* to

be. My sweet Kate too with her tender affectionate disposition. Let me hear from you *at length*.

Darling my professional occupations are a great resource to me. They chase melancholy from me.

Ever sweetest darling Mary,

Yours with the utmost tenderness

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: Power-Lalor Papers, UCD

- 1 This letter concerns the death of Ellen's brother, James Edward Connor.
- 2 O'Connell's daughter.

3402

To Knight of Kerry

Killarney, 27 March 1828

My Dear Sir,

Let me return you my warmest and most sincere thanks for your kindness to my most esteemed friend Col. McCarthy.¹

Allow me also to add that if you chance to have any opportunity of being of use to that gallant and most estimable gentleman, it will be to me the greatest personal obligation. I need not tell you that a better or a braver soldier never fought for his King nor does there exist a more honourable or worthy man. I should be proud if my anxious solicitude for him could in any wise or in any quarter contribute to his success.

SOURCE: Knight of Kerry Papers

- 1 Lt.-Col. William McCarthy. For identification see letter 454. He retired on half-pay on 25 December 1818.

To James Sugrue Esq., care of T. C. White Esq., Merchant, London

Merrion Square, 3 June 1828

My dear James,

I received your letter yesterday and at the same time there came in a docket for £500 which I was so fortunate as to have funds for although I certainly relied on you because I attributed your silence to the forwardness of arrangements which would have put me in cash for this bill. I beg of you to look to it as speedily as you can as this is the only one of the bills you got discounted for me which is actually paid. The £500 to Nick Mahon you enabled me to take up and your bill is outstanding for that. D. Lynch¹ received his £450 for 61 days. There is therefore only the bill for £500 taken up altogether. You see therefore that it presses from day to day. What *can* you do for me? Delays are more than dangerous — and I confess that my expectations were considerable — but you need not make me any kind of excuse if you do not succeed because I well know that *you will if you can*.

With respect to the Hibernian Bank bill² I am heartily sick of it. I wish I could even now prevail on you to turn your mind from assailing that establishment. It is of the greatest value to *the Station* and character of the Catholics in Dublin. It certainly contains such a man as "*Neatty*" [?Nealty]³ but it also comprizes many most excellent individuals and in the recent warfare these men — Ennis,⁴ McMahon,⁵ Wm. Murphy, Cornelius McLoughlen, etc. were treated as common swindlers. This has of course created a bitter reaction, and the petition so unwisely and unnecessarily presented by H. Grattan is the result.

As to you personally *you know* that I would not concur in any thing which could hurt your feelings and I would as soon injure my brother James as I would you. But with respect to Charles⁶ my feelings are [*sic*] ought to be different. He more than over sacrificed my interests to my brother James and upon the occasion of this rascally bank he and James Daly⁷ calumniated me grossly. Thus when these contests arise friends are torn asunder and bad points constantly arise which destroy cordiality. You must not allow that to be, and again I repeat why will you continue the contest with the Bank?

SOURCE: Property of Mrs. Barbara Brown

1 David Lynch. For his identification see letter 1947.

2 See letter 1455.

- 3 The act providing for the establishing of the Hibernian Bank (5 Geo. IV, Local, c. 159) lists its directors including John Oneil (*sic*). This is probably a mistake for O'Neill. O'Connell's writing of what appears to be this name is illegible.
- 4 Andrew Ennis.
- 5 Michael Mahon who is listed as a director (see above note 3).
- 6 Probably Charles Sugrue.
- 7 Possibly the same James Daly who wrote letter 1789.

3404

To Jeremy Bentham

Merrion Square, 3 August 1828

Would to Heaven I could realize your plan. How I should relish a political retreat in your hermitage to prepare for all of practical utility that my faculties and opportunities may enable me to effectuate. But I can not leave Ireland. The progress of political and moral improvement seems to me to want my assistance here and certainly there would be some retardation in the machinery if my shoulder was not constantly at the wheel and my *lash* on the shoulders of those who help to force it forward — without a metaphor — I am not able to leave Ireland even for the purpose of replenishing myself with the reasons of that political faith which is in me.

I am in good truth your zealous if you will not allow me to call myself your humble disciple. It is said somewhere that Irishmen frequently catch glimpses of sublime theories without being able to comprehend the entire plan. For my part I certainly see a part and would wish to comprehend the details of the whole. My desire is yours — 'The greatest possible good to the greatest possible number' — and I say it with sincerity that no man has ever done so much to shew how this object could be realized as you have. I sincerely wish I could devote the rest of my life to assist in realizing this object but my profession gives my family at present between six and seven thousands of pounds in the year and I can not afford to deprive them of that sum. All I can do is dedicate to political subjects as much time as can be torn from my profession.

I am deeply imbued with the opinion that our *procedure* is calculated to produce any thing but truth and justice, and if ever they are elicited it is by accident and at an expense of time and of principle which ought both to be otherwise employed. *How is it possible* that

law stamps and law fees have survived about *forty* years, I think, your protest.¹

I am also convinced that to be without a Code [of laws] is to be without justice. Who shall guard the guardians — Who shall judge the judges — A Code — without a code the judges are the only efficient and perpetual legislature. There is a melancholy amusement in see [*sic*] how *the scoundrels* — pardon me, do sometimes *legislate*. In England it is bad enough. In Ireland where the checks (such as they are) of parliamentary *talk* and of the press are either totally removed or rendered nearly powerless, the mischief of *judicial legislation* is felt in its most mischievous, ludicrous and criminal operation.

Mr. Brougham's *evils* are plain and sometimes well displayed. His *remedies* are but patches placed on a thread bare and rent coat, cut out of an unused remnant of the original cloth. They serve only to shew the *poverty* as well as *want* of *skill* of the owner and artificer both.²

I write in great haste as is my practice but perhaps enough to shew you how strongly I am stimulated by my opinions to avail myself of your labours in order to propel them into practical effect.

With respect to parliamentary reform I have time only to say that I want no *authority* to convince me of this — that without election by ballot it is not possible to have perfect freedom of election. With a ballot the inducement to corrupt the voter would be destroyed even by the uncertainty of his giving *the value* after he got the bribe. Ballot is essential to reform.

I do not intend to go to London until March next. Before then much of the opposition to my right to sit may be done away. I have not one particle of *personal* feeling on the subject because I have not one atom of *personal* interest to gratify. I may venture to promise you never to spend *one week* in the house unmarked by some effort to reform *the Law*, the *parliament* — aye and the *Church*, and although as sincere in my belief as a Catholic as any man that ever lived, the last, I mean the *rich* church, shall certainly never be attacked by me from any motive originating in or connected with my religious opinions. *I do not want to effect any change of any other man's opinions on that subject in any other way or shape save by reasoning at its proper season*, which in the present state of society seldom occurs. Allow me to add that immediately on my arrival in London I will wait on you at your *talking* hour. Give me all the assistance you conveniently can in the mean time to qualify me for becoming in the house your *mouth piece*. It is *vanity* to ask it but it is asked with great anxiety to be useful.

I have the honour to be with very sincere respect and admiration,

Your very faithful servant
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : NLI MSS 5759

- 1 *A Protest against Law Taxes...* The edition to which O'Connell was referring may well have been that published in Dublin in 1793.
- 2 A reference to Henry Brougham's six-hour speech on 7 February 1828 in the Commons on the state and administration of the common law (*Mirror of Parliament*, 1828, 68-95).

3405

To Jeremy Bentham

Derrynane, 13 September 1828

I am here amongst my native mountains for a few, very few weeks. I decide all the controversies in the district. I never allow a witness to appear until the plaintiff and defendant have both fully told their tales, and agreed their *points*. In nine instances out of ten, other testimony is unnecessary. This tribunal is so cheap, it costs them nothing; and is so expeditious (I decide as soon as the parties have exhausted their arguments, and offered their witnesses on the facts, ultimately in dispute) that they reserve for me all their disputes, and it appears to me that they are satisfied with the results. This deduction I the more readily draw from the purely voluntary nature of their submission to my awards. It proves, however, nothing but as far as it shows *me* the great value of hearing the parties themselves.

SOURCE : Bowring, *Bentham*, X, 602

3406

To the Knight of Kerry

Cahirsiveen, 16 September 1828

My dear Sir,

My near relative Mr. Charles Brennan [*recte* Brenan] waits on you with a letter from my brother James. He wishes me to add that I feel equally interested for him with James and will be more than

equally obliged to you for any kindness you may be able to do him. I do not know what may be your power but I am quite convinced of your inclination and readiness to do anything you can to serve a gentleman for whom we feel so deep an interest.

SOURCE: Knight of Kerry Papers

3407

To Jeremy Bentham

Derrynane, near Cahirsiveen, 29 September 1828

Sir,

I have two letters of yours unanswered. Both have been highly gratifying to me, and I hope useful. They certainly have nerved my purpose, and I now am determined to be incessant in urging 'the Code' at all seasons. The public mind has I think been for some time in a state of preparation for the adoption of an all-comprehensive Code, and I will take care to make it so familiar to the 'general ear' that no man will be abashed at bringing it directly before the consideration of 'honourable house.' It will of course meet in that sink of corruption all manner of hostility but the public are so worried by the workings of the present law machine that I entertain sanguine hopes of being able to effectuate a compleat reform, that is, a compleat clearing out of the present System, *at least in Ireland*. There is a confusion of idea in the preceeding passage which I will not at present stop to unravel.

I faithfully promise you to give the *four*, and if you allow, *five* mornings at 'the hermitage' when I go to London. The subject of codification, or rather of 'A Code' is one of which I intend to make myself perfect master, that is, as much master as I am capable of being. In the mean time whenever you perceive me ignorant tell me so at once and point out the sources of information. I am quite ready to avow my ignorance of every thing that I do not really know, and to get rid of that ignorance as speedily as I can.

Where shall I find the resolutions proposed by Sir Francis Burdett on the 2d of June and referred to in the debate of which there is an extract in pages 53, 54 and 55 of the testimonials which follow the Codification proposal — I suppose only in *Hansard's* debates.¹

I had determined to read 'the Episode' on procedure in the 4th Vol. of the 'Judicial Evidence'² before I got your letters. In fact I have already read a considerable part of it. This will prove to you

that your books have reached me. Accept I beg of you my most sincere thanks for them.

The exhibition of 'the feegathering' or rather, 'fee encreasing System' has ceased I believe for some time in England, but I have seen it in full work in Ireland. Our Chief Baron³ was distinctly convicted of it by a parliamentary commission.⁴ The honourable House did of course deal leniently with him. Lord Norbury was another instance of it.⁵ I have some details on these subjects which will enliven the discussion of the principle matter when we come to debate it in parliament.

I do not read the *Morning Herald*.⁶ In fact I got so disgusted with the driveling absurdity of the Editorial Articles that I gave it up, but I will read it regularly in future and carefully pick out the letters of Parcus already published. I can get the fyle of that paper in Dublin.

I read with great rapidity and have already read much of the books you sent me. I am not a stranger to your works by any means nor was I before you sent them. I however read more of them than I digested. I took only the landmarks for the purposes of practical utility, not then foreseeing that I should have any chance of reducing your opinions into practice although the general notion has been long familiar to my mind that I should be instrumental in introducing a Code and abolishing the present nefarious and atrocious System.

Shall I apologise to you for setting you to work on the petitions. Be assured that they shall reach the public through the honble house and otherwise. In short never was man more anxious to be useful than my dear Sir,

Your very faithful disciple,
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: NLI MSS 5759

- 1 Burdett's resolutions of 2 June 1818 are in *Hansard*, XXXVIII, 1148-9. The excerpts from the debate on Burdett's resolutions and the testimonials are published in John Bowring, *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, (Edinburgh 1843), IV, 564-94.
- 2 O'Connell is probably referring to Book VIII of Vol. IV of Bentham's *Rationale of Judicial Evidence specially applied to English Practice*, (London 1827).
- 3 Standish O'Grady. For his identification see letter 453.
- 4 The charge that O'Grady took illegal fees arose from an investigation by a parliamentary commission into the Irish courts of justice. Its ninth report, presented to the Commons in 1821 (*Parl. Papers*, 1821, XI) related to the court of exchequer and notably to the conduct of O'Grady. In consequence of energetic attempts by Thomas Spring Rice in the Commons to have the government take action against O'Grady and because of criticisms of the commission by O'Grady, an additional report was made by the commission (*Parl. Papers*, 1822,

XIV) and two select committees were set up by the Commons which duly made their reports (*Parl. Papers*, 1821, VIII and 1823, VI). For debates on the subject in the Commons, all initiated by Rice, see *Hansard*, V, 1260-80; VIII, 105-110; IX, 360-66, 977-85, 993-1014, 1422-28, 1429-32, 1471-76, 1506-1511; *DEP*, 30 June, 7 July, 1821). No legal or other official action was taken against O'Grady.

- 5 The above commission's investigation of the court of common pleas (of which Norbury was chief justice) does not appear to have produced any parliamentary effort against him (*Parl. Papers*, 1819, XII).
- 6 A leading London newspaper.

3408

To Jeremy Bentham

Derrynane, 6 October 1828

Allow me to assure you that your letters can give me no other *sensation* but that of pleasure. I did not speak to you of my long-cherished opinions respecting yourself, least I should have the appearance of flattery, even while I kept myself within the strict lines of sober truth. But let me not be so accused whilst this one sentence breaks from me, that I am convinced that no one individual in modern times approaches in any degree to the practical and permanent utility of Bentham. You will have contributed more to the great approaching change from the *plundering* forms of government to the protecting modes of administering the affairs of mankind than any one man that ever existed.

I owe you many, many obligations. I long felt the pressure of the present system of law, including under that word all its details. My conviction of its iniquity was so strong that for the people at large I deemed it better that there should be no tribunal at all than the existing modes of recovering debts. I would have left to the poorer classes every debt a *debt of honour* and no sanction under which *credit* could be obtained but that of the personal character of each individual, giving to each *that* as a stimulant to *deserve* confidence. You have satisfied me that contracts may be enforced for the people at large by the natural and domestic plan of proceeding, and the obligation *to appear* in person ceases to be an inconvenience, or at least, cannot reasonably be objected to by the favourers of a system which compels the uninterested witnesses to give to third persons their time and trouble.

Why do I trouble you with these subjects? Simply to show you that it is needless to offer me anything in the way of apology. Though not as able — of course I am not — I am as anxious to be useful as

you are; and the '*strike but hear*' of the Grecian, is one of my maxims. I belong to a religion which teaches the merits of good works; and I am quite a sincere votary of that creed. Besides the pleasure of doing good, and the gratification which a light heart feels even at the attempt to be useful, there is — I hope I say it without any tinge of hypocrisy — a higher propelling motive on my mind. There is the stimulant, I hope, of religious duty and spiritual reward. There are many who would smile at my simplicity — and the *liberaux* of France who hate religion much more than they do tyranny — would sneer at me. Yet it is true. I do look for a reward exceedingly great for endeavouring to terminate a system of fraud, perjury, and oppression of the poor.

This feeling it is which enables me without effort to bear the revilings of Hunt¹ or any other man. If they assail a sore point my business is to cure that sore — and I really do without an effort concede to you what I hope I should concede even if it were difficult the determination not to *reply* to Hunt's last letters with any of that contemptuous acrimony which his letters incited and enabled me to do.

The attack upon *trade* began with Hunt. In his first letter² he attributed to me all the vices and they are many of my trade. He accused me of trafficking in the liberties of my country and prostituting for gain my religion. Is it after this quite impartial in those who condemn me for reviling him to forget that he began the vilification.

I have not seen his second letter — and shall defer my short reply to his angry rejoinder to mine until I see that letter. Depend on it my reply will contain nothing you will condemn, nothing inconsistent with a perfectly or nearly perfect '*amicable discussion*.'

I have a very high opinion of George Ensor. He is not a practical man so far as making any effort to arrange that combination of moral force and so to organize it as to *press* upon the common enemy but he is a man of pure principle and excellent notions. He and I are *now* friends. I got a letter from him by the same post which brought your two last. He did justice to my motives even when he thought me wrong, namely respecting the 40s freeholders, and he has since acknowledged my disposition to be useful and the value of my eternal struggle to be so. There is a passage in a pamphlet³ of his attributing to me misrepresentation of the freehold wing but it was he that was mistaken and not I, although he had a public document⁴ to sustain him yet the private arrangement was made by me.⁵ I *conjecture* that this is what I *collect* from you Hunt alludes to.

I have a strange recklessness of calumny — it does not at all affect me. I am so regardless of it that I have one thousand times passed

over in silence accusations which I could most triumphantly refute. One reason is that I am so well known to the Irish amongst whom has been hitherto my sphere of utility that no calumny lessens my power of being useful amongst them. But let me beg of you not to allow any unfavourable impression to remain on your mind of me without calling for an explanation. You shall have from me in reply 'the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.'

My opinion of Hunt is that his radicalism is not love of liberty but hatred of tyranny, mixing I think with hatred of anything superior of any description. These men, I mean men of this description, are however necessary. They are the pioneers of reform but they get so 'unsavoury from their trade' that it is absolutely requisite to send them to the rear when the practical combat comes on. My letter⁶ to Hunt was founded on this idea. I did intend to dismiss him to his proper station and I would if you had not interfered have followed that letter up with one letter more which should have terminated the contest on my part. I still think of writing a few lines but they shall not be disrespectful *car tel est votre plaisir*. You shall be my thermometer of Hunt's political utility. Tell me to throw him overboard altogether and I will do it without alluding offensively to his blacking,⁷ but reminding him of his pride as 'Lord of the Manor of Glastonbury.'⁸ Tell me to treat him with respect and I will do so, subduing my mind to your judgment upon his future power of usefulness.

I conclude with these notices:

1st. I leave this place on Monday the 9th inst. My address will be Kilkenny until the 17th of this month. Thence forward 'Dublin.'

2d. It is *impossible* for any thing respecting me and Mr. Leader⁹ to be both true and in any degree derogatory.

3d. George Ensor has a voice in Catholic assemblies, although if a Christian at all certainly not a Catholic. He is however a first rate man.

4th. No man stands in my way in Catholic or other assemblies. If he be more useful than me he is doing *my* work. With sincere respect and gratitude,

Your faithful
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: NLI MSS 5759

1 Henry Hunt.

2 Hunt's public letter to O'Connell in the London *Morning Herald* of 9 August 1828.

3 George Ensor, *Irish Affairs at the close of 1825* (Dublin 1826). In this pamphlet Ensor condemns O'Connell for supporting the 'wings' (see letter 1180, note 2) in 1825. He compares O'Connell's hostile reference

- to William Conyngham Plunket, as reported in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 10 February 1825, with his praise of Plunket in his public letter of 7 March to the Catholic Association (*DEP* 10 Mar. 1825). He attributes this change on O'Connell's part to a secret meeting which he suggests O'Connell had with Plunket.
- 4 O'Connell's public letter to the Catholic Association of 7 March (*DEP*, 10 Mar. 1825).
 - 5 O'Connell must surely have meant to say that the private arrangement was *not* made by him.
 - 6 O'Connell to Henry Hunt, 9 Sept. 1825 (*Morning Register*, 17 Sept. 1825).
 - 7 In this letter (see above note 6) O'Connell made some sarcastic references to Hunt as a manufacturer of blacking and therefore trying to blacken his (O'Connell's) reputation. Bentham objected to these sarcastic references to the manufacture of blacking as aristocratic rather than democratic (Bentham to O'Connell, probably late September 1825, John Bowring, Ed., *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, [Edinburgh and London 1843], X, 602).
 - 8 Probably a reference to the fact that Hunt had a farm near Glastonbury, Somerset, and at one time thought of being elected M.P. for Somerset county.
 - 9 Nicholas Philpot Leader.

3409

To Jeremy Bentham

Merrion Square, 26 October 1828

My residence will be in Dublin until I go to London in February next. I say this that my most revered master may know where he *ought* to send his lessons. Your last letter reached me in Kilkenny.¹ In future I fear I shall be able to write to you only on Sunday. I do no business, that is, no *profane* work on that day, but works of charity are not only allowed but commanded on that day, and where is there a work of Charity so great as the giving *protection by Law* and preventing Law from being the scourge of the poor and the vexation of even the wealthy. This is my excuse for writing on Sunday and if it be lawful as I deem it to be, to extract a single ass out of the pit on the lords day, it must be equally justifiable to assist in extracting an entire people from the worst pit that asses were ever coaxed or cudgelled into. But why do I waste time and paper on this subject.

I have materials for petitions in the draft you have sent me. The long one will *do* as it stands, that is, if I present it myself, but if it be presented by any body else I will suggest one or two trivial alterations. My object is to avoid a ribald jest which may be grounded on the turn of phrase, in itself perfectly clear but unusual.

If I were in the house myself as I hope I shall I would not care for their empty jests. It would go hard if I did not return a wicked sarcasm on the present system for every sneer *at us*. More of this hereafter. I will get the drafts copied and send you my suggested alterations before any thing further need be done. I have got the County of Kerry² and the Leinster provincial meeting³ to resolve to petition — that drafts of a code may be called for. I have taken several occasions to familiarize the public mind to the subject. I am glad to tell you that I shall be aided by the unanimous desire of the Irish people to have the legal system amended. I do not know whether the reports of my speeches on law reform reach you. If so you will have an excellent opportunity of suggesting corrections of my Errors, and of giving me new lights. You can do this without being afraid to trespass on my vanity because you will easily perceive that the reports are far from being accurate. In some places they make me contradict myself, and you can throw upon the reporters the faults of the speaker, but to be more serious, I sincerely desire further information, and pledge myself that I will not cease until I bring 'law reform' before the house in a shape formidable to existing abuses. You will perhaps be surprised to hear that I could not procure the fyle of the *Morning Herald* until I arrived in Dublin. I this day for the first time saw your letter to Hunt⁴ accompanied by his saucy commentary. The reply may be a sneer at you but if so it is the young ass kicking at the aged — thank God — not the dead lion. I own my fingers itch to be at Hunt but I am bound in 'the chain of silence' and you hold it. His new charges are easily cleared away but I could not clear them away for the public without writing more than the mere reply. In fact I must be totally silent or be allowed to disport my mind by pouring out jests and sarcasm and perhaps awkward playfulness. But to you I am ready to give satisfaction upon these new charges. They are these: 1st. that I had *refused* to allow Mr. Ensor to be put in nomination with me at Ennis⁵ so that if I were declared ineligible he may be substituted. 2dly, that I selected Mr. Leader for Tralee,⁶ he being a Whig, instead of Mr. Ensor who is a radical. To the first, I say it is untrue farther than that a suggestion to propose Mr. Ensor was made to me either in an anonymous letter or in a letter written by a man called Anthony Marmion,⁷ the very marplot of radicalism. It is next futile, because it would have been quite impracticable. A project of the kind was debated at Ennis but not in favour of Mr. Ensor, it was in favour of Mr. Steele,⁸ a protestant agitator of that county and I believe a radical, but it was rejected not by me but by the committee for these reasons. The election was for a single member, consequently there were no double votes so that every man who should vote for Mr. Steele would of

course be one thrown away from me, and until the third day of the election it was not possible to reckon upon the extent of the defection of the freeholders so generally as to give a chance of giving two a majority. We should have lost the election if we attempted it. For example the first day there were polled for me 200, for FitzGerald 194, my majority only six. How would it have stood if a third candidate was in the field. FitzGerald would have a majority of 94 over each of us, and let me tell you that if he had, many and many of the freeholders who were kept *true* by the prospect of success would have been likely to have obeyed their landlords and earned the boons which were profusely tendered. The freeholders were placed between the two strong temptations of punishment and reward. It was difficult to resist their combined force and there was therefore nothing like a certainty that such an experiment would be successful. *Secondly*, that is the second ground for rejecting the plan was this — that although many freeholders would risk their all to vote for me as a fellow Catholic and a man long the theme of *ballads* and conversation they would not vote for another at the same risk. It was not so great an insult to their landlords to vote for me who am identified with the peasantry by the community of religion and exclusion⁹ as it would have been to vote for another. In short it was believed and I believe it, the freeholders would have refused to have voted for a third party. *Thirdly*, it would have been taken as a Confession that I could not sit. It would have been used as an argument by our opponents that in proposing me at all we were wilfully deluding the people. It would also be very likely to have had influence over the members of the house of Commons upon the question of my right. It would have been a confession of weakness and my own opinion distinctly is that if a just and impartial tribunal were to decide upon my right to sit and vote, they would decide in my favour. In short there never yet was a more unfounded charge brought against a public man. It is founded on perfect ignorance of facts and circumstances. The second charge is equally unfounded. Tralee is not an open borough. On the contrary it is a close borough the opening of which depends solely upon the proof of corruption long continued. For this purpose time and money are necessary. I am convinced that Mr. Ensor though he may give the former would not sacrifice the latter. Mr. Leader has at once subscribed £500, and will contribute as much more if necessary. Mr. Leader is known to the inhabitants of Tralee who have confidence in his commercial knowledge. Mr. Ensor is known to them only by name. They will heartily cooperate with Mr. Leader. It would require of Mr. Ensor to reside in Tralee that is in the part of Ireland most remote from his property and family mansion in order to cultivate the friendship and

cordiality of the inhabitants. In short Tralee is a mere experiment, not a certain *nomination*. I have not the right even to ask Mr. Ensor to devote himself person and property to assist me in making that experiment. Mr. Leader was and is ready to do so. Such is my defence. Let me add that if I suggested to the inhabitants of Tralee a total stranger such as Mr. Ensor, there are several of them who would imagine I was merely deluding them. Who would be a patriot when he is subject to the vexation of such frivolous charges? No person but a man like me the buoyancy of whose animal spirits enable him to laugh at a vexation after enduring it a few minutes. Apropos — Hunt has distinctly attributed my radicalism to a desire to get briefs and fees!!! Radicalism the road to professional emolument!!! Would to heaven it were so for the sake of the cause not of

Your faithful
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE : NLI MSS 5759

- 1 Where he was attending the Leinster Provincial meeting of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty on 20 and 21 October 1828.
- 2 At the Catholic Co. Kerry meeting in Tralee on 16 October O'Connell proposed substantially the same resolution he would propose on 21 October in Kilkenny, and it was passed unanimously (*Patriot*, 20 Oct. 1828). See below note 3.
- 3 On its second day, the meeting (see above note 1) passed a resolution proposed by O'Connell: 'That the laws of the land ought to be precise and intelligible, and that the administration of those laws ought to be cheap and expeditious, and that for those purposes it is necessary that an all comprehensive code of law and procedure should be adopted by the Legislature, and therefore we do petition the Parliament to take measures in order to procure drafts of such code to be prepared and submitted for legislative consideration' (*Leinster Journal*, 25 Oct. 1828).
- 4 Probably the letter published in John Bowring, Ed., *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, (Edinburgh and London 1843), XI, 5-7.
- 5 At the Clare election of July 1828.
- 6 At a by-election for Tralee on 12 September 1828 Nicholas Philpot Leader was proposed in opposition to Sir Edward Denny, the proprietor of the borough. The provost refused to consider Leader's candidature and declared Denny elected. O'Connell's brother John supported Leader. (*Patriot*, 15 Sept. 1828).
- 7 See letters 1258, note 1 and 1467.
- 8 Thomas Steele.
- 9 That is, exclusion by the Penal Laws from equality with Protestants.

To Jeremy Bentham, London

Merrion Square, 2 [and 3] November 1828

[No salutation]

My day for writing is come, my *only* day for letter writing. 'The morrow of all souls' brings other and most pressing duties or rather they have already accumulated mountain high in expectation of the day to which the legislature have complacently indulged my Lords the judges. In plainer prose the Chancellor sits tomorrow and as we practice all we can in all the Courts, tomorrow commences such a campaign as requires nerve and continued labour to encounter. Let it serve for my excuse in not immediately answering your respected letters.

The note you enclosed delighted me. Accept my heartfelt thanks. I *know* his Lordship well.¹ His is a pure speculation, and yet he has some honesty about him. What a strange compound is man. He was a real liberal when it was his interest not to be so. He lost much money and was put to great inconvenience because he would not conceal his sentiments in favour of the 'papists' during the life of an exceedingly bigotted and foolish old woman. And yet though he made this great sacrifice and made it without having at that time any countervailing motive of a selfish kind — although he did so yet I know full well that he sees the personal advantage likely to accrue to him from now joining *us*. But with this knowledge I must praise him because that praise is not only his due but is known and felt to be intended as reproach to others. He is active. Activity is one of the greatest virtues in political life. The stream is necessarily flowing. Those who stand still are left behind. Lord Rossmore is constantly devising means to make the Cause advance. The Duke of Leinster and other Irish patriots are content with some small lip service. There are two reasons why I praise him, *first*, he deserves praise for his actions let his motives be what they will. *Second*, his praise is wormwood to those who would be glad to be deemed patrons of our cause without taking the trouble of doing us any service.

There is a rebuke also contained in your advice not to praise or disparage too much. I love the impulse which induces you to give me this rebuke. It is quite true, the 'fierce extremes' mingle in our estimate of men. It can not be helped. Nay, I am convinced that it is necessary to be warm with *our love*, to glow with our resentment. I who have helped to *convert* the people of Ireland from apathy, despair and from nocturnal rebellion into determined but sober

politicians ought to be able to form some judgment of what is likely to conduce to attain that cooperation so necessary to give a prospect of success. Of course I judge of these things with that partiality which selflove inspires. But giving a rebate, by reason of my selflove, to the *sterling* value of any opinion of mine!! I do declare it to be my decided opinion that we should speak in the strongest terms consistent with truth of our friends and of our enemies. Lord Rossmore can not betray or injure us.² He must serve us by his activity. His personal interest and objects lie in the same direction with our success. Therefore do I laud him and confide in him. Of this subject enough, *et un peu de trop*.

The report of what occurred at the preparatory meeting in Kilkenny was in itself a breach of confidence and was as false in many important particulars as it was altogether *unhandsome*.³

You probably received my reply to your former letter the day you wrote your last, the 27th or at all events on the 28th. We shall have more than one petition for a code next sessions. The second petition which you are preparing will I perceive contain a species of Synopsis of the essay on the 'technical System' in the 4th Vol of judicial evidence.⁴ Permit me to remark to you that the feegathering principle is now apparently if not really terminated by the exclusion of fees and increase of salary. Will it not therefore be absolutely necessary to speak of it as a bye gone principle which *was* in full operation for centuries and until it produced the present vicious perfection in excluding justice, that is, the petition must distinctly recognise the present System of Salaries whilst its [*sic*] traces the evils that now exist to the original and long continued principle of feegathering. The scheme of Salaries has *another* evil, it introduces a perpetually recurring effort to diminish the labour of the judges as much as possible. Upon law arguments and motions in Ireland formerly (within my memory) four, five or six counsel at a side were heard on law arguments. Now they hear two only at a side, presently as is I believe lately established in England *they will hear but one*. The individual intent [*?interest*] of every judge is to give as little labour in return for his salary as he decently can. These however are topics that you have long and intimately studied and you probably smile at my efforts to teach my master. I throw them out because even I feel how important it is not to give our adversaries an opportunity of saying that the fee system *was* a bad one. It is true they would say it was bad, not for the reasons you give, but being bad we have anticipated your law reform and have already totally changed it. You know how ready they are to take credit for any good they may have been forced into in order to protect the abuses which they wish to retain.

The drafts of petitions which you sent me will be copied by the clerks at 'the [Catholic] Association' and I will return you my altered not amended petition so that you may decide on its merits before it is engrossed for signing. There must not be any numbers merely because it is not usual and is unnecessary to number the paragraphs.

3d. Nov. I add this date to signify that I must close my letter. I will not close it without saying that the best mode I can take to prove how mighty I estimate your utility is by devoting every hour I can command and every faculty I possess to promote that rational and just reform of absurdities and abuses to the correction of which you have consecrated a life of the most solid and permanent value to mankind. I am most respectfully

Your very faithful
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: Papers of Arthur French

- 1 Unidentified, though possibly Lord Rossmore.
- 2 A reference to Rossmore's opposition to radicalism.
- 3 The *London Times* of 25 October 1828 reported that there was 'almost a schism' over the pledges (see letter 1484, note 2) on parliamentary and franchise reform at the Leinster Provincial meeting of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty in Kilkenny on 21 October. At this meeting O'Connell proposed the pledges which were passed.
- 4 Jeremy Bentham, *Rationale of Judicial Evidence specially applied to English Practice*, (London 1827), I-V.

3410a

To Archbishop Daniel Murray, Mountjoy Square, Dublin

19 Bury Street, St. James [London], 6 March 1829

(Private)

My lord,

I use another person's¹ frank that my letter may be as private as *you chuse*. My object is advice and private or public assistance from you.

You will see that the Catholic oath is changed.² It now is to run thus — 'that I will not use my privilege etc. to disturb *or* weaken the protestant religion *or* Government'. In the former oath³ the word was *and* where the *or* now is. Does this create any essential difference? My private opinion is that it does not because it is the

'privilege' that is to be used — not any original and universal right. But of course I entirely submit my private opinion to my lawful superiors. I need not add what perfect confidence I repose in your Grace's judgment.

The claim against Episcopal titles — is law — already. But if you deem it important I will of course oppose it. The proposed law⁴ against monastic extension will be, I think, one of those statutes through which we lawyers delight to drive four in hand.

However on these or any other topics on which your Grace may deem right to communicate with me you may rely on the most precise secrecy and the most respectful attention. In fact this is a critical moment in which whoever gives me advice does me a most essential kindness.

SOURCE: Dublin Diocesan Archives

- 1 Robert Shapland Carew, M.P. for Co. Wexford 1812-34.
- 2 The oath provided for Catholics in the Catholic Emancipation bill.
- 3 The oath provided by the Irish Catholic relief act of 1793 (33 Geo. III, Ire., c. 21).
- 4 These clauses were included in the Catholic Emancipation bill as enacted (see letters 1530, note 3 and 1541).

3411

To Jeremy Bentham

Bury St. [London], 22 April 1829

I am sorry sincerely sorry that I have not been able to shew my respect and (I will call it by its right name) my veneration for you sooner since my return from Ireland. The fact literally is that I have been engaged in ministerial intrigue and management about *my* seat or *a* seat in parliament¹ and my mind was not in tone nor was I in temper to see you and talk to you of the 'celestial harmonies' of the coming days. Take my excuse, my apology for what it really is, strict truth. My state of uncertainty continues and will cease only in the next week. I am too anxious to be even a pioneer in your great object not to give you every satisfaction, and make any atonement to you in my power. *Scold* me downright — if I deserve it — but do not write or feel coolly to me.

I again repeat that my occupations since I came to town have absorbed more of my mind than any others I ever was engaged in.

You shall command whatever energies that mind possesses. Do — I implore of you *command* them.

I did but little, very little, but travel and attend at one *Nisi Prius* case² while in Ireland. That little consists of packing up my Bentham Library and importing it per steam boat to London. It has not *yet* reached me. And also getting the codification petition newly ingrossed. It should be before parliament this session if I be in the *honourable* house.

With respect to my correspondence with you make any *use* of it you please. How glad I should be that it were *useful*. I have no sinister interest to oppose to that utility and if I had I would have much enjoyment in making the sacrifice of that interest.

In my negotiations with the ministry I of course did not conceal my reform principles, not in the least.

I have a borough secure if I lose Clare,³ one which leaves me under no obligation to any body or party. I am impatient for parliamentary utility, and to set you on the Code by authority of parliament before this session closes.

I will write myself to you as soon as I can and I look forward to the settlement of this *scoundrel* question about my seat with anxiety that I may be disengaged from every thing but public duty.

Accept my most respectful good wishes and the expression of my sincere gratitude to and ardent veneration for the Newton of the Law.

Ever your devoted pupil,
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: NLI MSS 5759

1 See letters 1552 *et seq.*

2 Blackwood-v-Blackwood at the spring assizes at Downpatrick, Co. Down, 1-3 April (*Northern Whig*, 9 Apr. and supplement; 16 Apr. supp.; and 23 Apr. supp., 1829).

3 See above note 1.

To Jeremy Bentham

[Bury Street, London, Thursday, 28 May 1829]

My revered Master has given me great satisfaction by his 'Despatch Court.' Would it were instituted tomorrow. I return the entire manuscript. Some portion I am unable to decypher but I have read the rest and derived great pleasure from the perusal. It must be. There must be a despatch Court. There is a pressing and daily encreasing necessity for such an experiment, and the experiment once made every court will soon become a Court of despatch. We must not however lose sight of the right of appeal. As a general rule it must be preserved, though the experimental despatch Court *may* be without appeal. In page 11 a blank is left for 'the uses of appeal.'

I have *consumed* some time struggling for my seat for Clare.¹ I hope it is not time lost. I am certain it has enabled me to be in disposition and from conviction more independent of party of every kind in the house. I expect to be returned for Clare again. I expect it confidently. Then for Utility — Utility.

Law — Church — Finance — Currency — Monopoly — representation — How many opportunities to be useful.

I leave this city for Dublin on Saturday morning. Let me have a line by the post to say whether you can allow me to go to you at a quarter before seven on friday — the 29th — and to remain with you till eleven. You must in that case give me some fish as I do not eat meat on friday. Any one kind of fish I am entirely careless what. I have a most orthodox dislike to every kind.

I do most fervently hope that you will live to see the British Isles blessed with your Code. My humble efforts shall be most persevering to attain that most useful object.

I will not express — indeed I could not express my affectionate veneration to you — it encreases as the period when I can start forward in the race of legal utility approaches and becomes more certain. Luckily the new Chancery bill² and justice of peace bill³ are postponed until next session. Much has been made of more [?untoward] materials.

With the greatest respect, Your-to-be-useful disciple,

Daniel O'Connell

- 1 See letter 3411.
- 2 A bill to facilitate the administration of justice in the court of chancery was sponsored by the lord chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, and passed by the House of Lords in May 1829. It was not introduced to the Commons.
- 3 A bill to provide for the better execution of the office of a justice of the peace in England. Peel, the home secretary, sponsored it but he withdrew it on 27 May in order to give the bill further consideration, intending to introduce it again in the next session of parliament. (*Mirror of Parliament*, 1829, 825-6, 1892-3).

3413

To Jeremy Bentham

Ennis, County Clare, 30 July 1829

BENEFACTOR OF THE HUMAN RACE,

I avowed myself on the hustings this day to be a 'Benthamite,' and explained the leading principles of your disciples — the 'greatest happiness principle' — our sect *will* prosper.

I begin my parliamentary career by tendering you my constant, zealous, and active services in the promotion of that principle. You have now one Member of Parliament *your own*. Stay with us, my venerable friend, remain with us in person and in intellect for a few years longer at the least, and you will see the fee-system and the cobwebs of fiction destroyed — mere cobwebs, which catch the little flies, and allow the wasps to break through.

I do most potently believe that the hour for successfully introducing a rational plan of procedure, and 'a Code,' is fast approaching. I have sent my Bentham's Library to my country house where I shall be able to spend six weeks of the 'long vacation.' There will be this advantage from the adjournment of justice till November, that my zeal for Codification will be accompanied by more of knowledge before I have the pleasure of seeing you again.

Accept the assurance of my most unfeigned respect and admiration. My homage is the more sincere, for being capable of springing from one cause only, namely, my conviction of your paramount utility to mankind; an utility which could never have existed if to the most clear intellect in the world you had not added the perpetual and cheerful energy of continued perseverance.

I intend to set up a *shorter* Codification Petition — indeed, several petitions for ‘Codification’ — that is, for the draft of a Code.

I think the Honourable House, as there is to be no expense but that of printing, will yield to my reasoning, or if not, to my *repetition* — not to say my teasing, and advertise on your plan for a Code.

I write in haste to announce to you the return of ‘your member.’ You see you have the same property as a boroughmonger. I have the honour to be, with veneration, and let me add, affection, your faithful disciple.

SOURCE: Papers of Mr. D. R. Bentham

3414

To Archbishop Daniel Murray

Ennis, 3 August 1829

My Lord,

I seize the first moment of comparative leisure to announce to your Grace what you already know that I am in parliament and that you may now rely on the most sincere disposition to assist in every measure useful to the peace and morality of Ireland. I shall feel highly honoured by obtaining more confidential communications from the Catholic prelates in Ireland which may enable me to be useful. The interests of every species of Catholic charity and of Christian Education require more protection now than perhaps at any former period. The time is come when they ought to assume something of a fixed and permanent state. The Catholic Church in Ireland was for many years *persecuted* after the “so called” reformation. It was afterwards *tolerated* but in bondage. It is now *liberated* and as it were identified with the nation. This then is the time to think of the measures necessary to give to the Catholic Church that legal fixity which would place its “*dotation*” in a state of perfect legal security. Its endowment can come only from the people at least for the present though the time may arrive when the government may deem it wise to assist in the establishment of Glebes and Glebe houses. In truth these are subjects which occupy a good deal of my thoughts and I feel a strong presentiment that we shall live to see some of the good realized. But at all events these are pressing occasions to attend to the means of more general education for Catholics and to preserve Catholic Charities. For these purposes I wish to receive the instructions and the commands

of the Catholic prelates. I desire to consider myself their representative in some sort in parliament if they will allow me that honour. I can promise you the most persevering attention and the most unremitting exertions to be useful. I will not consider any effort I can make a trouble. On the contrary I shall always feel proud in getting an opportunity of shewing my zeal and attention.

I therefore most respectfully offer to your Grace the assistance of one member of parliament to combat whatever you deem injurious to Catholic Charities and education, and to advocate whatever you deem useful to either. . . .

SOURCE : Dublin Diocesan Archives

3415

To Thomas Spring Rice

Derrynane, 21 September 1829

My dear Rice,

Allow me to request that you will have the kindness to put me in the way of getting my parliamentary papers. I am told that I am entitled to them from the commencement of this parliament.

You shall have any assistance I can possibly give on the East India monopoly,¹ at least a vote. I am endeavouring to prepare myself on that subject. Indeed on all your plans of public utility you will find me a very zealous although probably a very inefficient supporter.

I am sorry to say that I expect nothing good from the administration of the Duke of Wellington, especially as it is plainly over ridden by that vile Duke of Cumberland. I really think that it would be better drive the King into a compleat Tory administration than to leave the present men in power. They — that is — pure Tories — could not stand long, and then there would be no resource save the real Whigs.

You will smile at my mountain² politics but I am out of the reach of any information save what I gain from the newspapers.

SOURCE : Power-Lalor Papers, UCD

- 1 No legislation on this subject was introduced to the Commons during the coming session.
- 2 A reference to the mountainous area in which Derrynane is situated.

To Jeremy Bentham

Extracts

Derrynane, [Thursday] 22 October 1829

RESPECTED AND REVERED MASTER,

To begin with the beginning — I did get your half letter as I was leaving the Cork Assizes,¹ and wrote a reply; but an accident caused it not to be sent, and then I had a thousand things to add, and then I determined to write fully when I was just about to open the winter's campaign.

I give myself six or seven weeks here of comparative mental *inexertion*. This is the wildest and most stupendous scenery in nature — and I enjoy my residence here with the most exquisite relish. I have a pack of beagles with which I hunt on foot three days in the week. They are of the very best and most sagacious quality. I am in truth fascinated with this spot: and did not duty call me elsewhere, I should bury myself alive here. As to the remainder, the change of scene — of hours — of habits — of exercise — gives a new tone to my mind, and I leave this place with a new impulse, and with my mind new strung for reform and utility in every shape and form. To-morrow I spend, as my last day this season, in hunting. On Monday, I leave for Dublin — all for work, incessant work.

I give you this sketch to show you why I have been less active in pursuit of useful change for the last six or seven weeks.

My winter's campaign commences. My first duty is to discharge my debt to you.

The *History of the Catholic Association* (Wyse's)² omits that part of the struggle which is most interesting, and is most instructive, I mean the working up of small means into mighty engines. The progress from political infancy, through political infantile squabbles, into something of youthful strength, and then into great manhood and vigour.

This session — now or never, for Law Reform. *We must begin the first day of the session before the king's speech, if possible. No delay. No vacation.* The Law-despatch Court is independent of the Code. It is just what, in my judgment, ought to be brought on at once.

I will be in London, please God, a week or ten days before the 'Honourable House' sits. I will take with me a great number of petitions for justice, speedy, inexpensive, and real justice.

But it is not *now* practicable to send round in Ireland law-preachers — preachers of Law Reform. You can form no adequate idea of the present state of the public mind in this island. We are in the last stage of the politico-religious fever. I have been watching its symptoms, and permitting nature to take its course. Believe me, the patient will be soon well, and strong soon, and fit to teach a lesson to the nations on all subjects of public amelioration. The Orange symptoms might easily be exasperated by irritation. It is left to disappear of itself; and is disappearing. You shall — you *will* hear of Ireland with pleasure, before the traffickers meet again in St. Stephen's Chapel.³ I am much deceived if Law Reform and Parliamentary Reform do not meet with powerful assistance from Ireland shortly — very shortly.

I get the *Westminster Review*⁴ by post as soon as it is published. The triumph over the *Edinburgh [Review]*⁵ is complete. That controversy⁶ is terminated, unless the *Edinburgh* renews it. I am also an active agent for the circulation of the *Westminster*. Not one of the mercenary agents can be more zealous. Simply because I feel the value to public opinion of that work.

I have no objection that you should show my letters to any person you please. I give you the most unlimited discretion on that subject, both for the past and future, including the present. I do this without any feeling of vanity; because I know that a man, ignorant as I am, may possibly be the means of suggesting a train of thought which may lead superior minds to objects of great utility. Do with my letters just what you please.

I trust the American Republics will at length settle into peace. The number of selfish beings which their revolutions have produced, desirous of converting the popular struggles into individual advantage, is not creditable to them. But their materials for change were of the worst description; and to this, I verily believe, much of the conduct of Bolivar, which appears suspicious, is to be attributed. Look back, however, at his career, and behold what eminent services he has rendered to Liberty. It was his generous persevering ardour that, in spite of every motive to despair, enabled him at length to crush the Spaniards in Colombia; and thereby, to lay the foundation of freedom in other, and even very distant provinces. He first taught the natives that the Spaniards were not invincible. Then he established the perfect equalisation of civil rights amongst all castes and colours. Do not, I beg of you, give him up without sifting the evidence against him closely. His accusers amongst his countrymen are mean and selfish individuals who cannot submit to the superiority of talent and virtue. Society is in its most discordant elements around him; and it may be difficult to confide power to an

unformed, ignorant, *scattered* population. If I must abandon my reliance on the purity of Bolivar I will shed a tear for poor human nature. But no: I venture to prophesy that he will live to have his patriotism and disinterested virtue recognised all over the world.

I know General Miller,⁷ and think very highly indeed of him. I read the *historical* part of his work,⁸ and will seize the first leisure moment to read the remainder of it. I do entirely agree with you that he is a very interesting and highly-gifted man.

My accident⁹ was much less serious than as represented in the newspapers. I was not for one moment insensible; but having been dashed violently against the ground, I was unable to rise for about one minute. In ten minutes afterwards I was as competent to assist my brother, who broke his arm, as if I had not fallen at all. The terrors of the place too are much exaggerated: but why should I detain you respecting an incident which would be forgotten by myself, but that the papers have fabricated 'an article' on it; and what is to me really precious, that you have expressed so much of kind solicitude for me. Believe me, I am most cordially grateful.

I have read, or rather, am carefully reading your book on Judicial Evidence.¹⁰ It affords me the greatest satisfaction. But I must release you from this lengthened communication: let me first call on you for suggestions — say commands, as to my parliamentary career. If you think it right, I will begin with 'the Despatch Court,' that is, the first or second day of the session: then the natural, as opposed to technical procedure — at least a petition on this subject: then an address to procure 'a Code.' Every day I will have a petition on some one or more law-abuse. It seems to me that it will be useful to have a talk on this subject almost every day. So many people have to complain of the expense and delay of the law, that thus stimulating the expression of public opinion cannot but be useful. — I am, with the sincerest respect, your zealous disciple.

SOURCE: Bowring, *Bentham*, XI, 21-23

- 1 O'Connell left Cork on or shortly after 2 September.
- 2 Thomas Wyse, *Historical Sketch of the Late Catholic Association of Ireland*, (London 1829), 2 vols.
- 3 The chamber in which the Commons sat was formerly St. Stephen's chapel.
- 4 The Radical twice-yearly journal founded in 1824.
- 5 The Whig twice-yearly journal of long standing.
- 6 The controversy between the two journals arose from an adversely critical review in the December 1828 issue of the *Edinburgh Review* of Bentham's *Rationale of Judicial Evidence, specially applied to English Practice* (London 1827), 5 vols. The controversy continued into 1830.
- 7 William Miller (1795-1861), an Englishman who served under Bolivar in the struggle against Spain, and was promoted to the rank of general.

See *DNB*.

8 John Miller, *Memoirs of General Miller in the service of the Republic of Peru*, (London 1828), 2 vols. John Miller was William Miller's brother.

9 See letter 1614.

10 See above note 6.

3417

To Jeremy Bentham

Merrion Square, 4 November 1829

I found here awaiting my arrival a letter from my revered Master. I hasten to reply before I am entangled in the net of profession. My time now reckons by the minute but did I count it by the dropping of my heart's blood I would devote some of it to the man who has done more to ensure the destruction of abuses and the establishment of common honesty than any other human being I ever knew or read of.

I send also a Cork newspaper¹ that contains resolutions passed at Youghal² for a Code — aye for a Code. This is but the beginning. You will hear more on the subject expeditiously. The reporting in the paper I send you is execrable, except the first speech delivered by the Rev. Mr. Sheehan³ on taking the Chair. It is only because it contains the *resolutions* that I send the paper. I intend to present a number of petitions the first and second days of the Session for law reform and a code. The honble House! shall hear the name of Bentham, a name which it would seem has been considered too harsh hitherto for 'ears polite.' I will if you approve of it drive at once at the framing of the code. No committee to cushion it — no reward to create contention — and to excite patronage and favouritism. You plan simply, printing at the public expence — the sentiment of glory and utility the only stimulants. You will live to see your work printed at the national expence — and I trust finally adopted. My humble name *will* in spite of the sneerers be found in some margin or beneath the last page and I too will have done the good work of facilitating right and justice and abolishing perjury with useless oaths.

As to a Review of any work I have not time for it — at least I think I have not. Reviewing would have this good effect on my own *education*, that it would force me to a greater condensation of thought. I should therefore review if I had time. I promise nothing but *may* do something.

The *Jurist* I read and like. I have got six numbers of it.

It is fortunate Livingston⁴ should be in England just now. If he remains until I arrive I will seek him out and shew him my respect and gratitude.

I read the *Scotsman*⁵ occasionally and with pleasure. It was edited I believe by Macculloch⁶ whom we hate. He wrote himself into fame and fortune as the advocate of Absenteeism!!!⁷ and to him we attribute the subletting act⁸ which whether its future effect may or not be beneficial has already ten thousand mortal murders on its head during the process of clearing the Lands to arrive at its Euthanasia. The dislike of Macculloch reacts upon the *Scotsman* though in other hands.

The Public House licensing system is really more surprising if possible than abominable. How John Bull can be so stupid a dolt as to submit to it. It is portion however at [*sic*] of that practical despotism which the jurisdiction of irresponsible justices has established with an iron hand in England and Ireland. Without responsibility — for any that exists almost perfect as a mockery — and without appeal the Bench of justices collectively and in detail have made the people feel despotism in its worst shape, its emaciating constancy of oppression. But for collateral advantages in these countries I would prefer to live under the simple tyranny of a Turkish Cadi⁹ to the endurance of the complicated oppression of an unelected irremovable irresponsible *incorrigable* bench of Justices of the peace. All this they are in fact. The remedy comes within the immediate head of 'local jurisdiction.'

The King's Bench is the avowed accomplice of the crimes of the magistracy. But you catch my sentiments on these [?poi]nts — I will endeavour to avail myself of your accuracy and distinctness of mode of redress.

I shall rejoice to hear from you when you can spare time. Never doubt for one moment of the fervour of my determination to struggle for 'Right and Justice.' Although I detest the persecuting spirit of infidel liberalism and still cling with fond hope to Bolivar there never yet beat a heart more sincerely devoted to Benthamitism than that of

Your faithful disciple,

Daniel O'Connell

- 1 Not identified.
- 2 This meeting took place at Youghal, Co. Cork, and O'Connell spoke at it. The report of the meeting in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 5 November 1829 contains no reference to a code (see letter 3409, note 3 for a description of such a code).
- 3 Rev. J. Sheehan, probably Rev. John Sheehan (for his identification see letter 1323, note 1).
- 4 Edward Livingston (1764-1836), statesman and law reformer. See *Dictionary of American Biography*.
- 5 The *Scotsman* of Edinburgh was a twice-weekly newspaper.
- 6 John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864), Scottish statistician and *laissez-faire* economist. He wrote the articles on economics in the *Scotsman* 1817-27; and he expounded the 'wages fund' theory. See *DNB*.
- 7 McCulloch gave evidence before the Commons' select committee on the state of Ireland in 1825 (*Parl. Papers*, VIII, pp. 807-838). In his evidence he denied that absenteeism was a major cause of Irish agrarian ills, and he even saw some advantage in it.
- 8 In his evidence to the select committee (see above note 7) McCulloch saw subletting as a major evil. The subletting act (see letter 1448, note 1) was passed in 1826.
- 9 A civil judge.

3418

To Jeremy Bentham

Merrion Square, [Sunday] 13 December 1829

My dear Sir,

I went to Drogheda on Saturday; and, therefore, did not read your last letter till Sunday. I came back to this town yesterday noon-day: thus I account for not replying instantly, as you desired.

Now to reply to your questions: *1stly*, I read your former letters attentively, without being in any degree offended. Add — I was not — I am not — nor ever shall, or will be — I never can be offended with you. — Reason — because I deem you the most useful man to the world at large that I ever knew. I have scarcely ever read of any man who could fully compete with you in point of practical utility.

If you had not attacked Judge & Co.¹ by direct face-blows, the absurd superstition by which they were surrounded would have protected a most unjust, mendacious and vexatious system under their wings, for at least another century.

I cannot write more at present: but I *do* owe you a long letter — and thus promise to pay within the meaning of Lord Tenterden's act,² which has already cost several hundreds of pounds to *discover* that meaning.

SOURCE: Bowring, *Bentham*, XI, 29

- 1 By 'Judge & Co.' Bentham meant judges and other lawyers who profited from the unjust system of fees.
- 2 Unidentified.

3419

To Viscount Tullamore

5 Maddox Street [London], 3 June [1830]

Mr. O'Connell presents his respects to Lord Tullamore and begs leave to inform his Lordship that Mr. O'Connell intends to present the Carlow petition¹ tomorrow Friday, the 4th Inst. He hopes that day may not be unsuitable to Lord Tullamore's convenience.

SOURCE: Howard Bury Papers, Public Record Office, Belfast

- 1 This petition had been drawn up for the purpose of freeing the borough of Carlow from the control of Tullamore's father, the earl of Charleville. On 4 June 1830 O'Connell moved that it be referred to the select committee on Irish tolls and customs. Despite Tullamore's opposition the motion was passed (*Mirror of Parliament*, 1830, 2128-2130). On 13 July the committee presented its report which was ordered to be printed, but on 16 July the order was discharged, probably because of the approaching dissolution of parliament on the death of George IV.

To John Redmond,¹ Rathmines, near Dublin

(private and most confidential)

Clonmel [Co. Tipperary], 21 July 1830

My dear friend,

I have the pleasure to tell you that all promises most fairly for Waterford.² Indeed success seems quite certain. But to business.

See Nick Mahon, my old friend, confidentially, or if you be not on terms with him get one of the Re[y]olds³ or some other steady friend to see him and to tell him *this*; that although O'G[orman] Mahon behaved I think very unwisely, I have no resentment on that account, and my immediate friends keep themselves disengaged in order to give O'G Mahon *at least* vote for vote⁴ for any his friends give me in Waterford. If O'G Mahon instead of attacking my procession⁵ had consulted with me privately I think without my interference his return would be secure. Steele⁶ is mad with him.⁷

But I stray from the point. Let Mr. Mahon have this communication *discreetly* and let me hear from you. Direct to Waterford. Send to my house to have my letter forwarded there.

Believe me John Redmond the friendship of honest men is my pride and consolation and yours is most warmly prized by

Your ever faithful and sincere

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: Property of Dr. Maurice O'Connell, Woodley, Highfield Road, Dublin 6

1 For identification see letter 2051.

2 O'Connell was in due course elected for Co. Waterford in the general election of 1830.

3 Either John or Thomas Reynolds.

4 James Patrick O'Gorman Mahon was in due course elected for Co. Clare in the general election of 1830.

5 On Sunday, 18 July, O'Connell made a triumphal procession from Limerick to Ennis. Along the way O'Gorman Mahon and his supporters joined the procession and some rioting took place. The *Dublin Evening Post* of 22 July 1830 contains an account of the incident abridged from the *Clare Sentinel*.

6 Thomas Steele. For his identification see letter 1500.

7 In a letter dated 10 (obviously a misprint for the 19th) July 1830 to the *Post and Sentinel*, published in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 22 July 1830, Steele (a partisan of O'Connell's) blames O'Gorman Mahon for the incident.

To Unknown

Derrynane, 31 August 1830

private

My dear friend,

I need not I am sure tell you how sincerely desirous I should be to comply with any request of yours. You are one of those who have honestly and zealously assisted to procure one salutary change¹ for Ireland, and who will I am convinced aid in producing by the same constitutional means another and greater advantage to our Country. I confide in you. I esteem you. I am heartily and I would add affectionately grateful to you.

Besides I feel for the wife and family of poor Lawless² and would serve them if I possibly could.

But there are other considerations of the importance of which no man living is a better judge than you are yourself. There is public utility and there is also impartial justice. I write of course only for your private eye, and in the strictness of confidence I must say that I can not say that Lawless ever satisfied me of the soundness of his views or the perfect integrity of his purposes. He was always or almost always *a nuisance to be managed* and it was difficult to manage him. One thousand times he has been ready to sacrifice *the cause* to indulge in a display. Indeed he was eternally looking out for popular occasions of — I will not say doing mischief — but of opposing the course of our proceedings no matter what mischief might accrue so that he made a display or shewed party [?strength]. The worst trait of the entire was that it was useless to speak and argue with him in private. He used to yield to the detail of such argument because he really had no answer to give, but the moment [his?] association was formed he would break out as if he had never yielded. I really had more trouble to keep him within bounds than I had with the rest of the affairs of the Catholics. He was in short troublesome, unsteady and I think totally devoid of any principle of action.

Next his conduct since Emancipation has been most preposterous unless he was looking out for a place. In London he filled the newspapers with the praises of Wellington and Peel and he has been on the same cry since his return to Ireland. He also has been a flatterer of the Irish government. Indeed when I reproached him on this subject he avowed to me his desire to get some of the good things

of the tyrants of our country. This was not his phrase but is the substance of his admission to me.

Now as to the justice of this case — I am totally unable to excuse both him and his brother. I suppose you are aware that his offer to resign in Sheil's³ favour was 'on being paid £500.'⁴ So it is reported to me by competent authority. Then you may recollect that in his first letter he asserted that he had been offered [remainder of letter missing]

SOURCE: Property of Dr. Maurice O'Connell, Woodley, Highfield Road, Dublin 6

- 1 Catholic Emancipation.
- 2 John Lawless.
- 3 Richard Lalor Sheil.
- 4 In the general election of 1830 Sheil was defeated when he stood for Co. Louth. He then appears to have considered standing for Co. Meath on the resignation from that contest of Lawless. In a public letter, dated 22 August 1830, Lawless denied that he had been bribed to resign (*DEP*, 28 Aug. 1830). In his biography of Sheil, W. Torrens McCullagh said that Lawless's resignation and Sheil's appearance in Co. Meath gave rise to 'sinister rumours' (*Memoirs of the Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, [London, 1855], II, 85).

3422

To John Primrose, Jr., Hillgrove, Cahirciveen, Ireland

14 Manchester Buildings, Westminster, 17 November 1830

My dear John,

The public papers will give you as much news as I can save that you may expect upon a change of the money system and that the new men will let out the Bank notes — the one pound notes in England which will send up prices. The alteration too must in every other respect be rather favourable to Ireland. I should hope that several of our enemies in power will be [?]drifted to the right about. But *this day* I can not speak more confidently.

I am in a hurry to have the enclosed sent forward without any delay. You must send forward the enclosed at once with two pounds. Get a receipt or voucher for the money and transmit it to me. I got the two pounds here from the person who left the letter. Be attentive, my dear John, to do this quickly.

The state of England is really frightful. The labouring classes have taken the law into their own hands and are now abolishing tythes and taxes and fixing their own wages at 2s [two shillings] a day, a pretty sum for an Irish labourer. You will I believe hear more from these fellows. The new ministry¹ will certainly not find themselves on a bed of roses. It is expected that we shall have an adjournment of a week of the house, and of five weeks at Christmas. I intend to spend the latter weeks in Ireland but really these are times when one can scarcely anticipate the extent to which political changes may go. I assure you I look on the repeal of the Union as nearly certain. I am sure of carrying it if Ireland seconds me as it ought [remainder of letter missing]

SOURCE: Library of University College Dublin

1 Wellington resigned from the premiership on 16 November 1830.

3423

To Jeremy Bentham

16 Manchester Buildings [London], 22 February 1831

My dear Sir,

The duplicate of your letter of the 31st of January was handed to me by Mr. Mitchell¹ of the Vote office. The original reached me about the 4th of this month and I thought myself at liberty to shew it to Mr. Staunton who with me concurred in considering the view of the case taken by you too valuable not to communicate your letter to his counsel. They have formed a resolution to rest much of the defence on the reasoning you suggest but I have now reason to believe that the case will never be called on. At present my belief is that it will be suffered to rest in oblivion.

I should have answered your letter sooner and should have endeavoured whilst I was last in town to have seen you but for a reason which does not belong to the characteristics of my countrymen — I mean a sense of shame — I am ashamed of my inutility. I had formed a confident hope that my career in parliament would be one of considerable usefulness. I had flattered myself that in the British Senate I could and should be able to advance the sacred cause of rational and cheap government and assist to cleanse the Augean Stable of the Law. My first mistake consisted in entertaining a high opinion of the moral worth and intellectual power of the house of Commons and I shaped my course mildly and

gently in order to propitiate the opinions of men whom I respected. You have a right to despise rather than pity me for this gross mistake. The consequences are a shipwreck of my parliamentary fame and the great difficulty I now have to assert a power which perhaps would have been conceded to me had I asserted myself strongly in the first instance. Under these circumstances I am ashamed to call myself your disciple. I deem myself not worthy of your patronage or friendship, and I console myself only by working for useful objects in a lower grade and endeavouring to make up by perseverance and moral energy for the loss of the more brilliant prospect of usefulness which I think lay before me.

But in every situation and under all circumstances your principles and your powers of mind are to me objects of cultivation and great respect. My respect, my veneration for you is unchanged and undiminished and if you can point out any thing in which you think so humble a labourer as I am can be useful, pray, pray command me. Rely on it that the principles of legislation which you have advocated are deeply impressed on my conviction and if I can contribute to substitute real justice to the working of Judge-made-law it will afford me pride and consolation.

I write with a proud but wounded spirit, that is, my proud spirit is wounded and humiliated at the failure I have experienced in my palmy hopes of doing great and extensive good to mankind, and I feel under the necessity of limiting my exertions to the amelioration of the institutions of one of the finest but most oppressed portions of the human race.

In conclusion I beg of you to accept my most grateful thanks for your letter, for your continued kindness, for your patronage, for your preeminent usefulness. I also beg of you to believe that your principles, founded as they are on plain sense and irreversible reasoning, form the cherished political creed of, My dear Sir,

Your sincere admirer and devoted servant,

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: Boston Public Library

- 1 James Mitchell (died 1833), Deliverer of Votes, House of Commons.

To his wife, Merrion Square

London, 1 March 1831

My darling love,

I write to you in great and most contented spirits. You will form a very inadequate Idea of the debate¹ last night from the Reports in the paper. The *Morning Chronicle* does me something like justice in part of the Report. But this you may rely on for your comfort that I really was triumphant. It is impossible for any one to conceive what a partial auditory I spoke amidst, and yet I enforced silence and I may say compelled silence. I gave Stanley some very hard knocks and Lord Anglesey still more, and I have not done with them. In short, sweetest, my mind is at ease. My tranquillity is restored and I *feel* that I have succeeded.

We go on this evening with the Reform question.² The debate will last two or three days or rather nights but I will come home at twelve. I am thank God in perfect health, breakfasting every day as usual and eating a hearty dinner between two and three.

The selection of the Committee³ on the Drogheda petition will come on this day and Maurice's fate in that respect will be decided in a few days. We are confident in our expectations but must not be too sure of any thing.

The committee on O'Gorman Mahon's business⁴ is going on in his favour. He has got a most unfavourable committee but the evidence broke down yesterday and if they do not pull up this day the petitioner will certainly be defeated and Mr O'Gorman Mahon will retain his seat. He however seems to be in great want of money. It is strange he should be so. At present it would be a triumph to our enemies that he should be turned out. How I wish darling that you had been at home before me when I came in with a light and gay heart last night. You have sweetest a Key to my desk, the mohagony [*sic*] standing desk in my study. Darling there are in it two letters of R N Bennett to me. His conduct is most awkward.⁵ Get a search made for those two letters and for a copy of one of them and send them to me. Do not allow any thing to be deranged. Let me also have his letter to Maurice. With the tenderest love to our children, believe me sweetest heart's darling,

Yours most doatingly and fondly,
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: Property of Mrs. Betty O'Dea

- 1 See letters 1775 and 1777.
- 2 See letter 1778.
- 3 See letter 1778.
- 4 See letters 1778, 1780 and 1781.
- 5 See letters 1764 and 1767.

3425

From Daniel Callaghan¹

[Monday] 10 October 1831

Dear O'Connell,

Having been requested to make a communication to you of a private and confidential nature I wished to have done so through one in whom you had a right to have a reliance, and with this view, sought for Sandes² with whom I had a conversation on Friday, and I then consulted your son³ who has counselled my stating to you direct the request that was made of me.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 This is the first part of letter 1840. It was omitted from publication through an error. The two parts comprise the whole letter.
- 2 Perhaps Stephen Creagh Sandes.
- 3 Probably Maurice O'Connell.

3426

To the Editor,¹ Northampton Mercury

Strictly private

London, 11 February 1832

Sir,

Some person kindly sent me your paper containing very well written strictures on my public conduct.² There is much of that commentary which I am bound to confess is very flattering to my vanity and for *that* you will easily believe I feel thankful. But perhaps I ought to be more grateful for the passages that imply censure as they also suggest good advice.

I desire to stand well with the writer of that article. His is plainly of that class of minds with which one ought to desire to stand right. I therefore can not resist the impulse of stating to you what my principle and practice is on the point which you deem vulnerable.

They are these. I feel myself most strictly bound to speak nothing of any *public* man but what I deem accurately true. I do not think myself at liberty to suppress the truth respecting a *public* man in his *public* conduct merely because I am determined not to attend to any challenge to fight a duel. I act in that respect precisely as I hope I should if under the terror of duelling. I speak the truth — and *I speak the whole truth* — which is a duty respecting the acts and *selfish motives* of public men.

But if I go one jot beyond the truth I am most ready to atone by public apology and public retractation. This readiness I have avowed and *published* over and over again. I never assail private vices if they exist but public crimes I expose with all my energy taking every preliminary precaution to ascertain the truth — and being ready to correct the error if after such precaution I exceed. Such is my principle, such is my practice. I am not to spare the enemy of the people merely because I am not ready to shoot him or to be shot for doing my duty. But I am ready and most unfeignedly anxious to repair any mistake I may fall into, and that at the expence of any humiliation or what may be called disgrace. It is a debt I have to pay and I ought not to shrink from paying that debt even at the expence of the greatest personal suffering.

You accuse me of political timidity. Alas, I had to steer the vessel that bore 'freedom of conscience' through stormy seas and amidst shoals, sands and rocks — rocks scarcely showing their summits above the treacherous waves.

To avoid figurative language — I had to conduct a public cause *against* an adverse and most vigilant press prompt to misrepresent every act and to exaggerate every fault, *against* corrupt and bigotted judges ready to exercise the utmost vengeance of the law, *against* the certainty of a packed jury requiring only permission to convict, against hollow and deceitful friends and cordial and unequivocal enemies. One bold dashing blow would have defeated my exertions for ever because my reputation as a leader depended on keeping my party safe from prosecution and I could not keep them safe without keeping myself so. Yet I was twice prosecuted by the most outrageous stretch of arbitrary power.

To be useful I must have preserved my reputation as a leader.

I owe you an apology for trespassing thus on your patience. You may differ from me on principle but you now know mine.

I might arraign your judgment on my political fortitude but I do

not. I only remind you that I a working barrister *opposed* the judges, *opposed* the Chancellor, *opposed* the party that constituted the special juries, *taunted* and ridiculed the Law officers of the Crown, *opposed* the ministry and their minions, *opposed* the prejudices, passions and power of the then powerful and most vindictive Orange faction, *opposed* the servility and corruption of the Catholic aristocracy and the treachery of fellow agitators.

You think I was *timid*. I think I was only *prudent*. Who shall decide between us. One thing only is certain that no person can be more unfit to decide than he who has the honour to be

Your obedient and grateful servant,

Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: Library of the Representative Church Body of the Church of Ireland

- 1 George James De Wilde (1804/5-1871), editor of the *Northampton Mercury* from 1830 until his death. See *Boase*.
- 2 An editorial in the *Northampton Mercury* of 11 February 1832. Since it was a weekly journal this issue probably appeared a day or two before the printed date. The writer commends O'Connell for refusing to fight duels but insists that that refusal places him under an obligation to refrain from making the kind of verbal attacks which normally lead to duels. Though censorious of O'Connell the article is courteous and ably written.

3427

To John Primrose, Jr.

Private

Derrynane, Saturday [autumn 1832, perhaps 25 August]

My dear John,

[A long paragraph on money matters involving O'Connell, Charles Sugrue, the Brennans¹ and the late Segerson (probably John James). The amounts are small. O'Connell considers he owes one of the Brennans £72 and tells Primrose to pay it: 'I expect thus with the blessing of God to have my conscience clear on this subject.']

Send me *first* a stamp for a bill between £100 and £150. *Second*, get me a couple of small hammers for breaking stones *on a road*. *Third*,

get me from three to four dozen of soda water. I would say six dozen if the carriage were equally convenient.

Attend the tythe meeting tomorrow and get the Repeal Resolution passed unless Keane Mahony objects. Tell him from me that if he was not a convert before, I hope Brougham's Rebellion speech² has made him so. There is no other way to oppose the paltry conduct of this administration. As to the resolution respecting Chute³ I hope it will pass unmitigated. If I have such a resolution to found my complaint upon I think I will make an impression against him in some higher quarters. I am told one of his drivers⁴ is a tenant of mine. If he be and that he owes any rent serve him with a notice to quit at all events and distrain him at once for the rent. The notice to quit whether he owes rent or not, the distress also provided he owes rent. If there be any near relations of his on my lands serve them also with the notice to quit.⁵ I sent the draft of resolutions to the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald⁶ by the messenger who took the franks to Ellen Connor.

The post boy from there wants a good leather cap very much. With sincere love to Rickarda,

Ever yours,

Daniel O'Connell

[P.S.] I send back a batch of newspapers charged as I believe with shillings. If these papers be charged only pence I will take them and pay. Get Mr. [name illegible] in future to send a postage docket that I may know what to return.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

- 1 See letters 1908 and 1913.
- 2 In a debate in the Lords on the Irish tithes composition bill on 9 August 1832 Brougham said that large public meetings in Ireland which excited people to commit outrages were tantamount to rebellion. (*Mirror of Parliament*, 1832, 3650).
- 3 Rev. Francis Arthur Chute (c. 1800-1839), curate of Cahirciveen from 1829 until his death.
- 4 Clearly a driver of cattle distrained for non-payment of tithes.
- 5 Tomás Ruadh O'Sullivan wrote a poem about the distraint of a widow's cow in the Cahirciveen area about this time, entitled 'An gheadach d'á crúhdhach "san Ghleann"' (Séamus Fenton, *Amhráin Thomáis Ruaidh*, i, *The Songs of Tomás Ruadh O'Sullivan, the Iveragh Poet, 1785-1848*, Dublin, 1914, second edition, 1922, No. xxvii). Among those mentioned approbiously in the poem are the rector of Cahirciveen, Rev. Barry Denny, and the curate, Rev. Francis Arthur Chute. For drawing my attention to this poem I am indebted to Dr. Pádraig de Brún.
- 6 Rev. Edward Fitzgerald (for partial identification see letter 1405).

Native of Rathmore parish; educated at Maynooth and ordained in 1819. P.P. of Cahirciveen 1825-45; Rathmore 1845-51; Kilcummin 1851-59. A diocesan trustee, he retired in 1859 and died on 15 Feb. 1866.

3428

To John Primrose, Jr.

Derrynane, Tuesday [probably August 1832]

My dear John,

I am much disappointed in many things. The wines I got from Cork are by no means satisfactory. Can you tell the quantity and nature of the wine you ordered? I will, I hope, be able to send you tomorrow a list of those that have arrived. In fact there is much confusion about it. I will do what I can to unravel the matter. Do you look to any letters which Tom Fitzgerald¹ may have written to you about these wines and let me know the result in as few words as possible. I have got a wooden box containing three dozen bottles sent by Sir D. Roose. I have got besides, 6 hampers of *port* containing altogether about 24 dozen, 6 hampers of sherry containing 24 dozen or thereabouts. There are then 4 hampers of Sauterne containing about 12 dozen altogether. The port is fair wine enough. Some of the sherry very bad. The Sauterne appears also very indifferent. There is also a hamper marked to contain six dozen Madeira.

I am very much disappointed also at not getting from Cork a parcel I sent from Dublin on Friday week. I wrote to Tom Fitzgerald about it.

I want a small jar of ink. I thought there was one here. Say from a pint to a quart jar. Will you procure it for me? I will send you cheques in my letter of tomorrow night.

Love to Rickarda² etc.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 Thomas Fitzgerald. For identification see letter 979, note 1.

2 Rickarda Primrose. For her identification see letter 721.

3429

To John Primrose, Jr., Esq., Hillgrove

Derrynane, Wednesday [perhaps autumn 1832]

My dear John,

I need not tell you that I will be most happy to see my most esteemed friend, your good father. I should indeed be jealous of him if he did not spend some time with us.

Send to Maurice O'Connor, M.D. for a phial of Croton Oil.¹ It is called Croton oil. Let him have no excuse but to get it from Cork or Dublin if it be not in Tralee. *Let me have it.*

I pay Polls [Potts] £17 Irish for the year I kept him out of Caherbarna. This is exclusive of Brennan, and adds to my personal comfort exceedingly.

[P.S.] Love to Rickarda,² Ellen³ etc.

SOURCE: O'Connell MSS, UCD

1 A drastic purgative.

2 Rickarda, wife of John Primrose, Jr.

3 Probably Ellen Connor.

3430

To John Hubert Plunkett¹

Derrynane, 19 September 1832

My dear Plunket [*sic*],

This letter will be handed to you by a young gentleman, an ally of mine, Mr. Murphy. You will not like him the less for being a near relation of your friend Maurice².

This young gentleman has got some situation in New South Wales which as he is one of a large family he accepts of but I believe he will require some friendly aid to advance him into a situation of more competency. I have no hesitation in assuring his relations that your friendship for me would instigate you to do any thing in your power to serve him, and I am quite sure it will. . . . [O'Connell praises Murphy very highly] If he were my son I could not feel more grateful for any attention shewn him.

This is not an opportunity to canvass politics but I may tell you though you are on the high road to the Bench that I am *repealing the*

Union. When you come to see your friends after having sat some years with credit to yourself and benefit to the Colony as Chief Justice you will I trust find Ireland as she ought to be. You know the rest.

SOURCE: Melbourne Archdiocesan Historical Commission

- 1 O'Connell erroneously addresses the letter to Plunkett as "Atty Gen" whereas Plunkett was actually solicitor-general.
- 2 O'Connell's son.

3431

From Bishop Henry Conwell¹

Philadelphia, 1 December 1832

My dear Sir,

The blood of the martyrs killed at Wallstown² and at Kilkenny,³ under the specious pretext of law, by hired assassins sent for that purpose as it is reported by the Marquis of Angelsea [*sic*] has excited the sympathy and angry feelings of all mankind. The friends of Ireland and of humanity in this country, derive some consolation from the hope, that the time is not very remote when the cries of the widows and orphans of these murdered victims will call forth the vengeance of Divine Providence, to punish the authors of such atrocities.

The payment of tithes is the ostensible cause of the cruelties which have lately disgraced your unfortunate country, in consequence of which that system cannot be tolerated much longer. The wisdom of Parliament will at length see the necessity of abrogating that iniquitous law, when it shall appear that there is a general deeply-rooted hatred and aversion to tithes impressed on the minds of the people of Great Britain as well as of Ireland; and it is well known that this is the case at present. The man therefore who will rid and free the nation from this grievance, will deserve well of his country and merit the gratitude of posterity, as well as of the present generation.

Without praise or fulsome flattery in the sincerity of my heart I consider you to be an instrument in the hands of God for effecting that great measure as well as the repeal of the union; without which the King who is the bond and essential head of the Union, cannot properly speaking be called the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, because since the period of the

commencement of the interregnum, which has now lasted thirty-two years, that is since the dissolution of its national Parliament, Ireland has been reduced to the rank and situation of a province, and must continue to be so, until its parliament shall be restored.

Persevere, therefore, boldly in your bold undertaking without fear or trembling; but never let your natural courage or passion of any kind, excuse this innuendo, tempt you to be guilty of a breach of the law, which your enemies wish for. Your object is not to counteract or oppose the law, but to procure the repeal of all bad laws and bad systems. I am an Irishman by birth; America is my country by choice and adoption. As a true-born Irishman, I cannot but feel a lively interest in the welfare of my native country. Under all circumstances I conceive it to be my duty to contribute my meed in aid of your laudable endeavours to effect and accomplish the great work of real radical emancipation and reform, which you have been at all times busily employed in promoting for the good of your country; and for this purpose I send you a bill of exchange amounting to ten pounds sterling which I request you to hand over for me to the Treasurer of the national fund, and let me have the honor of being inscribed as a member of the Irish National Political Union.

The public agitation created by the election of a fit person to fill the presidential chair, has hitherto prevented the people from meeting to take into consideration the means of raising the Irish National Rent.⁴ This matter however will not be long delayed. My friend General Andrew Jackson, the present President, is re-elected.

SOURCE: *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. XXIX, (1918), pp. 259-61

- 1 Henry Conwell (c. 1745-1842), born Moneymore, Co. Londonderry and educated in the Irish College in Paris where his family had a burse. Vicar-General of Armagh archdiocese for 21 years; bishop of Philadelphia from 1820 but superceded in the administration of the diocese in 1830. See *New Cath. Encyc.*
- 2 See letter 1919, note 3.
- 3 Carrickshock, Co. Kilkenny. See letter 1902, note 3.
- 4 The O'Connell Tribute.

3431a

To Walter J. Baldwin, Newman Street, Oxford Street, London

Derrynane, 28 September 1833

My dear Walter,

I write one line to tell you that I have sent by this post to the Rev. Mr. Maghee¹ a cheque of £17.12.0 out of which he will hand you £7 on my account. I will take care in future that your allowance should go through the same channel and at the same time with my brother James' share.

No political news as yet in Ireland — our farce of Whig governorship being played on a grand scale in Dublin. But the people are sound throughout Ireland, and you will I think be pleased with their efforts in the coming agitation of the Repeal. I thank you much for your care of me in the *great unstamped*.

Have we any chance of seeing you here this season.

[P.S.] Send to Mr. Maghee *the moment* you receive this to ascertain if he got the Cheque. It is drawn on the Wrights — Bankers.

SOURCE: NLI, MS 21737

1 Rev. Dr. Anthony Magee.

3432

To John Hubert Plunkett

London, 7 July 1834

My dear Plunket [*sic*],

I write this merely to solicit your kindness for Mrs. Gibbons and her family. She goes to New South Wales under afflicting circumstances. After years of prosperity commercial failures and the breach of confidence of a near relative have deprived her family of all their pecuniary resources. She is my very near relation. [O'Connell praises Mrs. Gibbons and her husband and daughters as of the highest character, and asks Plunkett to try to introduce the daughters to any families seeking young ladies able to teach French and music, and he adds that these young women 'have the resolution and the good sense to earn their bread without any foolish pride or affectation'].

SOURCE: Melbourne Archdiocesan Historical Commission

To John Hubert Plunkett

Tralee, Co. Kerry, 1 January 1835

My dear Plunket [*sic*],

I have often and often proposed to write to you and postponed doing so at the pressure of my various occupations so long that I am almost ashamed to do so now but there is a case of justice and of suffering humanity which will not permit me to defer it any longer.

Before I go into the case which *demands* my writing at present allow me to tell you that I saw your letter to Maurice and had the pleasure of receiving one from you dated in May last and handed me by your friend Surgeon O'Donoghoe¹ who has impressed me with very favorable sentiments in his behalf. I am delighted to find that you are in such good spirits as to your future prospects. If Spring Rice still continued in office I should have been able to procure for you either a reduction to one man's duty or an elevation to two men's pay.² But you will have learned that the Whigs have been turned out of office and that the highest toryism is now in power. I do not believe it can remain long so. Indeed that I should conceive to be quite impossible, and if the Whigs come in again rest assured that justice shall be done to you. I knew Kinshela³ for many years. He did little, very little, at the bar here and really it is too bad that he should be placed as an incubus upon you there. I will take my chance when I go to London in about a month and remonstrate with Sir George Murray⁴ on this subject. I am glad you think so favorably of Chief Justice Forbes.⁵ I will avail myself of the first opportunity to speak of him in the house as I perceive he deserves, and I entirely agree with you that your colony should have a representative body of legislators as speedily as possible. The success of the trial by jury⁶ affords an omen of and an argument for the second great experiment. I think I remember reading in some old law book that jury trial arose from the principle of representation.

We are in an unpleasant state now in this Country with our Orange Rulers but it is only a passing cloud which will give a brighter glow to the light of liberty when it shines out again. You see I am getting poetic, but not the less of the spirit of prophesy on that account. The Tory dominion believe me *will* not and cannot last.⁷

Now for the stimulating motive of *of writing* to you at this moment. There is a Kerryman of the name of James Daly (convicted under the description as I recollect of James Daly the younger) now

in the Colony. His *alleged* Crime was a rape. He was tried before Chief Baron O'Grady and I was his counsel. His father compelled me to produce foolish witnesses who took off the attention of the jury from the weak parts of the prosecution, and he was most improperly convicted. The Chief Baron ought not to have allowed the conviction but he was then in the commencement of his dotage. Circumstances have since transpired which demonstrate his innocence but it is impossible to bring them before the government without a reference to the Chief Baron's notes and his confirmed dotage has driven him from the bench and renders him incapable of making any report. I therefore feel bound to commit this poor man to your peculiar care. He always sustained an excellent character and is of a very decent respectable parentage. You may safely upon my authority represent his case to the Governor as one of entire innocence and you will I am sure do what you can and *all* you can for him. Unless his forced associates in New South Wales have demoralized him he certainly *was* and *is* a perfectly trustworthy man. If it be possible get him his liberty. If not, let me know what obstacles lie in the way, that is, in the Colony, and if he can not be set altogether at Liberty do what you can to improve his condition.

Many many thanks for your kind attentions to my young friend Mr. Murphy.⁸ It was truly gratifying to me to have you respond so compleatly to my wishes for his interests.

I beg my kindest regards to your fair Lady and to your lovely sister. What bad taste the colonial beaus must have to allow her to call herself *Miss* Plunkett.

I wish I knew what intelligence from this country would be most gratifying to you.

The newspapers give you our politics. They do not tell you that there never was a more miserable falling off than in professional business in our Irish Courts. I am prevented from attending to profession by reason of my parliamentary duties. Your contemporaries in general do not make by profession the price of the powder for their wigs — one reason why the fashion of using hair dyed grey in bar wigs has set in.

SOURCE : Melbourne Archdiocesan Historical Commission

1 Unidentified.

2 Owing to Kinchela's deafness Plunkett had been since 1833 doing that part of the attorney-general's work that required sound hearing.

3 John Kinchela, LL.D. (c. 1775-1845), born in Kilkenny, son of John Kinchela, merchant. Educated Trinity College, Dublin, and called to the Irish bar in 1798. Appointed 1830 attorney-general in New South Wales and arrived there in 1831. Compelled to retire because of deafness in 1836. See 'John Kinchela' in *The Australian*

Encyclopaedia, ed., A.W. Jose and H.J. Carter (Sidney, 1925-6), 2 vols.

- 4 Lt-Gen. Sir George Murray, kt., (1772-1846), secretary for the colonies 1828-30; master-general of the ordnance 18 December 1834 to 4 May 1835 and 1841-46.
- 5 Francis Forbes (1784-1841). Born in Island of Bermuda and called to the English bar in 1812. First chief justice of New South Wales 1823-37: appointed 1823 he arrived there in 1824. Knighted 1837. See *DNB*.
- 6 Forbes was instrumental in having trial by jury established in New South Wales in the 1820's. See 'Francis Forbes' in *The Australian Encyclopaedia*.
- 7 The Tory government had come into office in November 1834 but was to give way to a Whig administration in April 1835.
- 8 See letter 3430.

3434

To Rev. Robert William Willson, P.P.¹

London, 18 March 1836

Rev and dear Sir,

I am truly grateful for your kind, your very kind letter.

It is with great diffidence that I differ with you on the subject of the marriage bill.² I think it desirable that a legal witness should be present at all marriages. If marriage were merely a sacrament or religious rite only, then I should most decidedly object to the *intrusion* of any secular person. But marriage is not thus limited. It confers great civil rights. It gives title to the unborn, as they shall come into existence to inherit *according to the Law* freehold property by one modification of legal arrangement and personal property according to another and a different legal modification. Recollect that when it gives title to one, it creates an exclusion of another, for example, the sacrament of marriage duly administered by you at this moment to two Catholics confers no rights of inheritance to the children of that marriage. These rights are now vested in other relations of the parents. By the new law your marriage will extinguish the rights of those relations or rather will transfer them to the children of that marriage. Have not those relatives therefore a right to have a person authorized by Law present to authenticate the fact which is to give or to take away civil rights. But you will say — can not such a person be a Catholic? Why he can and may, and probably will when equality in other respects

consigns the acrimony of sectarian hate into more of moderation but the question is what is the objection to his being a protestant. I should say none whatsoever because he is not present to participate *in sacris* or to impede the sacred rites in any way. He is there singly and solely to testify to the state that a marriage ceremony has in fact been celebrated and thus to give the children of the marriage *easy* and *conclusive evidence* of their rights to their parents' property.

But he is to be appointed by a Protestant Clergyman! But it is not in his spiritual function that such Clergyman appoints him. The Clergyman is made a temporal officer for this purpose. It is not in reference to spirituals but in relation to temporal rights, that is, to property that the Clergyman makes the appointment.

And what a change from your present situation. Your marriage *now* a nullity in Law, your marriage giving birth now to bastards without rights or title to land, money or other property. Your marriage by means of this law conferring all these rights and titles, creating all the advantages of legitimacy, the state requiring nothing more than that it should appoint a competent witness to certify *the fact* of marriage and giving to the Catholic children the easy and conclusive proof of that fact with all its valuable consequences. I therefore can not advise any resistance to the clause. I may be very wrong but whilst I think thus I can not resist the clause as it stands.

SOURCE: Hobart Archdiocesan Records, Morris Miller Library, University of Tasmania

- 1 Rev. Robert William Willson (1794-1866). Born in Lincoln and ordained 1824. P.P. of Nottingham 1824-42. Appointed first bishop of Hobart 1842 and arrived there in 1844. Worked for the improvement of conditions of transported prisoners. See *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.
- 2 A bill for registering births, deaths and marriages in England (only) which was enacted on 17 August 1836 as 6 & 7 Will. IV c. 86. In the Commons on 12 February O'Connell expressed strong support for the bill but he did not speak on it again (*Mirror of Parliament*, 1836, 135).

To Rev. Robert William Willson, P.P.¹

London, [Tuesday] 29 March 1836

My dear Sir,

Your letter has *decided* my route — to Northampton — but *privately* — on Saturday. To Loughboro² on Sunday afternoon *late*. I will expect to receive at Loughboro a letter telling me all that is intended on the next day. I would propose to breakfast on Monday at Bradmore³ or Ruddington⁴ both which towns I perceive are so near Nottingham as to enable a procession or public meeting to have intimation of my approach. If there be any procession the principal managers, three or four, should meet me in an open carriage with four horses. I would have my own and go into *that* carriage when I met the people. This is the *most approved mode* of conducting the *imperator triumphans* of a popular procession, with four horses a force is obtained just sufficient to get through the crowd. Let me know which you think preferable, Bradmore or Ruddington to stop and breakfast; to the latter a messenger on horseback might be sent to ascertain my approach so as not to keep the people *waiting* in the streets. By taking precautions of this kind confusion and iltemper [*sic*] are avoided. I have *some* experience and give *you thus* the benefit of it. But in these and in all other respects I give the most compleat discretion to do what is deemed best by *our party*⁵ in Nottingham.

I have had an invitation from Lord Raneliffe⁶ which I have been obliged to refuse. I may tell you in confidence that the world's wealth would not tempt Mrs. O'Connell to go under the same roof with an known and avowed female⁷ of *that* description. I will expect to have a letter from you before Saturday. Recollect that I am not to blame for your having this trouble. It is your own kindness has brought it on you.

Any procession ought not to proceed *more at the utmost* than half a mile from the town. The progress of a popular procession of any size is almost inconceivably slow. I have known two hours consumed in one mile. At the close of the procession I would address the people from any *well arranged* public vantage ground. Look to the strength and solidity of any erection used for that purpose either old or new. Let me speak *with* the wind.⁸

You will smile at these minuteness [*sic*] but I know the value of attention to details.

I beg you will believe that I am with perfect truth and great respect

Your very faithful and obliged

Daniel O'Connell

[P.S.] Do not think me ungrateful for not thanking you for the offer of accomodation [*sic*] of your house. Indeed I am grateful but Mrs. O'C *must* stop in travelling *only* at inns. It is there only that there is perfect freedom which is so necessary to a lady travelling. It is in vain in a private house to *dispense* with etiquette. Even that would be *g nant*⁹ as they say in France.

SOURCE: Hobart Archdiocesan Records, Morris Miller Library, University of Tasmania

- 1 This letter is addressed to Rev. R.C. Wilson but a note at the end proves that Rev. Robert William Willson is the intended recipient. The note reads: 'Mr. and Mrs. O'Connell altered their minds and came to my house. Mr. O'Connell went on a tour (political tour) to Hull, York, etc. and left Mrs. O'Connell with me — he then returned and spent three or four days with me before returning to London. R.W.W.'
- 2 Loughborough, Leicestershire.
- 3 Bradmore, Nottinghamshire.
- 4 Ruddington, Nottinghamshire.
- 5 The Radicals (see letter 2088).
- 6 George Augustus Henry Anne [*sic*] (Parkyns), second Baron Rancliffe (1785-1850), Bunny Hall, Bradmore, Nottinghamshire.
- 7 Rancliffe's mistress, later a Mrs. Forteath.
- 8 The London *Courier* published a long and enthusiastic account of O'Connell's visit to Nottingham which took place on Easter Monday, April 4, a public holiday. The town was gaily decorated, and he addressed a crowd of not less than 40,000 in the market place. He spoke at a banquet that evening in his honour, at which the mayor, Thomas Wakefield, presided and at which the attendance of 600 included Rancliffe, General Sir Ronald C. Ferguson, M.P. for Nottingham, Lt-Col. Thomas Perronet Thompson, M.P. for Hull, Benjamin Boothby, Jr., and William Howitt. As one of the speakers at the banquet Ferguson said he had been on the Commons' select committee investigating the Raphael affair (see letters 2248, note 3 and 2311) and he could say that the charges against O'Connell in that affair were the result of a conspiracy. (*Courier*, reprinted in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 7 April 1836). A hostile report from Nottingham in the London *Times* of 6 April 1836 said O'Connell addressed 'some 10,000 or 11,000 idlers,' and that the banquet was attended by 'about 400 of what are called in the language of this place "the low party" but none of the . . . rich or respectable inhabitants of Nottingham were present at the dinner. If they were, they were few and far between.'
- 9 That is, inconvenient or awkward.

3436

To Rev. Robert William Willson, P.P.

Market Harboro [Leicestershire], 13 April 1836

My loved friend,

You will be glad to hear that my beloved Mary came here yesterday without being at all exhausted by fatigue. She rested well and is blessed be God better this day. I entertain no doubt of being able to take her to town without any serious inconvenience.

She desires to have her most grateful regards presented to the excellent little Doctor.¹ He will be glad upon every account to hear of the success of his treatment of her malady.² As to you, my ever respected and loved friend, neither she nor I can find words to express our esteem or affectionate admiration of your gentle and most assiduous kindness. That God whose annointed Priest you are has formed you with the clearness of intellect unobscured and unsubdued by all those kindly elements of individual and general charity and practical benevolence which almost without your knowing it constitute your moral and social character and compel all, (even those who most differ from you on the matters of the most awful importance), to respect and cherish the man. You are an instrument in the hands of that good God who alone can and will reward you for countless ages. Pardon me, my dearest friend, for the outpouring of my heart and seal my pardon by thinking of me sometimes at that moment when 'My Lord and my God' may most favorably receive your prayer for him who stands most in need of it.

Believe me then with the sincerest respect and most affectionate gratitude and regard,

My loved friend,

Your ever faithful
Daniel O'Connell

SOURCE: Hobart Archdiocesan Records, Morris Miller Library, University of Tasmania

1 Dr. Blake was apparently a medical practitioner in Nottingham.

2 See letter 3437, note 1.

3437

To Rev. Robert William Willson, P.P.

[London], 15 April 1836

My dear friend,

You will be so glad to hear of the rapidity of Mrs. O'Connell's recovery that I can not refuse myself the pleasure of telling you that since Dr. Nugent wrote she is much, very much, improved.¹

SOURCE : Hobart Archdiocesan Archives, Morris Miller Library, University of Tasmania

- 1 The above letter is written at the end of a letter of the same date from Dr. John Nugent (for his identification see letter 3294) to Rev. Robert William Willson in which he says that Mary O'Connell's health is good, 'that since her arrival in London, those acute symptoms of rheumatism under which she labored when at Nottingham have been rapidly subsiding. . . .'

3438

To. J.H. Boykett Esq., Secty. 'anti Church Rate¹ Society,' Patriot Office, Bolt Court, Fleet Street [London]

Trafalgar Hotel [34 Spring Gardens, London], 3 February 1837

Sir,

I very much regret that your letter of the 24th January was directed to me at 'Brookes Club' as by that means it was delayed reaching my hands until near four o'clock yesterday evening. Had it been directed to the 'House of Commons' or to 'The Reform Club,' I should not have been deprived of the honour and pleasure of attending your meeting — a deprivation which I assure you fills me with regret.

As matters stand I can now only indemnify myself by a constant attendance on the government Church rate bill,² a bill which will have my support only in case it be founded on 'the voluntary principle' so as to discharge the Protestant dissenters and the Roman Catholics from any charge *direct* or *indirect* for the sustentation of the places of worship of the 'Established Church Protestants.' I can not and will not *whatever may be the*

consequence vote for any transmutation of the rates to any fund to which all classes contribute, such as the 'Consolidated fund.'³

The time is in my opinion come when this step should be taken in the career [*sic*] of 'religious liberty' for conscience can not be free as long as one man can be *compelled* to contribute to support for another's advantage, the exercise of a doctrine which the contributor believes to be erroneous. Upon *this* principle I will support a Church rate *abolition* bill,⁴ but none other.

SOURCE : Boston Public Library

- 1 Church rate was a tax to pay for the maintenance of the fabric of Anglican parish churches and for certain costs incurred in providing divine services.
- 2 At the opening of parliament on 31 January 1837 the King's Speech made an implied reference to a bill to abolish church rate (in England and Wales). A motion to this effect was passed in the Commons on 23 May 1837 by 287 votes to 282, and leave was given to introduce such a bill. It was not introduced, obviously because the majority in favour of the motion was so small.
- 3 The Consolidated Fund was the major revenue fund to which the permanent taxes were applied and from which the interest on the national debt and other permanent charges were paid.
- 4 O'Connell did not speak in the debates on the church rate issue, though he voted with the majority on 23 May (see above note 2).

3439

To John Hubert Plunkett

London, 18 March 1838

My dear Plunkett,

You will I know permit me to introduce to you a very respectable gentleman, a friend of mine, Mr. Pinnock,¹ who is going to your colony in the agency of emigration. I can assure you that he is an honest consistent reformer whose steady principles have long made him friendly to 'Justice for Ireland.' You can also be convinced that I would not introduce him to you if he was not worthy of every regard, as a person of strict honour and integrity.

I can not close this letter without expressing my most cordial gratification at the high character you have earned for yourself in the colonial office where every body speaks of you in the highest terms.

SOURCE : Melbourne Archdiocesan Historical Commission

- 1 Probably the man who was dismissed from his office of immigration agent in 1841 for allegedly being prejudiced against Irish immigrants (Roderick Flanagan, *The History of New South Wales* . . ., London, 1862, II, 29-30).

3440

To Thomas Spring Rice

16 Pall Mall [London], 15 June 1838

My dear Sir,

I confess I feel not a little annoyed at the tenor of your letter¹ of yesterday's date as conveying the idea of connecting me with the report² in the *Dublin Evening Post* of the meeting between you and the deputation respecting the banking Laws. I had no more connection with that report than you had.

For the rest, I entirely concur in the statements contained in your letter being perfectly accurate as far as they go but they do not purport to contain all that occurred on that occasion. The only important omission — if it can be called an *omission* — is that you certainly created a strong impression on my mind and I believe on that of many of the deputation if not of all that your present opinion was favorable to the continuance of the Bank of Ireland monopoly of issue in Dublin. I am the less surprised at this impression being created because I think a similar idea is excited by the perusal of your letter as all the questions after the first appear superfluous upon any other supposition. I am bound in candour to add that you distinctly stated and that more than once that you had come to no fixed determination on any part of the case, and that you reserved to yourself the most explicit freedom as to what may be the result upon your mind of all the facts and circumstances as they should be disclosed in evidence before the Committee.³

I beg leave to add I entirely concur with you as to the fidelity of the reports of such communications as we had with you being indispensable to the safety of public interest. Yet I do not see why that remark should be addressed to me with a demand for a reply. As that demand is made I have only to repeat my unequivocal disclaimer of having been directly or indirectly connected in any manner with the report of which you so justly complain.

SOURCE: Power-Lalor Papers, UCD

- 1 Not extant.
- 2 The report of a meeting in Dublin on 11 June of 'merchants and others immediately interested in the banking laws' (*DEP*, 12 June 1838). According to one of those present, a Mr. Smith of Drogheda (probably of the firm of Smith and Smyth, corn merchants and shipowners in Drogheda), who said he had been on a deputation to London, 'the Chancellor of the Exchequer [Thomas Spring Rice] said that something was due to the Bank of Ireland, and that their privileges should extend over Dublin.' Smith thought, however, that 'the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Government would yield to the people of Dublin, or not to the people of Dublin but to the people of Ireland generally.'
- 3 A select committee appointed on 30 April 1838 by the House of Commons 'to enquire into the operation of the Acts permitting the establishment of Joint Stock Banks in England and Ireland . . .' O'Connell, Rice and Peel were members of it.

3441

To Andrew Carew O'Dwyer, Four Courts, Dublin

16 Pall Mall [London], 30 August 1841

My dear O'Dwyer,

I may be mistaken, exceedingly mistaken, but I never was so convinced of any thing as I am of this, that no Compliment whatsoever should be paid to Lord Fortescue.¹ At least no repealer can possibly join in it. There is nothing left for Ireland but the repeal. It may be a bad provision but it is *our all*, our wretched all. England has once again swamped us, and we must not throw into the overwhelming tide the remaining Ark of our *possible* safety. Without metaphor, I can not consent to disparage the Repeal by complimenting the man who made a *dirty* blow at it.

I am sorry, my dear friend, to differ from you but as I have no doubt of the impolicy of paying Lord Fortescue a departing Compliment I express myself strongly.

The Tories are indeed triumphant, and nothing but popular *consistency* can form a new party to oppose them. How bitterly should we not curse the Whigs, the paltry time-serving Whigs.

SOURCE: NLI, MS 21703

- 1 The lord-lieutenant on his approaching departure from Ireland now that the Tories are about to take office.

3442

To W.D. Geary

British Hotel, Jermyn Street [London], 22 May 1846

My dear Geary,

I unhesitatingly acquit Mr. Ross¹ of having acted with dishonourable motives in not avowing that he was employed by the Government as a Short hand writer in Ireland. That he acted indiscreetly in not doing so² there can be no doubt and I understand that is Mr. Ross's own opinion. His conduct, as he stated on the trial,³ arose, I believe, from that misapprehension of the character of the Irish people which unfortunately prevails among too many of his countrymen and which he avowed his subsequent acquaintance with the people of Ireland had entirely removed from his mind.

SOURCE: NLI, MS 21752

- 1 Charles Ross who gave evidence at the trial of O'Connell and his Repeal colleagues in 1844 (see letter 3039, note 1). In his evidence he describes himself as a journalist on several English newspapers and as having been sent over by a newspaper and the Government to report on O'Connell's monster meetings in 1843. He was examined at the end of the third day and the beginning of the fourth day of the trial (*DEP*, 20 Jan. 1844). He was obviously not the celebrated Charles Ross of the *London Times* who is identified in *Boase*.
- 2 This reference is puzzling. Ross admitted at the trial (see above note 1) to having acted as a shorthand writer for the government. Probably O'Connell is referring to his not having made that admission when reporting on the monster meetings in 1843.
- 3 The *Dublin Evening Post* of 20 January 1844 said that Ross's evidence at the trial would be 'highly serviceable' to the defendants.

Cumulative 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.

In most cases where a name has many references the name has been inadvertently repeated.

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Abbreviations

ERO : Explicit references only
 SRO : Significant references only
 BOC : Letters written by O'Connell
 TOC : Letters written to O'Connell

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