

DANIEL O'CONNELL

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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

DANIEL O'CONNELL

THE LIBERATOR

EDITED WITH NOTICES OF HIS LIFE AND TIMES

By W. J. FITZPATRICK, F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF BISHOP DOYLE'
'LIFE AND TIMES OF LORD CLONCURRY' ETC.

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A VERY interesting turning-point in the career of O'Connell is now approached. Whigs and Tories were so nicely balanced at this time that fifteen would turn the scale. The General Election of 1835 left him master of the situation. He led sixty-six men who could make or break a Cabinet. In March 1835 Peel introduced a measure to extinguish tithes, but O'Connell declared that it lacked the 'appropriation principle,' by which the surplus of the Church Fund would be applied to the purpose of general education. This clause, he declared, was worth the entire Bill. Over that principle a great battle was to be fought, and previous to it a memorable meeting took place at Lichfield House, at which 'The Liberator's' views were adopted. It was there arranged that Lord John Russell should move the Appropriation Clause as an amendment to Peel's resolutions. The latter branded the proposed course as 'spoliation' and threw down the gauntlet. For days and nights hostilities raged. Lord John Russell had already shaken the Government by obtaining a majority of thirty-three against them on the

Tithe question, and he now returned to the attack, and moved a resolution embodying still more determinedly the Appropriation Clause. This motion was carried by a majority of twenty-seven. Peel regarded the result as implying a want of confidence, and on April 8 resigned. While excitement filled every political circle, and Brooks's Club was thronged with expectant Lords of the Treasury and others, the London press discussed the situation in terms not always uncomplimentary to O'Connell. The *Courier* said that 'ever since the dismissal of the Melbourne Administration Mr. O'Connell had acted in the most disinterested manner, without showing the slightest regard to his own personal objects; and we hope that, in any new arrangements, the benefit of his great talents, and still greater popularity, may be obtained to promote the mutual advantage of Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. O'Connell has not only kept himself aloof from political intrigue of every kind, and has made no attempt to forward his own views, but has, as we have reason to know, most unequivocally declared that, whether in or out of office, he will support with all his energies any Administration resolved to do justice to Ireland.'

The *Morning Chronicle* declared that wisdom and policy demanded the conciliation of the men who were in possession of the confidence of the Irish people; that O'Connell's hold of that people arose from a conviction that he was their friend, to whom they owed emancipation from bondage; and that, 'if it were wished to smooth the way of Government in Ireland, an endeavour should be made to secure his services.'

'The people of England,' said *The Times*, 'ought to know of a case on which the Russell Cabinet is now sitting, and in the decision of which the King of England and all his subjects are, we grieve to say, too deeply interested. Everyone knows that the delay and difficulty hitherto experienced by Lord Melbourne in his attempt to form a Whig-Radical Administration had arisen from the servile fear entertained by his Lordship's party of the Repeal agitator, Mr. O'Connell.'

The coalition which followed has been described thousands of times as the 'Lichfield House Compact.'¹ 'Com-

¹ Two meetings were held at Lichfield House, one on the 12th, the other on the 23rd March.—*Greville*, iii. 224, 233.

pact there was none,' writes Earl Russell in his *Recollections*, 'but an alliance on honourable terms of mutual co-operation undoubtedly existed.'² Indeed, the conduct both of O'Connell and the Government made the understanding and the coalition equally notorious. The new Ministers were anxious, so far as the Hereditary Chamber would permit, to do justice to Ireland by carrying various reforms, and O'Connell, on the faith of that anxiety, exerted his vast power to sustain the Government. Any one who turns over the newspaper files for the two years which succeeded the coalition must see that Ireland enjoyed a great calm. The characters of three men in the Administration gave O'Connell a guarantee for the reforms he had been led to expect. The Viceroy, Lord Mulgrave, opposing all the traditions of his family, held almost Radical views. Lords Morpeth and Duncannon were thorough friends to Ireland, and Drummond was prepared to show the energy of a Hercules in cleansing the Augean stable of Dublin Castle.

It has been so often assumed that a treaty was ratified between O'Connell and Melbourne that, doubtless, some curiosity will be excited to see documental evidence of its terms. But, the arrangement having been verbal, no documents passed, so far as I have been able to discover. 'Between parties hitherto divided a compact alliance has been formed,' Sheil said in one of his speeches; and soon the word 'compact' was made the text of startling leaders and excited declamation. The warmth of feeling thus evoked received no small stimulus from an account of the negotiations which the *Morning Post* claimed to be able to furnish.

Lord John Russell, it stated, asked O'Connell if he had any suggestions to offer with respect to the construction of a new Administration, and O'Connell named certain terms

² Sir John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, had a seat in the Cabinet; but his privately printed *Recollections* make no reference to 'the compact.' The same remark applies to the gossiping *Life and Letters of Palmerston*. Lord Campbell, less reticent, calls it a perfectly legitimate understanding, and adds: 'I am not aware of any bad measure, or bad appoint-

ment that can be ascribed to it. Little right had the Tories to taunt us with trying to please O'Connell, as they were ready at all times to co-operate not only with the ultra-Radicals, but with the Chartists.' (*Life of Campbell*, vol. ii. p. 156.)

Among the Whig creations was a title for Bulwer, which stimulated him to increased literary exertion.

indispensable to his support of it, adding that he was not personally desirous of office. 'Mr. O'Connell demanded that he shall have the absolute nomination of the next Attorney and Solicitor General for Ireland, with the power of filling up any vacancies that may occur in those offices. 2. That he shall have an absolute vote³ on the appointment of the new Lord-Lieutenant during the existence of the forthcoming Ministry. 3. That three great measures of State policy for Ireland shall be framed by him, and supported in Parliament by the whole strength of the Administration. The public,' adds the *Post*, 'will be astounded to learn that the whole of these conditions are acceded to without reserve. In pursuance of the first article of the O'Connell treaty, Mr. Perrin is already nominated for the office of Attorney-General, and Mr. O'Loughlen for that of Solicitor-General of Ireland. In pursuance of the second article, Lord Mulgrave has already been honoured by Mr. O'Connell's approbation as the new Lord-Lieutenant. With respect to the third article, extensive explanations were demanded and given, the particulars of which we have not learned, except that one of Mr. O'Connell's remedial measures is a considerable enlargement of the elective franchise throughout Ireland, by means of lowering the qualification. This measure is, we understand, and the public will not be slow to believe, founded upon such principles as, when brought into practical operation, will give Mr. O'Connell an effective nomination of nearly, if not quite, the whole body of Irish representatives in the House of Commons. It is stated to us, and we believe correctly, that Lord Melbourne and the Marquis of Lansdowne objected at first very strongly; but when Lord John Russell asserted that the support of Mr. O'Connell is absolutely necessary to enable any Government to carry on the public business in the House, and when he declared, moreover, his fixed determination not to form part of any Government of which Mr. O'Connell is not either a member or pledged supporter, the noble lords at length, and reluctantly, gave way. It is said also—and we have heard the statement from such a quarter as leaves not the slightest doubt in our mind of its correctness—that various attempts have been made to extort conditions from his Majesty

³ This was put by *The Times* and *Chronicle* as an 'absolute veto,' which has been adopted by O'Keeffe in his *Life of O'Connell*.

with respect to the creation of peers, and other exertions of the prerogatives of the Crown; and, we rejoice to add, that to all such attempts his Majesty has offered a determined and successful resistance.'

Part of this 'resistance' was a letter of six pages, levelled mainly at O'Connell, as we learn from the unpublished *Recollections* of Lord Broughton.

If some things are overstated in the account supplied by the *Morning Post*, there are several important points not mentioned at all. O'Connell consented that the great question of Repeal should be placed in abeyance; to aid the Irish Executive in maintaining English authority in Ireland, while requiring, on the other hand, that men of popular sympathies should be appointed to official posts; 'in fact, a real union between the two countries, involving equal rights, privileges, and franchises, and also that practical effect should be given to the Relief Act of '29, by taking the Government of Ireland out of the hands of the Orange ascendancy and identifying it with the nation at large.'⁴ The papers of the day describe the exciting scene where the Liberal section of the House, including O'Connell and his sons, advanced amidst shouts of applause and took possession of the Ministerial benches; while Melbourne, in the calm of the House of Lords, announced that he had formed a Ministry. Lord Alvanley rose to inquire whether the noble lord had or had not the powerful aid of Mr. O'Connell, whom the same Government, when in power a few months before, had denounced pointedly in the King's Speech. 'I do not know whether I have the assistance of Mr. O'Connell or not,' replied Lord Melbourne, 'but I say most distinctly that I have taken no means to secure it, and I most particularly state that I have entered into no terms whatever, or have said anything, from which any inference can be drawn, in order to secure that individual's support.'

Be this as it may, Lord Wellesley in his will describes O'Connell as 'Melbourne's pillar of state'; but Wellesley to his death smarted under the slight of not having been reappointed Viceroy by Melbourne.

O'Connell did not long delay to show the Premier how ready he was to help. Indeed, friendly relations subsisted between them when Mr. Lamb filled the post of Irish Secretary, and I find several letters written in January

⁴ *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland.*

1827 expressing anxiety that Lamb should be returned for Dublin. Lord Houghton says of him, 'there was a certain *Irishry* (as Irishmen then were) in William Lamb's character.'⁵

The Government had yielded to a request of O'Connell's that a commission might be sent to Dublin for the examination of 700 witnesses in respect to the Petition which had been presented against his return.⁶ The commission was now about to sit, and O'Connell, on arrival in Dublin, issued a manifesto to the people which deserves to be preserved.

After some introductory remarks he said : ' I come now before that people to avow myself the determined supporter of the Administration. To the King's Ministers I have tendered my unbought, unpurchasable, unconditional support. I have neither made terms nor stipulations with them. It suffices for me that their political principles are all identified with the cause of good government and of justice to the loved land of my birth. The tranquillity, the prosperity, the liberty of Ireland also appear to me identified with the maintenance in power of the present Ministry.

' It is under this impression that I have tendered my support. It is simply and singly because I deem them the friends of Ireland that they command my services, such as they are. Ireland is the object of my earthly idolatry : whoever is her friend is dear to me as the red blood flowing through my heart, and the horrid specimen we have just had of Conservative and Orange ascendancy makes me smile with delight at finding the bigoted oppressors deprived of power, and the prospect of a sanguinary contest between the people and the Orange faction closed, I trust, for ever.

' But as I have not deemed it necessary or wise to make stipulations with the present Ministry, I may and I ought to

⁵ *Fortnightly Review*, February 1878.

⁶ The Carlton Club is said to have largely defrayed the costs of the petitioners, which amounted to £40,000.

Large sums were raised in Eng-

land for the defence, the Duke of Bedford contributing one hundred guineas. The King waxed angry at this act, and ordered the duke's bust to be removed from among the sculptures at Windsor.

be asked what benefits I expect and anticipate for Ireland from the King's present Ministers?' Among the anticipated advantages were :—

'The country will cease to be governed by its unrelenting enemies. The Ministers will necessarily displace their own and the people's enemies, and employ the friends of the people and their own. How Ireland will rejoice when it is known that the Castle has been cleansed of those who distorted everything to the prejudice of the popular interest, and countenanced and protected everybody and everything hostile to the Irish people !

'The administration of justice in Ireland will be purified. The selection to judicial offices of political partisans will never more be heard of; men who have proved their integrity and independence by political honesty in times when it was a crime to dare to be liberal will be the fit objects of the selection of the Ministry; and the waters of justice will no longer be poured through mephitic channels, destructive of life and property, but will flow in pure sources, diffusing salubrity and gladness over the land.'

He goes on to say :—

'There is but one magic in politics, and that is, *to be always right*. Repealers of Ireland, let us be always right; let us honestly and sincerely test the Union in the hands of a friendly Administration, and, placing no impediments in their way, let us give them a clear stage and all possible favour, to work the Union machinery for the benefit of old Ireland.'

'People of Ireland !' he concluded, 'let us show ourselves worthy of the present all-important crisis. Let us forget all bygone dissensions and injuries. Let us rally round a Ministry which promises a new era, an era of justice and conciliation to the Irish people. Let us assist to reduce the Orangeists to their natural state in society—powerless and therefore harmless; enjoying the full protection of the law, and the fullest use of their properties and rights as subjects, but deprived of political favour or power, and

reduced to the level of their fellow-citizens. Let us assist the Ministry, finally, to adjust all rights connected with the system of tithes, and so totally to extinguish for ever that blood-stained impost. Above all, let us aid them to establish, at once and effectually, a complete Corporate reform, and to banish for ever from their usurpations that pestilent nest of corporate bigots and monopolists, who have so long disgraced and plundered our cities and towns.

‘The new Ministry are placed in a situation of some difficulty, and will want the entire aid of all the friends of reform and amelioration. Let Ireland become a portion of their strength and security, and let them, on their part, so deal with Ireland as to be able, hereafter, to look back with pride to the pacification and prosperity of this country as the work of their hands, and grateful Ireland will recognise them as the first of its benefactors.

‘We are, after all, a generous and confiding nation. May our generosity be met with a congenial and a reciprocal spirit; and may our confidence be justified by the sincerity, the zeal, and the perseverance with which the King’s Ministers will manfully do justice to Ireland.’

Thus was sealed, in the face of day, this famous alliance. Ridicule and invective sought at the time—and often successfully—to discredit it; but the importance of the Melbourne Administration must be historically confessed. Mr. Barry O’Brien says that it was the first which dealt in earnest with Irish grievances: it did more. In days when Governments rose and fell like meteor lights, Melbourne ruled for six years and a half. He formed his Government under most unfavourable circumstances. His following was largely composed of disappointed men, on whose fidelity he could not always rely; and he had to contend against a majority of near one hundred in the Lords. Yet this coalition Government—thanks to O’Connell’s support—survived two dissolutions, closed the reign of a king, and inaugurated one of the most important sovereignties in the annals of England. It carried a number of important measures against a powerful Opposition, headed by the master-minds of Peel, Wellington, and Lyndhurst, not to speak of the

ingenious hostility of Brougham, former Chancellor, but whom Melbourne had now thrown overboard.⁷

‘It gradually allayed the agitation which lingered after the great Reform tempest of ’32,’ observes a writer. ‘It subdued the revolt in Canada, and introduced a new era of Colonial Government; it established and maintained the ascendancy of the foreign policy of England, secured constitutional government in Spain, and triumphantly encountered one of the crises of the Eastern Question, and in its closing hours it raised that standard of Free Trade which was ere long to win over to its cause the most eminent of its former opponents.’⁸ All this while Melbourne, as Prime Minister, was honoured by the fullest confidence and regard which his youthful sovereign could bestow. An enthusiastic devotion to ‘our darling Queen’ will be found to pervade O’Connell’s letters.

Earl Russell, in a letter addressed to the *Daily News* shortly before his death, said:—‘It is late now to discuss the merits and the faults of Mr. O’Connell, but I cannot forget that when the Canadian insurgents were seeking everywhere for aid, Mr. O’Connell refused to countenance them; and in a similar manner, when strikes were going on in Ireland, resolutely refused to give them any encouragement.’ In fact, O’Connell was hooted at a meeting, and even threatened with death, for opposing the Trades’ Union and their exclusive ‘Prentice Laws.’

Judge Keogh once surprised some friends by saying, on the authority of the Right Hon. Edward Ellice, a member of Lord Melbourne’s Government of 1834, that O’Connell had been nominated Attorney-General, and was for half a day the first Law-officer of the Crown. Ellice⁹ was the negotiator, and O’Connell said that he would like to be in office, if it were only to show Protestants how impartially he could fill it. His commission as Attorney-General was duly made out, but difficulties intervened, and the appointment was cancelled in favour of Mr. (afterwards Judge) Perrin.

⁷ O’Connell said of Brougham when Lord Chancellor, ‘What a pity he does not know a little law, for then he would know a little of everything.’

⁸ *Edinburgh Review*, April 1871.

⁹ The Right Hon. Edward Ellice, originally a merchant of London,

born 1787, died 1863, having in the previous year received the honorary degree of D.C.L. He married a daughter of Earl Grey, and was Secretary to the Treasury and Whip during the Administration of that statesman.

O'Connell's letters to FitzPatrick are not explicit as to the hitch, but the opposition, it is certain, came from the King. O'Connell was admittedly quite competent for the post, but the King seems to have seen an awkwardness in entrusting the direction of State prosecutions to one who, throughout a long career, had dexterously sought to evade the law. The writers who deal with the Melbourne Administration, from Lords Houghton and Broughton to Mr. Torrens, are confessedly puzzled on points which this correspondence helps to make clear.¹ Lord Houghton did not himself enter Parliament until two years later, but he had the advantage of personal acquaintance both with Melbourne and O'Connell.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Friday, near 6 P.M. April 10, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—No final arrangement as yet made. Lord Grey has positively declined to be Premier, and Lord Melbourne is forming the Administration. As yet no difficulty occurs, save as far as relates to Irish affairs, the old stumbling-block to British ministers. Lord Melbourne has been for hours upon hours with the King, and everything progresses. There is no doubt of Blackburne being immediately dismissed, nor of *liberal* measures being adopted towards Ireland. At all events, this is a brain blow to the Orange faction. I do not like speculating on what is to be positively known so very soon as tomorrow, by which time I should hope the project of the new Administration will be compleat in all its English details. You may be convinced that I will not accept offers of any kind without distinct pledges. Nor is there any office I should accept save Attorney-General or Secretary for Ireland. But there may be objections in the prejudices of the King against me which may render it unwise to have me named to any situation. The result, however, will be that the less of personal advantage I acquire the more of national benefit shall I stipulate for. I do believe I will possess much of the confidence of the new Ministry, and my hopes are high for Ireland.

¹ See the *Fortnightly Review* for February 1878.

My committee are arranging the terms of the Commission² with a perseverance and *botheration* unequalled. The results, however, are satisfactory, and every hour convinces me that I approach to the close of the struggle. I have been unable to write hitherto since the committee began; but I see my way now, and will write to somebody every day. In the mean time be in good spirits about Ireland and

Yours sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Spencer Walpole, in his 'History of England,' writes: 'O'Connell was the greatest of living Irishmen; he was the greatest of living orators. Such a man might have been admitted into the Ministry and rewarded with the position which his abilities deserved.' It seems, however, to have been felt by Melbourne that an alliance so close with the Irish Liberator would estrange from the Ministry as many English adherents as it would gain from the Roman Catholics.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: Tuesday, April 14, '35.

My dear Fitz,—It is not wise to be so uneasy about the Commissioners. They have no discretion to reject evidence. They can only declare their reasons for not thinking it admissible, but they must put it on their fyle. In short, they are to decide *nothing*—with the prospect of a year's constant work at the least. Pray quiet the minds of our friends on this point. It really is not worth one moment's thought.

With respect to myself, most of the facts never *oozed out*. I was offered the Rolls, which I at once rejected. I understand the King made a personal objection to my being in power. Heaven help the worthy old gentleman! As if the way to give me power was not to keep me out of office! You are aware that I did at once disclaim taking any office, and freed the new Ministry from any embarrassment arising from their *want of me*. I have been most

² See p. 6, *ante*.

highly flattered and thanked &c. &c. for my conduct, and yet it would be not only folly but guilt in me to accept any office until *I had seen* how the new Ministry works. My policy is obvious—to keep what controul I possibly can *over* the new Government, instead of being under *their* controul. I will also be more useful by influencing the appointment of others than by submitting to take an appointment myself. I confess I never in my life ever supposed I could become so obdurate towards the Corporation and Orange factions as I am. Do not believe one word of any story of my relaxing on these points. *Delenda est Carthago* is my device³ as opposed to *that* horde. I will not support the Ministry if they leave in place or power one of them. They *must* ALL go. Not one of them can be tolerated as an instrument of government. As to Blackburne, Martley,⁴ and that gang, out they go! Do not credit the possibility of any one of them remaining in office. In short, all the *Shawites* must meet a rigid exclusion.

For the rest, the details of the new Administration are not as yet compleated, and nothing is known beyond what I wrote in a letter to Dublin yesterday,⁵ but the arrangements are going on most satisfactorily. It requires time to compleat them, but they will be ready for announcement by Thursday. Not only is there no appearance of a Tory reaction, but it is believed that Peel has actually declared that *he* gives up that party for ever. There is some truth in the report. The party are down, I do believe, for ever; but they must be excluded rigidly in Ireland, or nothing is done.

It is curious enough that my political education has been *perfected* by the conduct of the faction towards myself and my family. The unrelenting hatred with which they came out against me and my family after my five years of conciliation has surely taught me that it is a faction which may be beaten, but cannot possibly be otherwise conciliated

³ It will be remembered that this was the phrase with which Cato usually ended his appeals to the people of Rome.

⁴ Afterwards Judge.

⁵ The fate of this letter cannot be traced.

or even mitigated. I am therefore for depriving them of all power to do mischief. I am determined never again to enter into any compromise with *the scoundrels*.

The expenses of the election petition for Dublin have *all* fallen on me. They are frightful, although certainly not more than a fifth of the costs incurred by the petitioners. Their expenses must be *enormous*, but that is small comfort to me, who have the Youghal and Tralee petitions yet to combat at my own expense, for I cannot expect one shilling from either of these places. No wonder that my heart should sometimes sink within me. I must draw two more bills like the last, but I will defer them as long as I can. I hope to be in Dublin next week to get up personally the mode of conducting the evidence before the Commission, and also to make my arrangements for the defence of the Youghal petition, which is to be heard on the 5th of May. I sometimes hope it may be abandoned, as no counsel have as yet been retained for the petitioners, but the Orange faction hate me so much that they will certainly put me to the expense of the petition in its fullest measure of costs. How idle to suppose that I can compromise with such a party! I may forgive them, as I ought for myself, but I should be a villain if I did or could forgive them for Ireland—that is, if I consented to leave them the power to injure Ireland.

Banish, therefore, from the minds of my friends every idea of my being any party to the remaining in power of *any one* of the Orange faction, great or small.

The Cork election petition will be over probably tomorrow. The petitioners will be seated—Callaghan and Baldwin. It is hoped the Cork Sheriffs will be sent to Newgate.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.⁶

⁶ Ere this letter reached Dublin the statue of William III. in College Green was blown off its horse. (See vol. i. p. 84.) Each party accused the other of being privy to the ex-

plosion. The late Mr. Luke Dillon, of Parliament Street, Dublin, a Radical, was said by his friends to have unhorsed King William.

Morgan O'Connell, M.P., to P. V. FitzPatrick.

April 15, 1835.

It is not quite certain that the new Ministry will be completed by to-morrow. It is fortunate for the despatch of public business that this break up occurred so near the recess, so that in fact but a few days of our time will be lost instead of a fortnight or three weeks, which must have been the case had the dissolution of the late Ministry occurred at any other period of the Session. My father's conduct has raised him very high in the opinion of all good and liberal men. In or out of office, he will continue the arbiter of Ireland. The Orange faction here are quite piano in their notes. Shaw looks as if he had had the ague, so pale and ghastly; and even Perceval's jolly visage is much elongated. But no wonder; they are down for ever, and we must keep them down; and we *will* keep them down, with the divine blessing.⁷

I hope there is no danger of a split in the Liberal interest of Drogheda. Those boroughs are vile places, and I pity any man who has to do with them. That dirty little town of Youghal was more expensive to me than the county of Meath, where we had to bring voters from twenty-four miles and farther. As William Ford says, 'In the towns it's the ready money down.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Postmark, April 16, 1835.)

London: Thursday.

My dear Friend,—I have waited until the last moment in order to be able to give you authentic information. You will see by the papers that the House is again adjourned. All the interior arrangements for the new Ministry are, I may say, quite compleat, but the King is giving

⁷ All this must be taken *cum grano*. When, in 1845, Morgan O'Connell became Registrar of Deeds, he appointed, besides numerous Liberals, at least twenty Tories, whose fathers in the days of

Orange ascendancy had held office in the same department. It will be seen that O'Connell asked for Sterne Harte, a Protestant, the post which Melbourne gave to Morgan.

every possible delay. The basis of the new Government is therefore not acceded to. Lord Melbourne very properly refuses to be united. The King has been driven from point to point, and now takes his stand on the Horse Guards, insisting that Lord Hill shall not be removed. On this topic the negotiation rests. The King would persevere if he could, but Peel has too much at stake in his princely fortune to consent to a new dissolution, which might convulse the social frame, and without a dissolution no Tory Ministry has the least chance to stand a month. I do therefore, from all I hear and see, most confidently expect that the post of Saturday will carry the gratifying tidings that the new Ministry is finally arranged. I heard from the very best authority this expectation expressed, and do not myself see how it can be otherwise. Let me then promise you that my letter of Saturday *will* contain a list of the new Ministers.

The volume of the Dublin Commission goes over by this post.

The Cork Committee spent the day striking off—of the majority of the popular party—one, just one. There remain 168.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

From a Nobleman, requesting a frank.

[1835.]

Though I have not the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, I am glad of this opportunity of complying—the more so as I take it as an augury of the friendly relations which I trust may soon subsist between men of your rank and the Popular party.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

9 Clarges Street, London: 17th April, 1835.

My dear Friend,—I am happy to be able to tell you that *all* is arranged. The King comes to town to-morrow at one to swear in the new Ministry. I am not apprised of the

details, but this intelligence, *that all is settled*, I have from two sources of the highest authority, the one belonging to the royal *staff*, the other to the new Ministry. Blessed be God! we have had a great escape. Lord Melbourne went down to Windsor this morning. The Council to swear in the new Ministers is to be held at one, and shortly after four the new writs are to be moved for. I will write, of course, after the House rises. Again I say, blessed be God! who delivers us from the Orange insulting oppressors.

I could write a volume of reports about offices, but my spirits are too *buoyant*. *They say* that it is the Duke of Devonshire who is to shine as Lord Lieut. of Ireland. They say Brougham is to be propitiated by being made Chairman of the Lords; but what signifies all these sayings? It is *certain that the new Ministry is framed, and will be officially published to-morrow*.

The news did not arrive until after the publication of the evening papers.

Ever yours,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.⁸

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

National Bank of Ireland, 39 Old Broad Street,
London: 21st April, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—In the first place, see my friend Mr. O'Neill,⁹ and tell him I was this day at the Treasury to inquire when and how he was to be paid, and I am glad to say I found the best dispositions in that quarter. Sir Robert Peel had indeed left a favorable memorandum, shewing that he was determined to act on the spirit of Lord Althorp's agreement, and I find that, although nothing definite can be done until after Mr. Rice is returned for

⁸ Later on, when an attempt was made to destroy Melbourne's prestige by an unworthy charge from which an English jury at last acquitted him, some Orange scribes designated his Government as the 'Crim-Connell Administration.' Socially the Whig alliance with O'Connell was never

very close. Holland House knew him not; he never penetrated the arcana of Woburn Abbey; to Bowood he was a stranger.

⁹ *Vide* letter of March 7, 1834. O'Neil was a heavy sufferer by a destructive fire in the Custom House stores in 1833.

Cambridge, yet that the present Government is quite prepared to *interpose no formal or technical* difficulties in our way, but to act honestly and fairly on the spirit and intention of the agreement and verdict had in consequence. On my return here by the 11th of May I have every reason to expect that the final arrangement will be made very satisfactorily for my friends, and indeed for some of my bitter enemies, such as ——¹ &c.; but no matter. I will, I trust, be useful to them all. I can now entertain no doubt of obtaining payment.

I will remain in Dublin during the greater part of the vacation. I have to organise the working of the Commission should my foolish enemies persevere; and, at all events, I have much business with the Irish Government to transact for the benefit of the people. You will have a clean sweep at the Castle and in the offices. I have not yet heard who is to succeed Sir William Gossett²; indeed, the fault *is* mine, as I did not ask; but no matter. We have an excellent man in Lord Mulgrave, the new Lord-Lieutenant. I tell you there cannot be better. Lord Morpeth, too, is excellent. Then the Law-officers are admirable. We shall have a new Registry Bill and the Corporate Reform Bill for the great towns brought in at once, and pass the House of Commons as rapidly as possible. Let the Lords dispose of them as they choose—perhaps I may say as they dare. It is reported, I believe with truth, that the vacant serjeantcy will be offered to Holmes,³ then to Richards,⁴ and I believe it quite certain that Serjeant Greene will be deprived of the office of Law adviser to the Castle, which place, it is said, will be given to Woulfe.⁵ Every exertion will be made to bring forward the Liberal part of the Bar, and in every department the enemies of the country will be discounten-

¹ Name erased by the recipient of the letter.

² The Under Secretary for Ireland.

³ Robert Holmes, the cousin of Emmet, and State prisoner of 1803, declined all favours at the hands of the Government. He declared to

John R. Corballis that a stuff gown should be his shroud. This great orator survived until October, 1859, when he died, aged ninety-four.

⁴ Afterwards Baron Richards.

⁵ A Roman Catholic orator, appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

anced. I hope we shall have some valuable changes in the different Dublin establishments, especially in the Paving Board. If my Commission goes on, a dismissal or two will be quite certain. But of this more when we meet. There is a fixed determination to do justice to Ireland, and Lord Mulgrave is a man not to be baffled or deluded. Some strong blows will be struck on the Orange system. We are, I believe, on the verge of better times. I can not tell you all my reasons for being satisfied, but I have abundant reasons for hope, nay, certainty.

You must not allow the contents of this letter to get directly or indirectly into the newspapers. I will write again, please God, to-morrow from my resting place.

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

'Lord Mulgrave' was, of course, the new Lord-Lieutenant. His antecedents were essentially liberal. His first speech was on the Catholic question, and Lord John Russell's earliest resolutions on Reform were seconded by Mulgrave in words which went much further than his progressive friend. He also wrote pamphlets on the question, but his great claim to popularity arose from the result of his motion for abolishing the office of Joint Postmaster-General. Ministers admitted in reply that sinecure offices were necessary to maintain the influence of the Crown. Soon after a circular letter came to light, written by the Secretary of the Treasury, in which Althorp and Mulgrave were severely censured for having combined to impair the influence of the Crown. Mulgrave brought the matter before the House, carried an address to the Crown, and the second Postmaster-Generalship was soon after abolished. As Governor of Jamaica he subdued the rebellion in that island, and the troops, who had become mutinous, he recalled to a sense of their duty. Lord Mulgrave landed in Dublin as Viceroy on May 11, 1835, and was escorted from the waterside by a procession carrying banners on which were inscribed such mottoes as 'The complete extinction of tithes.' This proceeding inflamed the Conservatives against him, and his rule was described by its organs as 'The O'Mulgrave Administration,' while O'Connell usually figures

as 'His Excellency Dan O'Connell, Lieutenant-Governor of Ireland.' A sketch of Lord Normanby (believed to have been revised by himself) appears in an early issue of 'Men of the Time.' He removed from the Bench, we learn, 'a crowd of magistrates who had abused their office to oppress the King's subjects because they were of another party or creed, abated the practice of entrusting the dominant clergy with the administration of justice, and at the same time strengthened the law by reforming the executive system, uniting in it Catholics as well as Protestants, and making all feel that the law was no longer an enemy, but a powerful friend.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Dunstable : April 22nd, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Here I am with Mrs. O'Connell on our way to the Head,⁶ which we will reach, God willing, on Friday night.

I left everything quite satisfactory on my departure from London. The new Ministers do not apprehend being rejected by any of their constituencies, and the spirit favorable to Ireland continues to increase, I hope, in intensity. Sir Wm. Gossett⁷ leaves the Castle without delay, and I heard of an excellent man—Mr. Drummond⁸—as his successor. There is also another worthy, a Mr. Rich, in nomination.

You seem to wish that I should shrink from public meetings or exhibitions. I totally disagree with you. I have no apprehension of unruly Repealers. I should desire to give them a public opportunity of discussing their views

⁶ Holyhead.

⁷ The Under Secretary for Ireland. Gossett was the relic of an obsolete *régime*. O'Connell was mainly instrumental in the ejection. From a cursory examination of such memoranda as Sir W. Gossett has left behind him, he seems to have been not the narrow-minded party-man that O'Connell assumes. Gossett's State papers, including a very remarkable correspondence between Lord Wellesley and Lord Melbourne, have been placed in my

hands by the representatives of the Right Hon. A. R. Blake.

⁸ Drummond was appointed mainly through the instrumentality of Perrin and Althorp. When Perrin was asked by Lord Mulgrave on what grounds he urged the change from Gossett to Drummond, he replied in a low earnest tone, 'My Lord, he will be your right eye, and if we are to spend our time plucking old beams out of it, your Government will not go straight.'—Torrens' *Melbourne*, ii. 127.

in contrast with mine. I am as much a Repealer as ever I was, but I see the absolute necessity of confuting those who say we prevented the Union from having a fair trial in the hands of a friendly Ministry, and also of giving a decisive check to Orangeism. The scoundrel Orangemen—always enemies to Ireland—now place all their claims to English and Government support on their being the real opponents to the Repeal, which they call ‘the dismemberment of the Empire.’ I have two objects—to overthrow the Orange system, and to convince the most sceptical that nothing but a domestic Parliament will do Ireland justice. With these views of the present aspect of affairs the sooner I come before the Irish public the better. I know the magic of being right. I never saw that which was founded on common sense defeated at a public meeting. Common sense sanctions and directs my present course—the experiment I am making to confound the Orange party, and to give a fair trial to the measures of those who declare themselves our friends. I will therefore attend every public meeting and every public dinner I possibly can.

Believe me always yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Wolverhampton : Thursday, April 23.

I foolishly left London so late yesterday that I have not been able to bring Mrs. O'Connell beyond this town to-night, and as there are 140 miles to Holyhead, I feel she cannot reach there to-morrow. I must therefore change my plan and go to-morrow only to Llangollen, and on Saturday to Bangor, where we can hear Mass on Sunday.

After the fatal ending of his duel with D'Esterre, O'Connell registered, as he said, a vow in Heaven that he would not again engage in this fashionable practice, as it unfortunately was then regarded. He was challenged on various occasions, afterwards often in words of exasperating severity ; but the Champion of Moral Force, as he now proclaimed himself, kept his resolution if he did not hold

his peace. Duelling was the order of the day, and Charles Phillips well remarked that refusal to fight in the then state of society showed more courage than to take up the glove.

No friend of humanity, or of any of the distinguished men who from time to time challenged O'Connell, can but rejoice at the course he pursued. Jeremy Bentham, an old friend of O'Connell's, in a letter to Wellington, dated March 23, 1829, cautioning him against being provoked to fight more duels writes:—

‘O'Connell was sure of his mark. He had made himself so in an odd way. In his part of the country reigns a commonwealth of dogs; their practice was to attack men on horseback, biting the horse's heels. O'Connell travelled with pistols, and practised with them upon those dogs till he became expert as above.’

Bentham would have been further interested to know that the Great Agitator and Purcell O'Gorman, during a tedious journey by canal boat from Dublin, amused themselves firing pistol-shots at the trees on either side.

O'Connell, when replying in Parliament to the sarcastic attack made on him by Lord Alvanley in the House of Lords, called this peer ‘a bloated buffoon.’ A challenge from Alvanley was the result.

To Hon. Dawson Damer.

Merrion Square, Dublin: 1st May, 1835.

Sir,—I have received three letters—two purporting to be written by you and one by Lord Alvanley—but under circumstances of such a ludicrous nature that I can scarcely bring myself to believe them to be genuine. If not, I trust you will excuse me for giving you this trouble, and blame only the persons who used your name.

The first letter is, indeed, dated the 22nd of April, but was not put into the London Post Office until the 27th, and did not, and could not, reach me here before the 29th, Thursday. Your second letter is dated the 28th, Wednesday, and expresses surprise that I did not before then answer your first letter, which I could not receive until the day after.

Again, Lord Alvanley's letter is nothing less than a

challenge to fight ; to be delivered to me in London, as it would seem ; rather an inconvenient distance, as the letter is dated at Clifden. But this letter assumes an air of more comicality when it turns out to be one sent by one person in Clifden to another person in London, to be transmitted thence to a third person in Dublin, to fight a duel at a truly long shot. This, as we say in Ireland, ‘ bangs Banagher.’

It is, however, after all, but an unvalorous absurdity in Lord Alvanley to send me a challenge, when my sentiments on that subject have been so publicly and so frequently proclaimed.

But there is really a serious view of the matter, which it is, I believe, my duty to take. It is this : that these letters are a distinct breach of privilege. It seems to me at present that I am bound to treat them as such ; and if I continue to think so, I will bring them to the attention of the House of Commons accordingly.

As to duelling, I have no hesitation to tell you that I treat it with the most sovereign contempt, as a practice inconsistent with common sense, but, above all, as a violation, plain and palpable, of the divine law.

At the same time, I wish you distinctly to understand that, although I totally disclaim anything connected with duelling, yet I am most anxious on every occasion upon which any man can point out to me that I have anywhere, or in any manner, done him an injustice, to repair it to the utmost extent of his wishes. So, if I have, without a complete justification, offended any man, I am always perfectly ready to make the fullest atonement he can possibly desire ; therefore neither Lord Alvanley nor any other man requires the absurd code of duelling with me. I would have the greatest alacrity to atone to any man who showed me that I had unjustifiably assailed him.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

On receipt of a further missive Morgan O'Connell, the

Liberator's son, took up the glove and offered to fight Alvanley. On this head Greville records an amusing bit of gossip:—

There was a meeting at De Ros's house of De Ros, Damer, Lord Worcester, and Duncombe, to consider what was to be done on the receipt of Morgan O'Connell's letter, and whether Alvanley should fight him or not. Worcester and Duncombe were against fighting, the other two for it. Alvanley at once said that the boldest course was the best, and he would go out. It was agreed that no time should be lost. So Damer was despatched to Colonel Hodges, and said Alvanley was ready to meet Morgan O'Connell. 'The next morning,' Hodges suggested. 'No, immediately.' Only Hume⁹ went on the ground. The only other persons who came near them were an old Irish-woman and a Methodist parson, the latter of whom exhorted the combatants to forego their sinful purpose. Alvanley replied, 'Pray, sir, go and mind your own affairs, for I have enough to do now to think of mine.' 'Think of your soul,' he said. 'Yes,' said Alvanley, 'but my body is now in the greatest danger.' Damer seems to have been a very bad second, and probably lost his head; he ought not to have consented to the third shots upon any account. Alvanley says he execrated him in his heart when he found he had consented to it.

It is satisfactory to add that 'Little's leadless pistols' proved not more innocuous than the brisk interchange of shots between the combatants. Alvanley returned to his house and handed gold to the cabman who drove him. 'This is a great deal for only taking your Lordship to Wimbledon,' he said. 'It is not for taking me there, but for bringing me back,' replied Lord Alvanley.

Alvanley was a wag; and one is not surprised to find overcharged squibs exploding at his expense. One ran to seven stanzas, and proclaims him

The Solon of Statesmen, the Falstaff of wits,
As even O'Connell in candour admits:
He's the pride of the Park, of the Club, the Saloon,
For the wag of all wags is the bloated Buffoon.

⁹ The surgeon.

To J. J. Murphy.

Merrion Square : 8th May, 1835.

My dear Murphy,—I appoint Stephen Woulfe, William Elliot Hudson, Philip Fogarty, Matthew Sausse, David Richard Pigot, and T. S. Close,¹ barristers-at-law, and any other persons you may deem it right to engage, my counsel in all matters relating to the pending petition against my return.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 27th May, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—We are in great jeopardy as to Youghal. Four votes of free men were given on the 10th of January, being registered only on the 1st of the same month, and yet the Committee were yesterday of opinion that the vote was good. It is, however, so monstrous, that it is under reconsideration, and will be decided finally tomorrow. On it our fate depends, I fear.

I write from a Committee Room, and only because I want the 'Ordo' for as many years last past as you can get me at Coyne's² or otherwise. I want them thus. Mortimer O'Sullivan³ has produced the 'Ordo'⁴ for this year, which contains at the end topics of Conference. The

¹ Woulfe became Chief Baron; Hudson, Taxing Master; Fogarty, County Court Judge for Antrim; Sausse, a Knight and Colonial Judge; Pigot, Chief Baron; Close, who had been connected with the Press, a Q.C.; and Murphy, to whom the letter is addressed, a Master in Chancery. These promotions were all due to O'Connell, that of Woulfe excepted.

Some old briefs of Pigot lately turned up at a waste-paper store, and in the folds of one was an unpaid because unpresented cheque for £105 in settlement of Pigot's professional services at this time.

² The Roman Catholic publisher.

³ The Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, originally a Roman Catholic, became a highly distinguished champion of Protestantism and preacher of polemics.

⁴ The *Ordo* is a Directory in Latin, full title being *Ordo Recitandi Divini Officii*. The theological subjects for 'Conferences,' i.e. meetings held at certain times by the priests of each Deanery to discuss theological questions and general business, are always given in it. Every year a *Catholic Directory* and *Ordo* is published in Dublin.

second page relates to questions touching property and its modes of enjoyment. He suggests that at this period such topics have a connexion with the subversion of the Acts of Settlement. If, therefore, the 'Ordo' has usually contained points for discussion at Conference, as in the instance of this year, send me a batch of them containing the statements of the questions for Conference.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A petition having been lodged against the return of Bruen and Kavanagh for Carlow, both were on investigation unseated. Mr. Alexander Raphael, a citizen and sheriff of London, had, at the time of the General Election,⁵ applied to O'Connell to aid him in obtaining a seat in Parliament, and after some negotiation it was agreed that he should become candidate for Carlow conjointly with Mr. N. A. Vigors, and on the terms set forth in the following letter:—

To Alexander Raphael.

9 Clarges Street: June 1.

My dear Sir,—You having acceded to the terms proposed to you for the election of the County of Carlow, viz. you are to pay before nomination £1,000—say £1,000—and a like sum after being returned, the first to be paid absolutely and entirely for being nominated, the second to be paid only in the event of your having been returned, I hereby undertake to guarantee and save you harmless from any and every other expense whatsoever, whether of agents, carriages, counsel, petition against the return, or of any other description. I make this guarantee in the fullest sense of the honorable engagement, that you shall not possibly be required to pay one shilling more in any event or upon any contingency whatsoever.

I am, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁵ See O'Connell's letter to Vigors, vol. i. p. 512.

To N. A. Vigors.

London : 7th June, 1835.

My dear Vigors,—I am happy to inform you that the address⁶ of Mr. Raphael to the Electors of the County of Carlow will appear in the *Pilot* of Wednesday.

He has authorised me to purchase an estate for him in that County. Get all your friends to be on the alert to procure a desirable investment of that description.

Mr. Raphael's principles are all we can desire. He is a firm and consistent Reformer, determined peaceably and quietly to work out the great principles of the Reform Bill, for the security of the Throne and the liberty of the people. His opinions on the Corporation Reform and Tithe system are those which you and I cherish. He will go as far to promote the former and extinguish the latter, not in name merely, but in substance and reality, as any of his constituents can desire.

It will be to you, who are a Liberal Protestant, no disparagement to Mr. Raphael that he is a strict and conscientious Catholic. You know that he is (as you are) a sincere friend to religious as well as civil freedom.

He marks strongly the contrast between English Protestant liberality and Irish Orange bigotry. The Protestant Corporation of London by an unanimous vote elected him Sheriff of London and Middlesex. The vile Orange bigots of the base Corporation of Dublin have not admitted a single Catholic to the freedom, although they had forty years to do so.

Yours ever faithful,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 18th June, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I introduce to you two Belgian gentlemen—Mons. Dupetiaux and Mons. Veschors. These

⁶ An address, which Raphael had formerly issued to the electors of Westminster, he now handed to

O'Connell, with a request that the latter would alter it so as to suit the constituency of Carlow.

gentlemen are upon an inquiry, by order of their Government, into the state of the poor and of charities amongst various civilised nations. They go to Ireland on this mission of humanity.

Procure for them, from all my friends, in every quarter, all the attention their respectability calls for, and all the facilities of research and information which may be required to attain objects of the deepest interest to the cause of Benevolence.

In short, exert yourself that my friends in every quarter should receive these gentlemen in the manner most useful to the objects they have in view, and most consistent with the respect due to them personally.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A lively correspondence ensued between O'Connell and Raphael, which was published in *The Times*, and may be seen in the *Annual Register* for 1835. It is, therefore, unnecessary to print it here in detail; suffice it to say that Raphael paid his first instalment of £1,000, and on June 21 was, together with Vigers, elected member for Carlow. On July 3, however, a petition was lodged, and a Parliamentary Committee, largely composed of Conservatives, sat and commenced a rigid scrutiny into the election. The petitioners succeeded in striking off 105 votes, and thus converted the Liberal majority of 56 into a minority of 49.

Before the appointment of the Committee to carry out this scrutiny, O'Connell applied to Raphael for payment of the second instalment of £1,000; this he ultimately did under protest.

Bruen and Kavanagh were declared the seated members. Vigers had been secretary to the Zoological Society of London, and it was pleasantly said that he need not have left it to see Bruin at the head of the Poll (pole).

O'Connell to A. Raphael.

(Confidential.)

Augt. 3rd, 1835.

My dear Sir,—Tell me, in the strictest confidence, whether you have any wish to be a Baronet. Of course I do not ask you without a sufficient reason. One word is

not to be communicated to anybody until I know your determination.

Yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mr. Raphael replied that a baronetcy, however desirable, would not recompense him for the loss of his seat.

Shortly afterwards the negotiation between O'Connell and Raphael was made public. Another Committee now sat in judgment upon these matters. Party feeling ran high, and had endeavoured to fasten upon O'Connell the stain of criminality. Hostile journalists accused him of selling a seat in Parliament for £2,000, and of applying to his own use the money of Raphael.⁷

During a protracted inquiry that followed, O'Connell wrote the following letter, which, though not in quite chronological order, claims insertion here.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 29th Feby. 1836.

My dear FitzPatrick,—All well in the Raphael case. He has been examined partly, but even on his direct [examination] has let in *all* my case.

Get at my house and send me all the bills and drafts for the Carlow money. Send me also all the letters about Latouche.

Always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In health and spirits.

In the inquiry just referred to it appeared as 'the opinion of this House that, though the tone of the letter of agreement was calculated to excite suspicion, yet upon a very careful investigation it transpired that previous conferences and communications had taken place between Mr. Raphael, Mr. Vigors, and other persons connected with the county of Carlow, and that Mr. O'Connell was acting on this occasion at the expressed desire of Mr. Raphael, and was only the medium between Mr. Raphael and Mr. Vigors and the Political Club at Carlow.

⁷ Fagan and Luby, in their respective *Memoirs of O'Connell*, describe Raphael as 'a London Jew.'

‘That it is the opinion of this House that the money was paid to Mr. O’Connell’s general account at his bankers’ in London. It was, however, advanced, the moment it was called for, to Mr. Vigors; and, though some of it was paid in bills, the discount was allowed; the amount, therefore, was available whenever wanted, and no charge of a pecuniary character can be attached to Mr. O’Connell.’

It was further recorded as the opinion of the House that ‘the money had been expended under the immediate direction of Mr. Vigors and others connected with the county of Carlow, on what may be called legal expenses, or so unavoidable, that this House sees no reason to question their legality, and that the balance was absorbed in defending the return of Mr. Raphael and Mr. Vigors before the committee appointed to investigate it on the 28th July, 1835.’ It may be added that Stanley, whom O’Connell nicknamed ‘Scorpion,’ admitted that Mr. O’Connell was free from all charge of corruption in the transaction.

A county election at that time lasted six days, and the expense attendant on such protracted struggles was often enormous.

*To Joseph Denis Mullen.*⁸

(Private.)

London: 29th June, 1835.

My dear Mullen,—I perceive by your letter of this day, which I thought I should not have had time to answer, that we are swamped by the expenses of the Dublin Commission.⁹ I do not know what to do. It will cost me another £1,000 after it comes back here. Give me your advice. If three or four cool, deliberate men advise me to give up the seats for

⁸ Joseph Denis Mullen, late Governor of the Four Courts, Marshalsea, Dublin, had been a prominent member of the Catholic Association and gave efficient aid to O’Connell in his establishing the Catholic cemeteries. Their correspondence anterior to the year 1835 has been lost. The assistance of Mr. Mullen proved very valuable to O’Connell in his election for Dublin. How old and staunch was Mullen’s friendship is shown by *Anacreon in Dublin*, published at London in 1814, and known to have been written by Edmund Lenthal Swift.

‘Haste thee now, ingenious Mullen,
Though the Liberty is dull in
Manufacture, trade, or pay,
Thou must form a Cup to-day.
Though our need should make us
thrifty,
We will spend our guineas fifty
And contribute, every man,
To the famous Lawyer Dan.’

The ‘Cup’ presented by the Manufactures of the Liberty is in the possession of O’Connell’s family.
⁹ To inquire into the grounds set forth in the petition to unseat O’Connell, and to examine witnesses in Dublin.

Dublin I will throw them to West and Hamilton at once. There is no remedy else. The Committee cannot be called together until the Commissioners *report*. The Act of Parliament does not allow it to be done. When you advise me on that subject, you see how inapplicable that advice is. Until the Commissioners report, I do repeat, *Nothing can be done here*. Counsel me then as to what I should do.

The Liberal party in Dublin have—that is, some of them have—come forward manfully, but the far greater number have held back. What am I to do? There is but one alternative—to let the Commission run its course, or to *resign*. Which shall we do? I could not do the first without being supported by public opinion founded on the deliberate advice of friends of known character. An expense of £50, or thereabout, a week is enormous, but it would be much more *per day* here. Say what am I to do. How bitterly do I regret that I was not left in my native county, Kerry. It is, however, idle to complain. I will be guided by the advice of those in whose intellect and integrity I have confidence; but it inflicts a deep pang on me to be obliged to yield the representation of our city to such vile vagabonds. Yet, after your letter, what can I do? £2,000 are as much as I ought to be required to expend on their struggle.

With regard to your former letter, believe me that I never will lose sight of the object until I have accomplished it.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: July 10th, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Send William O'Connell of Rathcormack £25 on my account which I received from Edinburgh for 'The children of the slain.'¹

¹ Bloodshed had occurred at Newtownbarry, Carrickshock, Castlepollard, and Rathcormack in efforts made by the constabulary and yeomanry to collect tithes for the parson. Writs were regularly issued by the

Court of Exchequer against persons who had proved defaulters. Eighteen persons were shot at Newtownbarry. At Carrickshock the people slaked their vengeance in a terrible triumph.

I want very much a history by dates of the Emancipation Acts passed by the States representatives of Maryland in North America. I had it in pamphlet shape sent me from America, but I despair of finding that pamphlet. I, however, used its materials in a speech in which I gave the substance of the facts and the dates. Now, if the speech I allude to were hunted up, an abstract of it would serve all my present purposes. It was made at or during the time of the Catholic Association. I do entreat of you to get a search made for it. I want it without delay.

All is going on well here. Our Irish Corporation Bill will be in the House in two or three days. I expect it to be satisfactory.

London: July 18th, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I certainly gave the Maryland² history in a speech, not in a letter. I thank you for what you sent me, but it is hard that I cannot get that which is certainly in existence.

If I had any chance of getting it, I would be very thankful for the report of what I said respecting the notes on the Rhemish Testament. That, however, was many years ago, and in your father's lifetime. The date of Dr. Troy's³ disavowal of *the notes* will lead you to find out the

² Maryland, U.S.A., was first founded by Lord Baltimore, in 1634, as a place of refuge for the Roman Catholics of England. It was named Maryland from Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles I.

³ Archbishop Troy's letter repudiating the notes is dated October 24, 1817. O'Connell's speech was delivered at the Catholic Board on December 4, 1817. He urged that a committee should draw up a disavowal of the uncharitable doctrines contained in the Rhemish notes, and that the Board should not let the opportunity pass of recording their disapprobation of such intolerant sentiments.

'These notes were of English growth,' he added; 'they were written in agitated times, when the title of Elizabeth was questioned on

the grounds of legitimacy. Party spirit was then extremely violent. Politics mixed with religion, and of course disgraced it. Queen Mary of Scotland had active partisans, who thought it would forward their purposes to translate the Bible, and add to it these obnoxious notes. But very shortly after the establishment of the college at Douay this Rhemish edition was condemned by all the doctors of that institution, who at the same time called for and received the aid of the Scotch and Irish colleges. The book was thus suppressed, and an edition of the Bible with notes was published at Douay, which has been ever since adopted by the Roman Catholic Church.'

The reprint of the Rhemish notes in 1817 was the trade speculation of an illiterate printer.

speech : it was before the time of that disavowal, probably some months before. I am annoyed that the speech in which I mentioned the Maryland Laws was not discovered. Pray discover the speech which has been distorted by the Bishop of Exeter.

There are no news. I believe the Ministry are quite secure. The reports are idle. Peel knows that this country cannot be governed by the Tories. Let Shaw be as bombastic as he pleases, I have a strong confidence that the Orange party are down for ever.

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Joseph D. Mullen.

London : 25th July, 1835.

My dear Friend,—I need not tell you that I made every exertion to succeed in procuring the nomination for you of the Tide Surveyorship. I got my final answer only yesterday. It is unfavourable. 'The appointment belongs to the Board of Customs. It goes by seniority amongst the officers of that Department. A new man cannot be brought in.'

I do believe, if the thing were possible, you would at this hour be the man. But there is as good Fish in the Sea as ever was caught. We will have a remodelling of the Paving Board and of the Police Magistracy within six months, and assuredly you shall be *one* if I live. I believe the Ministry is now perfectly secure. Peel admits that Toryism cannot manage the country. *Rely on me*, and believe me

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 28th July, 1835.

I am happy to tell you that the present Ministry appear to be perfectly secure. The Lords may do their worst. It is true the King is *all but* mad.⁴ This, of course, must not

⁴ The King's memory was much to get hints as to what friendly at fault, and at the levées he used greeting to offer as distinguished

be said in public. But he has been playing all manner of insane pranks. I do not think it possible he should keep himself within bounds for another year.

9 Clarges Street : 5th August, 1835.

All is going on well. The Ministry becoming daily stronger in popular support, the conflict with the Peers daily growing more vivid. They must yield. The debate last night was crushing to the Orange faction. Finn⁵ was excellent ; the report miserable.

London : 4th Sept. 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—My parliamentary career has been so much longer this year than any other, that I am beginning to fear the people of Ireland may forget me, but I never will forget them or their rights or interests.

The prospect, however, begins to brighten for Ireland. My own conviction is that the present Ministry are quite secure. I do not see the possibility of forming a Tory Administration. If, therefore, I am right, there are the best hopes to be entertained. I know of my own personal knowledge that the Government are determined to do all they can for Ireland. They are resolved to discountenance the Orange faction everywhere, and in every respect. We have for the first time in near two centuries a Catholic Attorney-General, who, besides, is one of the most honest and straightforward persons living. His ears will be open to the complaints of the Catholic clergy as well as of the Catholic laity upon every act of oppression and tyranny practised against the poorest of the people. Every care will be taken to give the Commission of the Peace to every

men advanced to the throne. ‘Here comes the hero of Ava—Sir Archibald Campbell,’ muttered the Lord Chamberlain.

‘How do, Sir Archibald? What news from *Java*?’ said the King. This anecdote I owe to Colonel Adamson, who served in the regiment commanded by Sir Archibald. The Colonel adds that William IV., when High Admiral, was notorious for

visiting places where he was certain to get a great salute. This proceeding at last led the Government to request that such visits might be made less, owing to the immense waste of powder that the salutes entailed. He resigned in a huff.

⁵ William Francis Finn, M.P. for co. Kilkenny, son-in-law to Mr. O’Connell.

Liberal man qualified for it. The Attorney-General will not allow jurors to be packed against the people. And if the Orangemen or Police commit any more murders, they will be prosecuted seriously, and, if possible, effectually.

I may be blamed by some for supporting the present Administration, instead of looking for the Repeal; but, in the first place, the cry for the Repeal would only give increased strength to the vile Orange faction, who are violent anti-Repealers, that they may have the appearance of being devoted to British connection. We must not strengthen their bonds. In the next place, I want to realize as much good for Ireland as I possibly can. At all events, and in every contingency, the Government is determined to get rid of the tithes as soon as may be, and to appropriate as much of the Church revenues as possibly can be spared to purposes of general education. If they go on another year, or perhaps sooner, I may join them, and I will at all events never forget my plan of Glebes and Glebe houses for the Clergy⁶ of the people, unconnected, however, with any taint of Government patronage.

The public mind in this country is ripening fast into a conviction that there must be a reform in the Lords. The moment *that* is attained, everything useful to Ireland follows as of course, and when the Orange faction ceases to have political existence there is *nothing* Ireland can not command.

My hopes increase and my views expand. I clearly seem to see my way to solid and beneficial results for our poor country. If God spares my life, I do strongly hope, with His divine assistance, to make Ireland really and in truth what she ought to be—

Great, glorious, and free.

You know the rest, and you know I speak in sober seriousness. Should I live, I hope in God that my life will not be vain for Ireland.

I stand exceedingly well with the present Ministry. They have but little patronage, but that little will be disposed

⁶ This project was never carried out.

of only to sincere friends of the country. I have, indeed, been of some service to the Government.

It is for all this the Orange faction hate me. They seem to think that, if they could crush me, they would put down easily the Irish people. They are mistaken, of course. The people would find other, but not honester, leaders. But the Orange party pay me the compliment to think that they are doing mischief to Ireland when they oppress me. Accordingly they have inflicted on me six contested elections—my sons *three*, my own *four*, FitzSimons⁷ and my nephews make six in all. No one man ever before had to deal with the expenses of over five contests. They were conducted for me cheaper than for others, but they cost me an immense sum, or rather sums—ruinous sums altogether. Next they gave me five petitions. The Dublin cost me £2,000, and will cost me at least £2,000 more. The Youghal lasted fourteen days, and its expenses will wind up to near £3,000.

In short, no man was ever so persecuted by vexatious expenses, not reckoning my family expenditure here.

Really, I sometimes almost despair. I must, I think, mortgage perhaps all my family property; but do not breathe a word of this to any one. The people have hitherto behaved so well to me that I ought not to despair; but perhaps my popularity may fade, and I may just at the moment of my greatest usefulness find myself unable to continue the strife, but I will spend my last shilling in the struggle. Besides, it is only now that the people of England are beginning to understand me. I am growing exceedingly popular, and I am availing myself of my popularity to go about *preaching* up the wrongs, the sufferings, and the remedies of Ireland. I do not think the people of this country will long bear to have the Irish nation charged with the expenses of a Church which they do not want.—Believe me to be,

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ His son-in-law.

Darrynane Abbey.

. . . I want for my controversial purposes to get some information about a Council held at Arles in the year 314, at which three British bishops attended. It is mentioned in the first chapter of Lingard, where he speaks of the conversion of the British king Lucius.^s

I want to know what the Council was held for.

Was it presided over by a Pope, and who by name?

Or by a Pope's legate, and if so, by whom?

You will easily get these particulars from any clerical friend, say Dr. Miley. I do not like obtruding on my friend Father Yore.

My object is to shew a connexion between the British Church and Rome before the Saxon conquest.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

^s Lingard may be vainly searched for this incident. Reeve's *History of the Church* wholly ignores the Council of Arles. It held its first

sitting August 1, 314, Sylvester being Pope. He sent over four Legates, and the condemnation of the Donatists was the result.

CHAPTER XIV.

O'Connell the Real Prime Minister—His Day-dream—Billy Murphy—Reconciliation with Lord Cloncurry—'Lachrymæ Hiberniæ'—On the Hunting-ground—O'Connell and Ruthven unseated for Dublin—Death of Ruthven—A Refractory Priest—Lord Lyndhurst—'Aliens in Blood, Religion, and Language'—The Irish Municipal Bill—Archbishop MacHale—'The General Association of Ireland'—Mr. Drummond Under Secretary for Ireland—Hickman Kearney—O'Connell assails Louis Philippe—The Lyons Conspirators invite O'Connell to defend them before the French Chamber—Dr. Wiseman—'Leather-lungs'—'All's Well'—Seventy-three M.P.s pledged to the Repeal—Crusade against the House of Lords.

The Times now proclaimed with dismay that henceforth O'Connell would be 'the real Prime Minister.' A seat in the Cabinet was his day-dream; it haunted him at all hours, and floats through the following letter:—

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Manchester: 11th Sept. 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You will be glad to hear that there never was anything more enthusiastic than my reception here. The procession of the Trades, notwithstanding the wetness of the day, exceeded thirty thousand. I made ten or twelve thousand hear me in a spurt of about an hour. The dinner took place at the more reasonable hour of half after five. The room contained some 300, and if it could hold three times as many it seems to me there would have been more than enough to fill it. I never was so well received in Ireland. It is a strong measure to say so, and yet it is true. I was received admirably. I spoke for an hour and a half. You may imagine that I must have been encouraged by applause of an enthusiastic nature to go on, or I would have sooner terminated. Indeed, it is impossible to give you in the compass of a letter any idea of the sensation I made. I, of course, made Ireland one prominent topic, and the House of Lords another.

The meeting was composed of Whigs, Radicals, Neutrals, and Tories, and I venture to assert I carried them all. It is, indeed, most flattering to my miserable vanity to think of the manner of my reception. But I hope there is a better feeling in the hope and expectation that I have done good, much good. This I do most sincerely believe. I go to-morrow to York, where I remain only the morning of Sunday. I will, please God, go on to the vicinity of Newcastle next day, and on Monday make my triumphant entry into Newcastle. The dinner there is fixed for the 14th, Monday next; that for Edinburgh on the 17th, Thursday; that for Glasgow for the 21st, and then I am off for Dublin. So much for my route. Give me a sketch of yours directed to Edinburgh.

The prospects for Ireland brighten. I am beginning to think that I shall be a Cabinet Minister next Session, with the rule of matters in Ireland officially committed to me. It is time they should act honestly by Ireland. But keep *this dream* to yourself, and remember that, if the Orange faction were put down, the combination in Ireland would be too strong to permit any misgovernment. Indeed, indeed, I do anticipate better days for our Country and our Creed.

Always yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

An influential kinsman of O'Connell's, residing in Tralee, wrote to apprise him that there had been numerous entries for registry served by the Liberals in that borough, including one on Nicholas Riordan, a man of respectability and opulence.

'This notice has been served for him three or four times, but he has declined to register. I called on him yesterday, and urged by every means in my power to take out his franchise, but in vain. It has occurred to me and others, that a line from you to him on the subject would have the desired effect. As we cannot be too strong or too active against our enemies, one vote is of material import.

'The removal of Freeman from this county would be productive of the most substantial public advantages, and the sooner the better. The Government owe Ireland a

large debt of justice, and the Attorney-General cannot begin too soon to liquidate it. Brownrigg, who is certainly deeply infected with the Orange poison, remains yet amongst us. His absence from the county would be also most beneficial.'

To a Kinsman in Kerry.

Merrion Square : 6th Oct. 1835.

My dear ——,—I will write to Nicholas Riordan. How cruel it is that men of independent property and respectability like him will not reflect that the good of the community is part of the conscientious duty of every honest man, and that, unless help be given to the strugglers for public good, no public man can succeed. Is there any private cause of offence given him? Let me know this in a line to meet me at Limerick. If not, surely a gentleman of his opulence and respectability will feel that he has a station to fill in public as well as in private, and that it does not become him to neglect the one, as he would never do any act to disgrace the other. Pray do *your* best to induce him to give us his assistance.

I understand that after these approaching sessions in this month there is an intention to remove the Assistant Barristers¹ in a certain rotation. If that be so, of course Mr. Freeman will not be exempt from the general lot. No man can deserve to be *exchanged* better than he does; but nothing should be said on the subject until the thing is entirely done; but my belief of its being to be done is so strong that I would not risk any doubtful registration before, as there is so strong a chance of having a more worthy and impartial successor. He is in principle the most inveterate Orangeist I ever met with.

Always yours affectionately,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The patriot peer Cloncurry and O'Connell had been early associated in the struggle for national relief, but in 1824 his Lordship showed weakness in addressing a

¹ Now known as County Court Judges.

letter to the Catholic Association urging them to relinquish the pursuit of Emancipation and concentrate their energies on 'Repeal of the Union.' Eight years later, after the Catholic Relief Bill had been passed, Cloncurry declined to join O'Connell's movement for Repeal, whereupon the Great Agitator addressed to him a series of public letters, in which he asked the people of Ireland to decide whether Cloncurry pursued a course to be followed, or afforded an example to be avoided. During the next three years language sarcastic, and at times vituperative, fell from O'Connell, to the great chagrin of Cloncurry, who, rather tabooed by co-aristocrats, had long courted popular adulation. In 1835 the delicate task of reconciliation was effected through the intervention of William Murphy, the ex-Rebel of '98, now a great millionaire, and Mr. (afterwards Chief Baron) Pigot.

To Lord Cloncurry.

Merrion Square : 12th October, 1835.

My Lord,—I do not know how to express my feelings of satisfaction and delight at the kind manner in which, after all, you so kindly received my advances towards a reconciliation.

I do assure you, my Lord, I do bitterly regret having ever forfeited that kindness. If I knew how to atone to you, I certainly would do so in the most respectful manner that words could assume, and with the most cordial anxiety to satisfy you in every respect. But, perhaps, a recollection of the circumstances in which I was placed at the time, the natural irritation and excitement of my mind at a prosecution which I neither expected nor deserved, may, perhaps, furnish to your Lordship's indulgent mind a better excuse for me than I could otherwise possibly make.

Yet I should certainly not have forgotten your long-tried zeal and fidelity in the cause of Ireland, the persecution you endured for the far greater part of your life, because you had the undeviating manliness to prefer the cause of the people to the interests of the malignant but governing faction by which that people were oppressed. Perhaps, too, I was the more easily led into violent courses by the confidence placed at that time by the Ministry on

men in this country who naturally belonged to that faction, and who, under the hypocritical pretence of liberality, were betraying the Government under which they served, and the country which they treacherously affected to cherish. I do appeal to you, my Lord, whether it was not natural I should feel deeply indignant at the appointments made by the Whig Ministry in Ireland; at the blindness with which they fell into the snares, and even into the arms of their mortal enemies, and of those of our wretched country. But surely you, who were honest in the worst—the very worst of times, will, from your own attachment to Ireland, appreciate the state of my feelings at that unhappy period; and whilst you are willing to palliate my fault, I, on the other hand, am ready to make you every reparation in my power. I cheerfully acknowledge myself to have been in the wrong, and I seek for your forgiveness upon your own terms.

We are come to a period when you can be eminently useful to Ireland. All that is wanting now is, that the friends of constitutional freedom amongst the nobility and the leading gentry, commercial as well as agricultural, should take their natural station, in support of the King's Government, at the head of the people.

The Irish people have been too well taught by the experience of centuries of oppression not to perceive that there is at length a new day opening upon this unfortunate land. They are convinced that in the stability of the present Ministry is placed the only prospect of that reign of justice which shall destroy the rule of the sanguinary, mendacious, and insolent Orange faction, and give to Ireland a participation upon terms of perfect equality of all the advantages of the more favoured parts of the British Empire. Need I say how desirable it is that you, my Lord, should become a prime leader in that popular movement, and peaceably, but firmly, aid the Lord Lieutenant and Government of Ireland in that system of conduct which would blot out the miseries of this country by terminating that cruel and emaciating misrule which has marked the history of the Tory and Orange domination over the Irish people at all former periods.

Pardon me, my Lord, for the length of this letter. I take up an idea which the celebrated popular leader, John Keogh, endeavoured to realise more than forty years ago—the taking the government of Ireland out of the hands of the ascendancy faction and identifying it with the Irish nation at large. If we be true to ourselves, the time is come to have that choice made once and for always. Every former Administration has chosen the ‘worst part’—the faction. They have governed Ireland by the faction, through the faction, and for the benefit of the faction. It is time that Ireland should be managed wisely and kindly by the friends of her people, and for the exclusive but comprehensive benefit of that people. The choice is, the faction on the one hand, Ireland on the other. This, therefore, is just the time when every man who loves his native land should rally all the liberal and enlightened part of the aristocracy, of the landed gentry, and of the commercial wealth and intelligence of the island, in one common cause with the people at large to give efficient support to the Government which has, at length, made a salutary and wise course, has disclaimed faction, and preferred the people of Ireland.

How sincerely do I wish you would place yourself prominent in producing such a combination! Need I add that, if you will accept of my co-operation, you shall command it with a sincerity written on my heart's core.—I have the honor to be, my Lord, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Lord Cloncurry responded with much cordiality.

Dublin Castle had now been swept clean of certain Orange practices that had long vexed the people. Amongst these, it may be mentioned that until 1835 it was the custom to hoist the flag from its ramparts on the anniversaries of the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim. An interesting glimpse of O'Connell at this time is obtained from an Irish Conservative journal edited by the late John A. Prim, and which, on October 17, 1835, states: ‘Mr.

O'Connell spends two or three hours daily in close conference with Mr. Drummond.' ²

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 30th October, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Where are the notes you were to send me of Peel's votes? You promised me the day I left Dublin to send me a full list of all his *votes*, with a particular notice of his opposition to the agricultural interest. You cannot think how it annoys me to have been disappointed in the receipt of these materials for my grand attack upon Peel. I left you the Parliamentary Debates in my study, and you need only refer to the index at the end of each volume to find the pages of each speech Peel made. I implore of you not to neglect *this*.

My attention has been called to the 'Day Note' of about a month ago, in which there was an entry outward from Dublin of a cask of Italian wine, and a case of some other wine, with the fantastic description of 'Lachrymæ Hibernicæ.' The exporters, McDonnell & Co., shipped as for Darrynane Abbey, *viâ* Cork. Will you inquire whether or not this be a humbug?

I got some excellent hunting yesterday.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

4th December, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . I cannot tell you how delighted I am by this trip to the country, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season.

My plate is at Hanlon's to have these words engraved on that which was presented to me by the Catholic Board:

The Catholic People of Ireland

to

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Voted

day of

18 .

² It has been often stated by historic writers that at this time, and during the Russell Administration of 1846, the Whigs 'placed enormous patronage at O'Connell's disposal.' The late Carew O'Dwyer

informed me, on the private assurance of a Cabinet Minister, that he never knew a man to have so little patronage, or one who used that little less.

I do not know the day of the vote.³ It was in 1811 or 1812 or 1813, or thereabouts. Will you kindly get somebody to look it out in the newspapers. The motion was made by John Finlay. He may be able to tell you.

Lord Duncannon, Home Secretary, to O'Connell.

London: Decr. 26th [1835].

My dear Sir,—I rejoice that you have made up your mind to be here on the first day of the Session, as there are many subjects coming on in which we are all much interested in connection with Ireland, and though we may not all quite agree in the extent to which the different measures should be carried, your opinion and assistance must always be most valuable. You are well aware of my opinion as to the state of Ireland, and that that state is attributable to misgovernment. I must, however, disagree with you in the very severe censure you pass on the present Irish Government. I see much that must be done, but you make no allowance for the situation in which they came into power, and the difficulty of altering old habits and prejudices. Consider the difficulty of naming even the Tithe question, and whether you thought it possible a year ago that such a subject should form a topic of the King's Speech. You may think Stanley's proposal does not go far enough, but surely it will be a great advantage to relieve the people from tithe proctors, Ecclesiastical Courts and process servers, and yet you will find many who think he has gone far, far too deeply into the Church Establishment by even proposing this Committee. Do you believe the House of Commons would have entertained the question at all if much more had been proposed? With respect to the Irish Reform Bill, I regret as much as you can do that it does not give additional members to Ireland, and that some other alterations are not made in it, but I cannot shut my eyes to this, that it opens nineteen boroughs,

³ The date is December 11, 1813. Finlay's eulogium on O'Connell occupies seven columns of the news-

paper, but frequently pauses to review the sufferings, past and present, of Ireland.

and gives a free election to the other towns and cities. This must counterbalance many defects, and, indeed, you acknowledged to me in London, covered many faults in it. I am sure you will use your talents and assiduity, when you are here, in improving rather than condemning generally measures that are in themselves good, and I am therefore glad that you come over at once.

Believe me faithfully yours,

DUNCANNON.

There seemed some need for this hint, for Melbourne had read with mingled feelings a public letter of O'Connell's which severely animadverted on certain men and measures. 'Strong as we are,' said Melbourne, 'we are not so superdamnable strong as to insult Grey, Anglesey, and Stanley.'

Darrynane Abbey: 31st Dec. 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Many, many happy years! I *must* work the Commission as long as a particle of evidence remains undisclosed. I cannot, as I stand with the City of Dublin, decline having the case fully proved,⁴ no matter what it costs me. This duty would be incumbent on me even if I were ruined by it. The entire case must therefore be gone into, and the partners and clerks of Shaw's Bank must be examined.

To-morrow I begin agitation afresh. The last, after all, was a glorious year! One other such and the faction is down for ever. I am, blessed be God, in the best health and the highest spirits.

Good-night, God bless you! The hunting has been superb, but I must tear myself from it.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Darrynane Abbey: 4th January, 1836.

. . . The English Corporation elections have put me in the greatest spirits. It is most satisfactory at this eventful moment to have such a manifestation of public sentiment.

⁴ The validity of his election for Dublin.

Bahoss: 12th Jany. 1836.

I am now, you perceive, on the wing for quiet agitation in my own way. I am glad the scoundrels have closed my Commission so abruptly and so illegally. It is all for the best, besides stopping the expenses. . . .

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The safety of the seated members for Dublin, O'Connell and Ruthven, continued to be seriously threatened by petition. O'Connell had polled 2,678 votes at the Dublin election, Ruthven 2,630, showing a majority of about 250 over their opponents, George Alexander Hamilton and John B. West. A Committee, after a scrutiny unusually protracted and costly, pronounced O'Connell and Ruthven not duly elected. Previous to this climax letters to his confidential agents claim insertion.

To William Woodlock, Attorney-at-Law.

London: 20th February, 1836.

My dear Woodlock,—You ought to be here with Mr. Hutton⁵ as speedily as possible. I have written twice to Murphy⁶ accounting for my leaving him in Dublin. I write to him this day to come over if he still feels jealous, but *you must* come. I do most earnestly implore of you to come. I am ready to give up the petition—I mean its defence—if you do not come. I therefore put it upon *you*. If you refuse me now that Murphy also comes, it would justify his jealousy, and place me in the most awkward of all possible predicaments. I therefore repeat my most earnest entreaty that you and Hutton will be here as soon as possible, whether Murphy comes or not.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁵ Robert Hutton, a Presbyterian coachbuilder of Dublin, who, with O'Connell, was elected M.P. for

that city in 1837.

⁶ The father of the present Police Magistrate in Dublin.

To Joseph D. Mullen.

London: 9th March, 1836.

My dear Mullen,—The Taxes of 1835 have just been decided in our favour. I believe this makes us safe.

I will write to you *every day* until the business is settled.

What a triumph last night! Hurrah!

March 10th, 1836.

My dear Mullen,—This day consumed in mere argument. We must therefore look to mere probabilities. What are we to do?

1st. Suppose *us* unseated. What is to be done? I will, of course, stand. Who is to be the second? Poor Ruthven is very, very ill. There can not be a more honest man. If I am to decide, I would say Ruthven again. But there should be somebody to share the expense with me. I would be satisfied with a La Touche, for I always forget bygone attacks. I would like a Guinness, a Roe, or a Crosthwaite. But, above all, if William Murphy[†] or John Power would stand, or my old friend Cornelius McLoughlin, then indeed a contest would be a pleasure. 2ndly. If West and Hamilton are seated?

Then, *ought there* to be a petition to unseat them for bribery? Such a petition could not be presented until they are seated. The proof of bribery is complete. I will *subscribe* one, two, or three hundred pounds. Canvass these things with the good men and true. It is true that, at present, I do not expect to be unseated. But I may be so, and the chances may be even. It is, however, right to recollect that the state of Ruthven's health is such that a second person may reasonably, and without any indelicacy to him, be *thought about*. I will write again to-morrow.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Though Ruthven had had parliamentary experience as representative of a Northern constituency, and spoke well,

[†] 'Billy Murphy.' (See letter to Mr. Mullen of March 17, 1836.)

the House listened with impatience to his speeches during the long period that his seat lay in jeopardy. This discourtesy usually assumed the form of persistent coughing, which led him one night to say, 'I don't know that within this House I can offer any cure for the cough by which honourable members are affected, but outside I shall have not far to seek for a remedy.' His pills to cure a cough were bullets, and he absolutely exchanged three shots with Alderman Perrin to show that he was not to be trifled with.

To Joseph D. Mullen.

London : 17 March, 1836.

. . . The Ministry are daily becoming more secure. The Tories are quite out of spirits. The public mind set in strongly with our Corporation Bill. I believe we will carry it, even in the Lords, and with another year of this Administration there is nothing which we can require for Ireland that we *can* be refused. There are better days in store for our country.

I am sorry to tell you that poor Ruthven⁸ becomes daily worse. I think it is scarcely possible he should survive many weeks, perhaps not many days. As to a candidate in his place I, for one, deem it my duty not to interfere. Lord Brabazon⁹ would be very good, the best amongst the nobility, as Lord Cloncurry's son cannot be in the field. Rowe and Crosthwaite¹ are both excellent. I confess I would prefer Cornelius McLoughlin, William Murphy, or John Power;² but I repeat, it is not for me to interfere. *You* must take the decision upon yourselves, and that the rather as, in any event, I am convinced Ruthven will not outlive the Session. Look to it, therefore, in time.

If anything likely to be decisive arises to-morrow I will

⁸ Mr. Ruthven, the colleague of O'Connell in the representation of Dublin, died six weeks before the decision of the Committee was announced. A fine monument has been erected to his memory in Glasnevin, the foundation-stone of which was laid by O'Connell.

⁹ Lord Brabazon, afterwards Earl of Meath. He became member for Dublin County in 1837.

¹ George Rowe, D.L., and Leland Crosthwaite.

² Afterwards Sir John Power, Bart., an eminent Roman Catholic distiller.

write again. If you do not get a letter from me, be convinced that no *aid* to solve the doubt will have arisen during the day.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Joseph D. Mullen.

17 March.

They must still strike off at the least 141 before they touch me, and there are several more of their own votes bad to swell their difficulties.

If the pipe-water tax be decided for me they never can reach me. I believe, if it be decided against me, it will turn the election. There would remain the question of whether my adversaries were to be substituted or not. I hope they will not; but you must not act on that hope. Prepare for the worst. Prepare your petition and your securities; *above all*, be ready with your securities.

London: 28th March, 1836.

My dear Mullen,—My majority is reduced to nine. I have sent Woodlock to see whether he could not find ten to whom 'the decisions' apply, so that we may to-morrow bring the bribery cases before the Committee, and get a decision whether or not the election is merely to be declared void.

You should have by return of post a petition and the names of two sureties resident in London. The petition should confine itself to bribery—allegation of bribery. This will reduce the expense to a very narrow compass compared with any questions of scrutiny, which are the *most* expensive, being exactly my case.

Pray let your *first* petition be here as speedily as possible. Ruthven still breathes; but, alas! no more than breathes. May the Great God be merciful to him! Get your new candidate as speedily as you can. It would be monstrous to seat our adversaries, but it is only the more likely to be *so* decided.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 22nd March, 1836.

I have been so annoyed with the Dublin Committee. The expense and vexation are so great that I really am not competent to do any other business until this matter is closed. My own expectations are very gloomy.

All other prospects are good, very good ; the Ministry very strong. It is now believed that the Corporate Reform Bill will pass the Lords. It is not as good as we could desire, but it annihilates the present wretched system of pauper bigotry, and gives a more, but not a sufficiently, extended field for selection.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I implore of you to get the CORN EXCHANGE off my hands. It is now useless to me.

This was the house in which the Catholic Association formerly held its assemblies. The meetings of the old Catholic Board had been disturbed by the raids of the students of Trinity College, and thereupon O'Connell shifted his camp to Burgh Quay, where he relied upon the coal-porters for protection. This well-organised body of men always took part in his processions, and were familiarly known as ' O'Connell's Police.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 1st April, 1836.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The death of poor Ruthven makes no difference in the progress of the petition. It is quite clear that *at the utmost* only one seat can be preserved, mine ; and its preservation is still doubtful—very doubtful, to say the most.

You seem to think that Ruthven contributed to the expenses of the petition. Indeed you say so. Why, my good friend, you are altogether mistaken. He did not contribute one shilling. I have paid all, except what was collected at Dublin ; that and £500 of mine were expended on

the Commission. The most expensive petition that ever was known is the present, because it is a scrutiny of from four to five hundred votes. My loss is enormous; but, whilst I have one shilling, I will not allow a single elector to lose his franchise.

Close, instead of drawing the petition according to my directions, has, I see, been puzzling on the subject of the right to petition. He overlooks the fact that there are fourteen days after the return of any member to petition against his return. Now neither West nor Hamilton is as yet returned. Suppose them *seated*. It would be by this process—a report of the Committee that they were duly elected, and ought *to be* returned. On that report the Clerk of the Crown, in whose custody the writs and returns are, is ordered to attend the House, and he produces the writ and return. He is then ordered to erase the former names and insert the names of the persons who *ought*, according to the report, to be in the return. They are then, on that day, for the first time *returned*, and there are fourteen days from that day to petition against them. And these are the only days on which they can be petitioned against. Let Close recollect that West and Hamilton are not petitioners *at present*. But, really, it is not pleasant that the petition should be delayed by reason of an objection which *we* must be fools if we did not get over if it really existed. Of this, perhaps, more than enough. Let there be two sets of petitions—the one against West and Hamilton, the other against Hamilton, as his *majority* was greater than West's over Ruthven. These petitions should be here before the House sits again. There is no man living to whom I am more indebted than to —, ³ and the independent interest in Dublin owes him the deepest obligation; but I do not want to shift the responsibility of gratitude off myself. I certainly owe him a debt of gratitude which I never will be able sufficiently to repay, but which I never can forget.

³ Name erased: probably that of Hickman Kearney. (See letter to Woodlock, July 16, 1836, p. 74, *infra*.)

The Committee do not sit this day. I am *still* four a head. The matter stands, I think, thus: the petitioners will probably be able to strike from forty to forty-five off my poll. I ought to be able to strike sixty off theirs. This is the present *rational* prospect; but irrational decisions may alter it totally. The stake may belong to either side of the game. I confess I entertain but small hope of the result.

I go off to-morrow to Northampton on my way to Nottingham, where I DINE on the 4th; at Hull, on the 6th; at York, on the 7th; at Whitby, on the 9th. I then visit Gully at Pomfret, and so back to London by the 13th.

Who are you to have in the place of Ruthven? Let this be looked to; again I say this, and again.

What a foolish meeting about Poor Laws! ⁴ How strange it is that men will commit themselves on so awful a subject without knowing anything of the details; and that most destructive of all experiments, employment for the able-bodied out of the poor rates!!! Just as if poor rates increased capital, when it only distributes it in a different and less economic and less sagacious mode. But it is so easy to be benevolent and humane at the expense of others.

A Poor Law we must have. We are come to it. We must have it as *the Repeal* slumbers. But not the 43d of Elizabeth, which directly led, as indeed a necessary consequence, to all the evils of English Poor Laws. Cobbett wilfully blundered on this point, and he is parroted by our Irish philanthropists. We *must*, however, have a Poor Law, and *poorhouses*, and much of moral degradation and of change in *the mode* of suffering. The cause is injured

⁴ O'Connell for a time favoured Poor Laws, but in the end he opposed them, feeling that no person had a right to be supported by the industry of another; also because poor rates tended to lessen the capital of a country and to lower wages. On March 29, 1836, a meeting was held in Dublin to consider the necessity of petitioning Parliament for a legal provision in aid of the poor. A

letter was read from Lord Cloncurry praising a report made by the Poor Law Commissioners, and hoping that the Government would act upon it.

Jack Lawless declared that nothing less than a law similar to the 43rd of Elizabeth (which provided employment for the able-bodied and support for the infirm) could satisfy the people. Marcus Costello spoke, and the petition was agreed to.

by the silly, silly course taken at the meeting. I must take an entire part in future to keep them to rights. The last Poor Law in England is a great improvement; of course not perfect, but giving *us* a model wide indeed of the 43d Eliz.—Believe me to be,

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Rushyford, near Durham :
Sunday.

My darling Love,—I wrote last night from York. We heard Mass here at half after eight this morning; I came in for a second immediately after the first. The morning was beautiful, and we saw everything worth seeing in York. It is in a lovely situation, as great a contrast with Manchester as possible—clear air, green fields, gentle elevations, a large river of pure water, and everything looking as neat as a new pin. We left York at three and have travelled fifty-six miles in seven and a half hours, with, of course, only a pair. We sleep here and go before eight to Durham, ten miles; thence to Newcastle-on-Tyne thirteen miles. In all the towns as I came along the people turned out to see me and shout for me. The Dean of York,⁵ who is married to a sister of Peel, introduced himself to me, and asked me to dine with him. It was very civil at all events.

I am, thank God, in excellent health, taking the best possible care of myself; and it is not possible to do otherwise, Morgan is so vigilant and attentive. The morning air a little sharp, so I have put on my worsted stockings and find myself the more comfortable for it. Darling, how I long to hear from you and all my children! I long to see sweet sonny again and his buttercup of a sister.

To Joseph D. Mullen.

London: 7th May, 1836.

My dear Mullen,—The absurd conduct of my Committee leaves the case still undecided, but takes from me all chance of ultimate success. I *am* up for Kilkenny, if my oppo-

⁵ The Very Rev. Wm. Cockburn married, in 1805, Miss Elizabeth Peel.

nents be seated, which I believe they will. Yet, if they are not, I can stand for Dublin also; for I will not leave Dublin if I can avoid it.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 13th May, 36.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am desirous to be in Parliament again before the Recess, to attend to the Committees, especially the Drogheda Railway, which is a speculation of the utmost value, if in nothing else, in expending £400,000 in labour.

The scrutiny is now closed on my election committee, and before this letter is closed I shall be declared disentitled to my seat. This decision is, of course, bitterly unpleasant to my feelings, but, blessed be God, I can look at it without pain, and have, on the contrary, the satisfaction to feel relieved, as if a load were taken off my breast. It has, indeed, been an awful load. You are aware that the Dublin part of the business cost me £650, or thereabouts, exclusive of the sum subscribed in that town. I did not get one shilling assistance for the expenses in London, of the weight of which you may judge when I tell you that I had to pay counsel for 80 days, which you may estimate at the lowest at £75 per day; that is, in fees to counsel, £6,000; add to that my expenses in Dublin, and other expenses here, and you will find me at the loss of full £8,000 at the lowest calculation. It has cost the opposite party four, or perhaps five, times that sum, but what comfort is that to me?

Recollect that I had four other petitions in my family to defend, and five contested elections. The Youghal⁶ committee alone cost me more than £2,000.

This conspiracy against me is therefore nearly complete. Why am I thus attacked? It is a compliment the Orange faction pay to my utility.

⁶ In 1836 Mr. John O'Connell was returned for Youghal by 137 votes. His opponent was Thomas

B. C. Smith, who, as Attorney-General, prosecuted 'the Repeal martyrs' in 1844.

This may be glorious, but it is very vexatious. You, therefore, will see at once that the expenses of my large family here——. But I am sick, heartily sick of thinking on this subject. There is nothing fictitious in the fury with which I am pursued and persecuted. The worst is that I have lost more than a year from active agitation. I felt, pending this petition, like a winged wild fowl. But my wing is now free. As member for Kilkenny I recommence agitation with an unencumbered energy, though with heavily encumbered fortune.

But you know I never despair. My own opinion is that I have before me a field for greater activity in Ireland than any I have as yet gone over. We have struck down the Orange party. We are certain of putting down the Corporators.

Believe me, believe me, Ireland will have many friends who were hitherto decided enemies. No one can foresee what may be made of the change. I am full of hope, and, at all events, determined to renew with double activity my struggle.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To Rev. Dr. Mulholland.**

19 Langham Place : 15th May, 1836.

Revd. Sir,—I beg leave most respectfully to decline any interview with you. I mean you no offence whatsoever; I am incapable of intending it; but I decline to see you for the same reason that I declined to answer your letter.

Firstly. Your case is not one in which Parliament can give any relief. The Parliament has not the least control over the discipline of the Catholic Church, any more than with its faith; and, with the blessing of God, never shall.

Secondly. I cannot but express in as strong terms as are consistent with my unfeigned respect for your reverend

* A Roman Catholic priest who had some disagreement with his bishop.

character, my disapprobation of the action you brought in the courts of law against another Catholic priest, with whom all differences should be settled amicably, or by a reference to spiritual superiors; and I think a clergyman ought rather submit to such a wrong than give scandal by litigation. I do remember well that the action was a source of much scandal, and I cannot venture to differ in opinion with your Bishop as to the judgment he may have formed respecting you after having brought that action to trial.

Any attempt to bring the matter before Parliament would be only another cause of scandal, and will only make it impossible for you to obtain the sanction of any Catholic Prelate to your appointment to a Parish. In my humble opinion there is but one proper course open for you, and that is, unqualified submission to your spiritual superior; the distinction between civil and spiritual authority being, to my mind, quite plain. In civil matters every man may, and ought to, right himself according to the law; in spirituals, especially between clergymen, authority should be respected, and no appeal made, save from one spiritual superior to one in a higher degree, until either justice be done or the higher authority appealed to in vain. Even if in vain, injustice, in that respect, is, in my judgment, preferable to scandal, which, after all, will afford no redress.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It was promised by Peel, when introducing the Act of Emancipation in 1829, that Roman Catholics should be invested with all municipal privileges; but a Protestant passive resistance baffled the law. In 1836 the Irish Municipal Bill, having for its object the reform of the Corporations, was introduced. But the Tories met it with the proposal to abolish rather than reconstruct the Corporations. This proposition Peel supported with great tact, which led Sheil to retort that he had given them a key which would not turn the lock; and when British justice was now about to burst open the doors, the honourable baronet would level the institutions to the earth, and bury

his own Act of Emancipation with his good faith under the ruins. Stanley argued that the reform of municipal bodies would increase O'Connell's power by the establishment of normal schools for agitation. Nevertheless the third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of sixty-one; but Lord Lyndhurst had arranged to uproot in the Upper House all its provisions and substitute a wholly new Bill. A great struggle between the two Houses ensued, during which Lord Lyndhurst branded the people of Ireland as 'aliens in blood, in religion, and in language,' and the Bill was at last lost. It was in the course of these debates that Sheil reproached the Duke of Wellington for not exclaiming, 'Hold, I have seen those aliens do their duty.'

To Richard Barrett.

London: 16th May, 1836.

My dear Barrett,—Whatever situation I may be in, I never forget my friends, and I have no friend to whom I am indebted for a more unequivocal proof of fidelity and kindness than to you. Yours is no lip-service, but practical proof. I therefore hasten to express my deep sense of sorrow, and, I may say, shame, that a resolution censuring you should have been passed by any body of men calling themselves Liberals in Ireland. I would, indeed, express my opinion of that resolution in terms of harshness did I not see, as I do with poignant regret, that the censure against you, a Protestant sufferer in the cause of civil and religious liberty, was proposed by a highly respectable Catholic clergyman. But, as far as Sir William Brabazon is concerned, I have no such delicacy. I am indeed astonished that a gentleman who has condescended to affect friendship for me should assail you, the tried friend, not of me alone, but of Ireland, for having commented upon public men in their public conduct, as was your duty to do, according to your then view of the facts.

I am delighted to find that the high and indignant sense of justice is roused in Ireland on the Irish Corporate Reform Bill. I am doubly glad to see that it has evinced itself without any instigation from this side of the water.

For my own part, I will candidly confess that my first impression was that the extinction of the present Corporations would be a substantial benefit. That they interfere with the administration of justice, and render it partial and corrupt, is now admitted by everybody. There cannot be found any man in either House to offer the least defence, or even palliation, of the conduct of our infamous Corporation.⁸ Only think what an avowal by those who were hitherto the protectors of those very Corporations, that they were too bad to be allowed to exist longer, and yet Ireland has endured these now avowed evils! We have suffered this abominable tyranny, and been blamed for discontent and turbulence, and accused of disaffection. Why, our enemies themselves justify us, and show that we erred only in our moderation, and that we ought to have been ten times more discontented and turbulent and disaffected.

Would Englishmen have endured to have life and property, character and individual liberty in their country, at the mercy of party sheriffs, and partisan grand jurors, and partisan special jurors—and, above all, party criminal jurors? No; England would have sooner shaken off the load altogether, or every Englishman to the 'last man' perish. Well, we have borne it.

I thought no sacrifice too great to get rid of such a system; but that is not now my opinion. I have again read Lord Lyndhurst's bill, and I for one am ready to fling it in his face. We should be, I think, disgraced if we were to accept it, and we may trust that the people of England will assist us effectually to have 'justice done to Ireland.'

My present impression is strongly fortified by the high and honest firmness of the Protestant Dissenters' meeting of Saturday last. I am now for flinging back in the teeth of our calumniators the insulting bill which is to come to us from the Lords. One year more of patience, and we

⁸ It will be remembered that in 1815 O'Connell had been challenged by D'Esterre, a member of the

then Orange Town Council of Dublin, for having called it 'a beggarly corporation.'

must obtain for Ireland what England already enjoys, and Scotland has won for herself. This is the true ground to take: Ireland upon an equality with Great Britain, or no Union; in other words, a 'Real Union,' or 'No Union.' Let this be our cry, and every honest man in England and in Scotland will join in the shout.

I think there ought to be petitions to the House of Commons not to pass any measure for Ireland less efficacious than the Scotch and English bills.

Yours, my dear friend, most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Five years later the municipal privileges which had been long denied to Roman Catholics were fully achieved, and O'Connell became Lord Mayor of Dublin.

To Joseph D. Mullen.

London: 24th May, 1836.

My dear Mullen,—All is over. No costs. West and Hamilton seated. Two votes more would have served me; but let bygones be bygones, and think no more of them. Whether or not the Committee will give leave to proceed for bribery against the now seated Members is a question. My own opinion is that you are entitled *as of right* to do so. Send me a petition to that effect—that is, for bribery—so as to have the question discussed. Your vagabond friend, George Howell, has been bothering me about the Poor Laws. His single vote made the entire difference—a difference of two on the scrutiny—and *they* could not have struck off two more, I believe. My mind has not been at ease for the last fifteen months till now. The expense has been enormous. I now only rejoice that I have a representation which costs me nothing, and cannot be disputed with, nor by any petition.

I stood by my constituents to the last, at an expense of much more than £6,000.

Ever yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

29 May, 1836.

I enclose you a quizzing letter I have just got.⁹ I showed it to Pierce Mahony, who says the seal is so remarkable that our friend Pim will probably be able to trace the owner of it, and yet I scarcely think it worth while to take even that trouble.

I suppose I shall be unseated the day you receive this, principally by reason of the non-payment of a few shillings of pipe-water and wide-street tax. So it is. It has, however, cost me enormously.

To Lord Duncannon.

Langham Place : 23d June, 1836.

My Lord,—Before I proceed to the object of this letter I beg leave to assure you that if I was asked who the person in the circle of my public or personal acquaintance is who would be most incapable of doing any act of duplicity or dishonour I should not hesitate to name Lord Morpeth.¹ It is, therefore, impossible that I should intend him any offence. I merely mean to assert myself. Under this impression I beg leave to place in your Lordship's hands a letter which I received from Lord Morpeth, but which I cannot consent to retain in mine. I owe it to myself to refuse any species of compromise. I may be treated with indignity and trampled under foot. The Administration has now the power to do so, but I will be no party to any compromise.²

The reason I take the liberty of giving your Lordship this trouble is because you were so good as to tell me that any communication I had to make to the Government should be made through you or Mr. Ellice. He is out of the country.

I submit these facts to the Government:—

1st. When the Spirit License Bill was brought in, depu-

⁹ The letter is not forthcoming.

² Lord Morpeth's letter cannot be found.

¹ Chief Secretary for Ireland, afterwards Earl of Carlisle.

tations from the Publicans and from the Grocers came to London to attend to their respective interests.

2d. To a certain extent these interests were identical ; in other respects they were adverse.

3d. They appealed to me as their chief manager and supporter. I, of course, accepted that offer. Most of them were my most active, useful, and valuable constituents.

4th. I waited on Lord Morpeth *with* and *from* them, and all the objections were fully discussed, some yielded to and others rejected.

5th. The bill was altered accordingly, and finally settled.

6th. The Grocers were perfectly satisfied with the bill as thus arranged by the Government.

7th. The Publicans werestill somewhat dissatisfied, but I overruled their objections.

8th. I sent both deputations home, telling them they had nothing more to fear or to attend to.

Under these circumstances the bill was brought in ; it passed through its stages. Fully confiding in the faith of Government, I, of course, took no further trouble about it.

At the third reading two alterations were made in it without the least intimation to me or to any of the persons interested.

The first of these is the recognition by Law of ‘the Friendly Brothers,’ a society always deeply Orange, but now affording the full opportunity to re-establish Orange lodges, nay, the full Orange system under this name. I solemnly warn the Government of this obvious and, indeed, inevitable consequence, and having done so I have no more to say on that point.

Secondly, ‘the power of selling spirits to be consumed on the premises’ is taken away from the grocers. It was to resist this principally the deputation came here. They succeeded before on this point ; confiding on the Government, I sent them home. I pledged myself that there could be no danger to their interests without their being heard in their defence. Yet without notice, without hearing, at the mere motion of Mr. Recorder Shaw, these worthy and

excellent people are stripped of a valuable right, and I am justly liable to the accusation of having deluded and betrayed them. They will, of course, proclaim my neglectful treachery.

I most respectfully but firmly insist that the Government is bound, on the plainest principles of honour and integrity, to free me from this more than awkward situation. It can be done *only* by dropping or throwing out *that* bill.

I, indeed, scarce dare hope for this justice. I do anticipate that the Government will trample on me, as they certainly now have the power to do, and as Lord Morpeth's letter intimates they will; for I repeat, my Lord, I cannot consent to compromise my integrity. I will not enter into any compromise. It would be quite unworthy of me.

Of course, your Lordship will feel that I must be at liberty to state in the House and to the public the precise manner in which I have been—used, for I will not use a harsh word, as the last thing in the world I *could* mean would be to give offence; but having been made the instrument of a deception, however unintentional on Lord Morpeth's part, I must, in my own vindication, put the matter on its right footing. I must state the reasons I had to confide and the unhappy result.

Whilst this, allow me to call it insult, is unremoved it will be out of my power to hold any communication with the Government, although their general measures may commend my support.

It is foolish, but I cannot help adding I do not think I deserved this indignity.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It is amusing to open the contemporary journals and pamphlets which denounced O'Connell's alliance with Melbourne, and to read some of the facts they claimed to have brought to light. The 'Liberator' was declared to be the tool of a conclave that held its sittings in the Vatican, and the boldness with which this statement was reiterated led many people to believe that Papal policy influenced the

councils of Melbourne and Russell. The impression continued for years after, and Lord John's famous 'Durham Letter' in 1850 is said to have been prompted by the hope of regaining the status which these pertinacious statements had caused him to lose.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 26th June, 1836.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The clause the Grocers so justly complain of was passed without any intimation or the slightest idea that the Government would permit it to pass. I never was so shocked in my life. However, for the present, keep all our friends quiet. I have taken the most vigorous steps in my power to get rid of the clause or of the bill. Do not let this get into the newspapers, but I am leaving no stone unturned to prevent the mischief, and I think I must succeed. All the friends of the Government admit that we have been ill-treated. My hopes will, I trust, be realized before the post leaves this on Monday. If not, a deputation of the Grocers must be ready to start the moment you receive my letter of Monday. I have already refused all compromise. Take care the Grocers do not interfere with my plan by an offer of that kind, as I insist that the clause must be altogether expunged, and the Bill restored to what it was when the Irish members agreed to it. You may read this letter to each of our friends in the Trade, but do not give any copy of it, or have it in print. It is impossible for any man to be more decided than I am to get this obnoxious clause put aside. My hopes, I repeat, are strong of success. Do not insert any private business in your letters on this subject. This caution relates to your postscript. I wish you had not inserted it. You could have written it on another paper, and then I could shew your letter to the Ministry.³

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

³ O'Connell, notwithstanding his influence with the Ministry, failed in getting the obnoxious clause ex-

punged.

The Bill, which afterwards became law, and was called Perrin's Act, had

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Confidential.) Committee, Drogheda Railway : 27th June, 1836.

My dear FitzPatrick,—All is, or will be, right. The Grocers may rest satisfied that *the law* will not be altered in their disfavour. The precise mode of preserving their interests is not agreed upon, but the fact that they *shall be* preserved is certain—I now say, quite certain. I have only to add that it is likely that this object will be *most* satisfactorily arranged by a deputation of the Grocers coming here—one, two, or three intelligent persons capable of shewing *the mischiefs* which would accrue to the Grocers from the proposed clause.

It is impossible for any man to regret more than Lord M.⁴ does that the clause was allowed to pass. I repeat that I am CERTAIN that the clause will never be law; but let the deputation come at once, and as *quietly* as possible.

Ever yours sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

As a Whig Irish alliance with O'Connell, to the exclusion of Toryism from power, now seemed inevitable, many zealous polemics of the latter party sought to weaken O'Connell's influence by an organised assault on the Church of which they regarded him as the embodiment. Of this party the most formidable was Dr. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter. In Ireland he found warm allies in the Rev. Messrs. Mortimer O'Sullivan, R. J. MacGhee, Daly,⁵ Pope, and Gregg. Long-forgotten Roman authors were pulled down from their shelves, and amid the dust that arose

in it the penal clause that the sale of groceries and spirits by retail should not be permitted to be carried on on the same premises. The result was serious inconvenience and loss to the grocers all over Ireland, as it became necessary for them to rent separate houses before they could vend spirituous liquors. The promotion of the measure was based on the allegation that servant-women, when sent to grocery shops for groceries, went on to the spirit counter and took drink. On this silly cant

the penal clause was passed. It proved an instrument of great annoyance, and inflicted serious injury on an important section of the Irish people. The measure was in course of time repealed.

⁴ Lord Morpeth.

⁵ The Rev. Robert Daly was promoted to the see of Cashel. Archbishop Whately pleasantly denied the alleged wealth of the Irish Protestant prelates, inasmuch as they had only one *Bob Daily* amongst them.

from them an effort was made to blind the people of England to the objects and practices of Popery, to alienate and disgust them. Among the exhumations was 'Dens' Theology,' which furnished endless material for angry religious controversy. Traces of these new tactics will be found in the following correspondence:—

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

9 Clarges St. : Friday.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have not time to write to you this day. I want to know—

1st. What and how many vols. of 'Dens' Theology' are read at Maynooth?

2d. Where I can get his treatise on Heresy?

3d. Is it read at Maynooth, or is there any other, and what work applicable to the points stated by Dens on Heresy read at Maynooth?

You can perceive my object. I would wish to be able to apply to the book on Heresy whether it be read at Maynooth or not. I suppose it relates to the duties of the Civil power in respect to heresy.

I wish you would wait on Dr. Murray⁶ from me, and inform him in the most respectful manner that, as representative for Dublin, I am most ready to make any statement he may deem advisable on the subject of the late absurd calumnies; that is, unless he treats the matter with the contempt it merits, as I by no means think him called on to make any statement, leaving it altogether as a matter for himself to decide. I only mean to place myself at his command.

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Rev. Robert J. MacGhee, a prominent controversialist and prolific pamphleteer, wrote to O'Connell at this time informing him of a great meeting about to be held in Exeter Hall, and that it was his 'intention, if it pleased Divine Providence, to submit to the meeting resolutions containing

⁶ Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

some additional facts as to "Dens' Theology," which have not been laid before the public, and which prove the unanimous and continued adoption of that standard of theology by your bishops, and also establishing the fact that your bishops have patronised and propagated amongst the people the intolerant and persecuting notes of the Rhemish Testament.

'The abjuration of these notes by Dr. Troy in 1817, your own professed rejection of them and your proceedings at the Catholic Board, your appointment of a committee and the result of the case, are all so well known to you, that I shall not anticipate the statements of the platform by entering upon them now; but I shall call on you to explain the facts to the English nation, and for this purpose I invite you thus publicly to come and apply all your legal talents to invalidate the documents and facts on which I shall found the resolutions I shall propose to the meeting.

'To preclude all possible charge of slander, misrepresentation, or any other of the imputations which have been cast upon me, I propose that the arrangements for the meeting be made by a committee of members of the House of Commons, whereof half should be chosen by yourself and half by the Protestant Association; that the tickets for the meeting be equally divided, and that it be clearly understood that the statements on both sides shall be heard in perfect silence.'

To Rev. J. R. Page, Secretary to the Protestant Association.

10 Langham Place: June 29th.

Rev. Sir,—I have reason to complain, I really think I have, that you should transmit to me any document emanating from the person who styles himself the Rev. Robert McGhee. After that unhappy person's exhibitions in public, and especially after his indescribable conduct to that meek and venerable prelate Dr. Murray, I do submit to your own good sense and good feeling that you ought not to inflict any letter of his upon any fellow Christian.

I, therefore, return you his letter without intending you any disrespect. Upon reflection you will, I should hope, agree with me that this is the only course which a rational

man could take with such a letter, particularly as the writer is so careless of all the observances of life as to omit the ordinary courtesies between man and man; but let me add that I freely forgive the want of civility, or even of decency, on your part in sending me such an epistle.

With respect to Dens and the Rhemish notes I confess to you that I feel the utmost indifference as to the Resolutions your meeting of the 12th of July may adopt. Resolve away as fast and as long as you please, I care not; gratify yourselves as to your mode of resolving; your resolutions can harm only yourselves, and that I admit you have a plain and obvious right to do. Nobody ought to interfere in any way to prevent you. I am quite sure I will not. Your resolutions, therefore, for aught I care, may be reprobatory or approbatory, laudatory or explanatory, or any other 'Tory' you please. It is a species, allow me to say, of tomfoolery, or rather Toryfoolery, with which I would not upon any consideration interfere. Accept, I beg of you, my full consent to your drawing up and passing any resolutions you please. As to naming members of Parliament and sharing tickets, and all that fantastic mummery, it really surprises me that a gentleman of your good sense could think that such an absurd farce could be entertained for one moment. I should be laughed at if I were to propose it to any member of Parliament gifted with common understanding, and if I refrain from laughing at it in your case it is only because I do not choose to treat you with any want of courtesy.

The whole affair is, in plain truth, one of those miserable mismanagements which cannot be described by any English word with accuracy. It is only in French that you can find their right name. They are called '*niaiseries*,' and such I treat them.

I cannot conclude without in sober sadness expressing my most unfeigned regret that the very name of religion should be tarnished by these theatrical buffooneries. I cannot possibly lend them any countenance either directly or indirectly. Religion is, indeed, too awful a matter to be made

the subject of mountebank exhibitions. It is by far of too tremendous an importance to be approached in any other spirit than that of humility surrounded by the purest charity. The spirit of charitable humility is that in which religious controversy should be proposed and carried on. It is so conducted in many Protestant countries, and the consequence is, I say it in no vain boast, the wise and the good are daily forsaking the variegated errors of Anti-Catholic belief, and crowding into the ranks of those who endeavour 'to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,' for 'There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all.'

That that gracious and good God may in the plenitude of his mercies recall your fellow-labourers and guide them to that one faith which your fathers and our fathers lift to God, is, I hope, the humble and fervent prayer of

Your obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Archbishop MacHale.

National Bank of Ireland, 39 Old Broad Street, London :
2nd July, 1836.

My ever-respected Lord,—I have brought your Grace's letter here in order to have your recommendation complied with. There could be no difficulty in making out the appointment at once if you had been able to certify to Mr. Fitzgerald's *knowledge of business*.

The situation of manager requires a familiar habit of keeping accounts of a complicated nature.

If Mr. Fitzgerald be *such a clerk*, his appointment as manager is certain; but if he be not, then we could and would instantly appoint him as *local director*. The salary of a *manager* would be about £200 a year, the director's salary £50 a year. The manager must give his entire time to the bank. The director's attendance is not severe. It will be *now* for your Grace to say which office Mr. Fitzgerald is suited for, and *will accept*. I have only to add

that his appointment can be made out the moment you please to *decide*.

For myself, I wish to tell you in strict confidence that I desire, nay, ardently, that all *good men*—all those we should desire to see *safe*—should, as speedily as they can, disembarass themselves from the Agricultural Bank. I feel it a duty to tell you the fact that it is certain that until lately, if at all, there was no partnership deed executed.

I believe there is not a *real* company formed.

They cannot, as I conceive, *endure* long. Their resources for capital must necessarily be small, their expenses great.

To me, who am become familiar with banking operations, I cannot conceive how it is possible that that bank should *hold out*. I say this, my Lord, for your own guidance, if you should have to advise in confidence with any person on the subject, or if you felt any duty to give a private warning to any person.

Of course, I should most anxiously desire not to say anything to *injure* the establishment of that bank.

I speak merely *in fear*. I may, of course, be mistaken; but my own opinion is, that the Agricultural Bank will bring ruin on thousands.

You are, my Lord, aware of the political state of this country. I intend for Ireland to propose the revival of the Catholic Association in a new name and somewhat broader basis. It will bear the name of 'The General Association of Ireland,' to be dissolved so soon as full corporate reform and a satisfactory adjustment of the tithe are obtained by law.

I intend to have the 'Irish rent' to replace the Catholic rent, and to find a friend to indemnify *tithe victims*; but this part of the arrangement will require discretion, tact, and some cautious management.

The state of parties here is singular; as yet undefined in object.

The Tories have not as yet flattered themselves with

coming into power. The popular party have not as yet framed any plan. There is much indignation, much discontent fomenting.

As far as the English and Scotch towns are concerned, the public mind is decidedly favourable to Ireland.

I, however, am, upon the whole, convinced that the rejection by the Lords of *our* bill will work for good. I will be leaving London in a few weeks.

The last *debate* this Session will take place on Monday, and after that I am determined to go to Ireland to organise the agitation.—I have the honour to be, of your Grace the most devoted,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

London : July 2nd, 1836.

My dear Barrett,—. . . We have been insulted as well as outraged by 'the Lords;' but we have in ourselves resources to enable us to overcome any difficulty. Let us, however, recollect these matters.

First. That we diminish our own strength and give additional power to our enemies by acts of violence, or by any violation of the law.

Second. That one portion of the population of Ireland, the Catholics, aided by the Liberal section of the Protestants, but opposed by the *then* more numerous and active Protestant ascendancy faction, achieved Emancipation.

Third. That the ascendancy faction is now comparatively weak and powerless; the popular party has extended its basis, and includes in its composition much Protestant and Presbyterian wealth and intelligence.

Fourth. That nothing can be done without combination and an unity of action; but everything can be achieved by them.

I will more fully develop my plan in the letter I promise to send you on Monday. It will include the organisation of 'the General Association of Ireland.' The objects of that Association will be twofold—

First. To procure by law a complete municipal reform ⁷ in Ireland, on as large and effectual a basis as that originally proposed by the Ministry.

Second. To procure by law such a settlement of the Tithe question as shall be fully satisfactory to the people of Ireland.

The Association to be dissolved so soon as both these objects are obtained.

The Association to be supported by an 'Irish Rent,' on the same basis as the Catholic Rent. It is, indeed, only the more necessary at present, as the number of persons unjustly and illegally aggrieved under the Tithe system is very great, and these persons must be relieved.

I will give my advice and my plan in detail in my next letter. I need say nothing to rouse the honest resentment of the Irish people. I would rather restrain within proper bounds the maddening influence of the just indignation and scathing scorn of the Irish nation at the insolent insult which has been basely inflicted upon us.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Mr. (afterwards Chief Baron) Pigot.

London: 2nd July, 1836.

My dear Pigot,—I attended to everything you wrote to me about upon political topics. The Registry Bill will not pass this year. The Corporate Reform Bill was *amended* by Lord John against my consent. I protested in private against the compromise, but was driven in public to support the party; and it is now well I did so, as we have had the credit of moderation without being tied to any restrictive enactment. The Lords will enact nothing for us.

We must have the 'General Association of Ireland' to replace the Catholic. We must have an 'Irish Rent,' or rather 'The Rent for Ireland,' to replace the Catholic Rent.

⁷ Five years later, when O'Connell accomplished Corporate Reform for Ireland, he found a large share of the City of Dublin Estate alien-

ated, the Corporation in debt to the amount of £343,836, and bailiffs in possession of the Mansion House.

The General Association must not link itself to any other ; it must confine its meetings to the members of the Association ; and if it shall allow any stranger to enter, he must pay a shilling. I want half-a-dozen men to work this system. I will go over myself to set it on its legs. But it must and shall succeed. Prepare to have the first meeting held on Thursday, the day after my letter is published.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 2nd July, 1836.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Get some good men and true to be ready with a requisition so as to put the new Association upon its legs at once. I will begin with £70 for my family and descendants. We must have a large fund to meet all exigencies. The Government will not discountenance us. Our organisation will be complete. Treasurers, Finance Committee, Committee for each Province, a person responsible for each County, Registry Committees out of Dublin. I will myself be in Dublin as soon as my beloved Mary's health allows me. She is not so well as she was yesterday, but I shall be with you as soon as I can.

Every man who subscribes one shilling will have his name enrolled. Every man who subscribes a pound to be a member, being proposed and seconded. In short, all and more than the Catholic Association has done. This is the precious moment to set to England one example more. I am determined that nothing shall prevent me from working out my plan. One way or the other, we must succeed in obtaining justice for Ireland.

Can you get me ten names of men who will work ? If I had but ten real *working* men it would be quite enough. Surely ten such men can be found. The day of meeting must be Thursday, to give the weekly papers time to send the debates to the country.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To William Woodlock.

(Confidential.)

London: 9th July, 1836.

My dear Woodlock,—Will you tell my friend O'Doherty that it would give me the greatest pleasure to be of any use to him, but I find it impossible to approach law patronage. Lord Plunket⁸ has stomach enough for ten times as much, and our friend the Attorney-General⁹ either cannot or will not assist. I believe he cannot, because I am told there is to be no vacancy.

I beg of you to attend to my complaining against Alderman Smyth. You will get copies of the papers, and make out for me the evidence. Maley will help you in private, so will Kelly. Act in my name and for me. Stock¹ the barrister is to be the person to enquire and report. Kelly has already sworn to the principal fact. Examine Mr. Kane the barrister as a witness. In short, follow it up with vigour. He is a man not entitled to anything save the hostility of every friend to truth and justice. One blow well struck upon him will render the rest of the gang tame as gelt cats. Of course I will pay cheerfully your costs.—Believe me always, your ever sincere and obliged

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Tell Mr. Reilly in private that I have mentioned the propriety of his conduct to Mr. Drummond.² Do not do this till after his examination.

Hickman Kearney, Colonel Morris, and Alderman Smyth were Commissioners of the Paving Board in Dublin at a stipend of £1,000 a year each. How they made themselves unpopular is not clear from the following letter, but it reveals incidentally points of interest and a personal trait highly creditable to O'Connell. The Paving Board exercised great power over voters, as may be gathered from Fitz-Patrick's letter to O'Connell, dated January 5, 1835.

⁸ The Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He had acquired a reputation for providing very amply for his own family and connections.

⁹ Mr. John Richards, afterwards

Baron Richards.

¹ Joseph Stock, LL.D., of Temple Street, Dublin.

² The Under Secretary for Ireland.

To William Woodlock, Attorney.

London: 16th July, 1836.

My dear Woodlock,—I have time at length to answer your kind letter. I have no affection to avow myself the prosecutor of Smyth if it be requisite to name me, but you must check Maley's disposition to attack any others of the Commissioners.

I care but little for Morris, but I would not for any consideration touch a hair of the head of Hickman Kearney.³ He once did me an *essential service*, and I must not injure him for any consideration in the world. Keep this always in your mind. I would rather fail than risk any injury to Kearney. Besides, you will see a tangible point against Smyth in Reilly's evidence, and in the evidence of Mr. Kane, the Counsel to the Board; but, with this hint as to Kearney, I leave everything else to your own discretion. The rest of the Board, at worst, only followed Smyth.

I fear I shall not leave London before the close of another fortnight.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

By being discreet in your communications Maley will aid you powerfully.

To Richard Barrett.

(Strictly confidential.)

Darrynane Abbey: 4th Sept. 1836.

My dear Barrett,—I got your letter this day, and send you as warm an introduction to Mr. Drummond as I could

³ O'Connell does not tell Woodlock the secret of his friendship for Hickman Kearney, but in a letter to the Knight of Kerry, dated June 25, 1827, it is made clear. Kearney was at that time a candidate for the Commissionership. 'He has a deal of the Wellesley interest,' writes O'Connell; 'but it would be his business and his wish to make himself useful to the new Administration. He has more power in managing this Cor-

poration than you can have any notion of. I know it practically, for he is a very particular friend of mine. He was foreman of the Grand Jury that threw out the Bill of Indictment against me, and he would throw out the anti-Catholic Petition for the new Administration if they deem it right to direct their patronage that way.' This, it will be remembered, was written in 1827.

write. I am spending a period of great agony. Maurice is in a very precarious state. I will act upon your hint, and send him to a warmer climate for the winter. God help me! my ever beloved⁴ is in a state of much suffering, and daily losing ground. I do most potently fear she cannot recover. She may linger weeks. One week may—— Oh God, help me——!

The purest spirit that ever dwelt in a human breast. She did not believe in the existence of evil. I am incompetent or too womanish, and too weak to do my public duty, and this is what she would condemn. But I think I can rally.

She would advise me to devote my energies, even in misery, to Ireland. I need not smile, for that would resemble a crime; but what am I writing! Only, after all, my great consolation will be a dogged and determined activity in the cause of Ireland.

Every moment can be devoted to my pen at least, and that may do good service.

This is for your eye *exclusively*; not in words, but in reality, for you *solely*. Of course it is.—Yours, my dear Barrett,

Most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Seal the enclosed.

To Thos. Drummond, Under Secretary for Ireland.

Darrynane Abbey: 4th Sept. 1836.

My dear Sir,—Permit me to introduce to you Mr. Barrett, the proprietor of the *Pilot* newspaper. I wish you to know him as a friend of mine, to whose firmness and constancy I am deeply indebted. But I can with strict truth say more of him—beyond any comparison more. He is a man of the purest integrity and of the best principles—principles not adopted for periods of sunshine, but tried in the very worst times. I do pledge myself that you can not know a more *trustworthy* person in every respect.

⁴ His wife.

He asked me only for an introduction, but I could not avoid giving a description also. And I must add that you could not show him any kindness without making it doubly valuable to me. In short, I introduce him to you as one of the best and most deserving friends of rational but unequivocal freedom with whom I am acquainted, and also as one of the public men of Ireland to whom I am most attached.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 9th Sept. 1836.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The aspect of affairs in my domestic circle is daily more gloomy. Hope, which comes to all, comes not to me.

Call at Johnson's to know why he has discontinued 'L'ami de la religion.' Send also some covers for letters like that in which this letter is enclosed.⁵ I have written a *special* letter to Mr. Drummond for J. D. Mullen. Let him call at the Castle the day after you receive this.

I am now much alarmed about Maurice. These afflictions impair my public utility, as well as tear to pieces my private affections.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 21st September, 1836.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . I want Lord Francis Egerton's translation of Von Raumer's book on the 17th Century ; also the Act of Parliament mentioned in Sharman Crawford's last attack on me . . . ; now do not delay. If you take it to the Castle, Mr. Drummond will give you a Treasury frank, or rather a Castle frank, for it.

3rdly. After I presided at the meeting for Beaumont⁶

⁵ Envelopes were first introduced at this time.

⁶ Beaumont was one of 'the Lyons Conspirators' then awaiting their trial for treason. They ap-

pealed to O'Connell to act as counsel for their defence before the Chamber of Peers. However, he was restrained from doing so by a doubt of his capacity to perform that duty effi-

(the British subject convicted by the French House of Peers), there was an attack made on me in the *Morning Chronicle* for assailing in my speech Louis Philippe. It was signed by a Frenchman, and was clearly genuine, as the style was Anglo-Gallican. It contained a tirade against Ireland. Now look out for the meeting respecting Beaumont, and then examine the file of the *Chronicle* for two or three weeks after, and you will find it. . . .

Dr. Wiseman has just published in London a book on the Eucharist. Get it for me and send it here. . . .

My heart is sad and sore.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 26th Oct. 1836.

Expect me in Dublin on the 2nd of November.

Maurice has been confined to his bed by an *acute* attack on the lungs. He is better, thank God ! I want to decide whether or not he is to go to a Southern climate.⁷ I take up an exact statement of his case, and intend to have a consultation of medical men—Crampton, Colles, and White—on my arrival. Mrs. O'Connell is in that state that she will not perceive that I am away. She may linger on week after week with nothing but despair of amelioration. Alas, alas ! I cannot describe to you my own *mental* state.

But I must decide about Maurice. At his time of life it is the saddest of the sad, but I *must* think of something else. If he is to go southward for the winter, there is no time to be lost.

ciently in the French language. A long letter from him appears in the papers of the day, wherein he reviewed the judicial history of the Chamber, and specially noticed 'the murder of the gallant Ney in violation of the faith of Treaties.' 'I never write out any discourse beforehand,' he adds, 'nor could I do it without utterly cramping the force and nerve of the very limited talent I possess, and my command of the

French tongue is not sufficient to enable me to translate my ideas as I went along in speaking, without embarrassing my powers of thought.'

⁷ Maurice O'Connell rallied, and lived for seventeen years afterwards. Mrs. O'Connell died October 31, five days after this letter was written. How much he felt the bereavement his letter of September 18, 1837, shows.

Darrynane: 28 Dec. 1836.

I leave this on Tuesday for Tralee, but will not be in Dublin until Monday week, the 9th; but on that day I am resolved, please God, to be there early in the day.

How mistaken you are as to the popularity of Poor Law! If you knew all I know!!!

London: 9th Feby. 1837.

I did not get the *Evening Post* due this day. I wrote myself to Barrett about the *Pilot*. These things are trifles, yet they really fret me exceedingly.⁸

London: 18th February, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am not a little amused with the reports circulated by the Orange faction in Dublin. I have but one advice to give you—that is, just not to believe one word of them all, from one end to the other. There is especially not the least truth in the report that the Ministers are going to resign or that they will resign, even if the Irish Corporation Bill and the English Church Rate Bill were rejected by the Lords, *without trying a dissolution*. They will give the people the advantage of a new Parliament chosen under the auspices of a Reform Ministry. This is but common sense and, indeed, but common honesty as regards the Irish people, who deserve the protection of a Liberal Government in the exercise of their functions. I venture to tell you that you may rely on this account of the real intentions of the Ministry. This will raise the question distinctly between the Peers and the people—at least so far as *the people* are represented in Parliament. There is no doubt that the King will sanction the dissolution whenever his Ministers deem it necessary.

The Corporate Reform Bill for Ireland will be discussed on Monday. Heaven knows how long the debate may last. There is a story circulated here amongst persons who ought to be in the secret, that Peel's plan is this: either during

⁸ 'The Liberator is looking well, but occasionally in sadly low spirits. The bustle of the coming days will,

however, rouse him.'—*Christopher FitzSimon to FitzPatrick*, Feb. 7, 1837.

the debate on Lord Francis Egerton's motion or immediately after, to rise and offer the Ministers that if they will take the Tithe Bill at a reduction of thirty per cent., as they proposed last year, and gave up the appropriation clause, on the ground that there is nothing to appropriate, he (Peel) and his party will allow the Irish Municipal Reform Bill to pass *both Houses*. This last will be distinctly implied, though it cannot be distinctly said in the House of Commons. It is believed that such offer will be made, but its reception by the Ministry is extremely doubtful. Should they accede, the Irish members will probably feel it their duty to protest against any compromise on the subject of the tithes, and accept the deduction merely as an instalment.

It would be better for public liberty that the Lords should again throw out the Bill. Certainly something would be gained by carrying into effect the bargain between Peel and the Ministry, but none of the Irish popular members could commit themselves to the plan.

Nothing can be more ridiculous than the praise of Jackson⁹ for his speech. It was simply a piece of brawling virulence, unenlivened by one ennobling idea.

The money market is in what they call an *easier* state. It is generally believed, however, that the Bank of England must come to the pound notes. Indeed, the only question seems to be how many thousands of persons are to be reduced from affluence to beggary by the Bank machinery before they have the candour to admit that they cannot continue to pay in gold. It would be well if they at once determined to meet the pressure of the existing evil, and gave relief without delay to the commercial and manufacturing classes.

⁹ Joseph Devonsher Jackson, styled by O'Connell 'Leather-lungs' from the marvellous longwindedness of his forensic and parliamentary appeals, attached himself to the extreme Tory school of politics, became member for Bandon, and took an active part in working the

Kildare Place system of education. In the House he gave very efficient help to his party, and was at last rewarded with a Judgeship in the Common Pleas, where for fifteen years he dispensed justice with fairness and humanity.

Upon the whole the popular party in Ireland have every reason to hope, and none to despond or distrust.

The zeal of those who had waged war against O'Connell was whetted by casual successes, notably in unseating some of his best men. In proportion as the power of the Liberator grew, the exertions of the enemy quickened.

In 1837 O'Connell entered Parliament, followed by seventy-three men pledged to the Repeal. Petitions against his own return and that of thirteen of his colleagues were at once lodged. A glimpse of his unceasing activity at this time is afforded by a subsequent conversation with Mr. Daunt:—

‘From four to twelve every day I was in regular attendance at the Committees. Going home I took a hasty dinner, and proceeded to the House, and continued in it until twelve or one. I was never absent. By the time I got to bed it was generally two. Then a man at my time of life requires some sleep, although I was never fond of it, and so it was generally nine o'clock when I was ready for breakfast. At ten I read a small portion of the letters I received. From ten to twelve, heaven help me! I don't exaggerate when I say I generally got two hundred letters a day. There never was a man so besieged by persons looking for places. No one asked me, to be sure, to get him a bishopric, although I have been asked for places in the Established Church. There is not an office from Lord High Admiral down to scavenger that I have not been asked for. Heaven help the applicants, for it is but little I can do for them. The Government have been so repeatedly accused of being under my influence, that it has caused a reaction against me, and I believe there is not a man who votes with them who gets less from them than I.’

It was at this time that O'Connell opened the attack on the House of Lords which seems foreshadowed in his letter of September 14, 1833. The Hereditary Chamber commanded a great Conservative majority, and, headed by Lyndhurst, impeded all Liberal measures, even to the small grant in aid of National Education. Then it was that O'Connell undertook his stormy mission throughout the north of England and Scotland. His plan was to make the Upper House an elected body, to consist of 150 members, to be chosen by the people from the body of the Peers, of

which the number should not be less than 500. In consequence of the attitude and tone of the House of Lords, O'Connell's arguments were followed with avidity.

The mission, however, was not a complete success. The people hailed O'Connell cordially, but the middle classes deprecated any attempt to subject the House of Lords to another experiment; and this feeling became at last so marked that Lord John Russell, knowing that the Parliamentary constituencies counted the middle classes by thousands, publicly disavowed any share in the mission.

Lord Campbell, in his *Memoirs*, constantly assails Lyndhurst for what he styles his obstructive policy, but privately they maintained most cordial relations. Notwithstanding the known Conservatism of Melbourne and the more outspoken opinion of Russell, the agitation raised by O'Connell alarmed the Tory Lords, and the result was a compromise, by which a large share of Municipal Reform was at length secured.

The Bishop of Norwich was the only spiritual peer who had consistently supported the Catholic *claims*. His son, Archdeacon Bathurst, more than once expressed a hope that O'Connell 'would yet be awakened to sentiments of just gratitude to his benefactor.'

O'Connell, it will be remembered, called upon the Bishop in 1825.

To Archdeacon Bathurst.

London [1837].

Sir,—I had the honor to receive a letter from you this morning, and I feel much obliged by your reference to the *Life* of your venerated father, which I will certainly procure and peruse with deep interest. He was indeed a superior being, an ornament to his own Church, and an honor to our common Christianity. I earnestly hope he is now enjoying in inexpressible beatitude the reward of his pure virtues.

I did imagine that you were disposed to deal with me harshly; but there was not one element in my composition to allow me to retaliate. I am very glad to find that I was mistaken in my first opinion, and that you are kind enough to think more favorably of me.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

CHAPTER XV.

Freemasonry repudiated—Birch's Fall—Lord Mulgrave—Lord Forbes—Luke White—'Sauce piquante'—The Ministry tottering—The Tithe Bill—Apathy—O'Connell in the City—The King sinking—A Secret—Success of the Tribute—Preparations for Renewed Struggle—Rally of the Melbourne Ministry—Lord Durham—His Career and Death—Run on O'Connell's Bank for Gold—'Hurrah for the Young Queen!'—Cumberland snubbed—Baronetcies to be 'pressed for'—The Queen supports Lord Melbourne—A Place for O'Connell's Son-in-Law—'The Friends of the Queen'—'Oliver Twist'—Death of Mrs. O'Connell—Thomas Drummond—The Association dissolved—Battle with a Biographer—Conspiracy to rob the Queen of her Inheritance—Sheil in office—The *Dublin Review*.

AN able uncorrupted man was attached to the Irish press at this time, and Barrett had a high opinion of him. This was James Birch, subsequently notorious for venality, who, on coming to Dublin 'fresh from the maiden city,'¹ obtained his patronage. O'Connell owed so much to Barrett that he could not well refuse any request from that quarter.

To Richard Barrett.

London: 25 Feb. 1837.

My dear Barrett,—Really private. I did what I could for Mr. Birch. There is this cruel treatment which I receive from everybody—that when I do not succeed for any applicant, which is the case in 99 instances out of every 100, I am blamed for want of zeal or sincerity. 'ONE WORD'—how I hate that 'one word!'—from him would have done it!! In future I ought to say No, bluntly, to every application. I feel that I ultimately get the same displeasure and have all my trouble for nothing. I must say Mr. Birch has treated me badly in complaining to you. I explained to him, as far as I could, without mentioning names, what I

¹ Londonderry. In 1688 it was besieged by King James, but refused to surrender.

had attempted on his behalf, and the nature of the obstacles in the way of having his wishes complied with, whereupon he *disavowed* the present Administration, and left me without as much as one expression of thanks for the efforts I made. I wish I were in opposition again; but I must say you and Birch treat me most unjustly.

So far really private.

I have now the pleasure to tell you that the last division has placed the Ministry in an attitude of perfect security. The Tories feel humbled—crushed. The public sentiment in favour of ‘Justice to Ireland’ is too powerful to permit them to hope for office upon any other terms than throwing the Orange faction in that country overboard and governing for the benefit of the people. This is a line of policy which Peel would have the good sense and the want of principle to act upon; but he is hampered by his colleagues and supporters.

Yours ever,

DANIEL O’CONNELL.²

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 6th March, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You will be glad to hear that the prospects of the popular party daily brighten. I am quite sure that you may rely on what I now tell you, namely, that the Administration is quite safe. The Tories, who are well informed, gave up all hopes of office; let their lower rank retainers say what they please, I know from *sources of certain knowledge* the facts I tell you of the Tory despair and of the fixity of the Ministry. If I were at

² It may be said that there is nothing in O’Connell’s letter to show that the ‘Birch’ whose case he espoused at the instance of Barrett was identical with the too notorious Birch of the *World*. But the following remark of Barrett, culled from the *Pilot* of the day, makes the matter clear:—‘The public owe a debt of gratitude to the proprietor

of the *World* for the spirit in which he exposed abuse and defended principle.’ When this was penned Birch had not fallen into the gross venality of his more advanced career. O’Connell soon found him out, and in a letter dated September 20, 1842, describes Birch as ‘a precious scoundrel.’

liberty, which I am not, even to hint at the quarter from which I derive my information, you would see that it is one which *could* not be deceived, and *would* not deceive.

The strength of the Ministry consists in the Irish Municipal Reform Bill on the one hand and the Church Rate Bill on the other. The general sentiment in England is decidedly favourable to the first. The overwhelming majority on the question in the Commons sufficiently indicates the state of the public mind; and if anything were wanting, the letter of Sir George Crewe makes it demonstrative that the Tories cannot possibly be allowed to misgovern Ireland again. In short, the conduct of the Ministry on that question has given them a triumph.

But if they have gained a great victory on that subject they have been more, infinitely more successful on the Church Rate Bill. It has literally taken away the breath of the Tories. It has given unmixed satisfaction to the dissenters of all classes and to all the rational tenants of the Church lands.

Get Barrett to announce, as from a private correspondent, *that* there will not be any change of Ministry during this Session, and, still more, that there WILL NOT BE ANY DISSOLUTION IN THE PRESENT YEAR. All is safe, all is secure, so that Ireland may anticipate a lengthened career of utility from the present accomplished Viceroy.

I have also to add that this certainty of the duration of the present wise Government in Ireland is created, in a great measure, by the steps taken to ascertain the sentiments of the county constituencies in England. The result is: the conviction, founded on actual examination, that if there were an election to-morrow the Reformers would gain a large majority, even in the English counties. Hence, indeed, Tory despair and popular confidence are easily accounted for.

Tell Barrett that I have attended every moment of the Fictitious Voters Committee, as well as of the Joint Stock Committee, and intend to do so. No case whatsoever has been made to impeach the Belfast registry at least hither-

to. As yet the impeachment is a complete failure, and is likely to continue so. Next Clonmel, and then Dublin.

Take care my name is not coupled with any hint you may give to the press, but *only on what* I TELL YOU. I had it from *exceedingly* good authority.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To a Kinsman in Kerry.*³

Dublin : 27 March, 1837.

It is also strictly true that, instead of a readiness to comply with my request, there is a jealousy in certain quarters of being supposed to be dictated to by me which dispossesses me of my share of patronage from a Government to which I gave no small share of support.⁴ But the fact is that I have used every exertion in my power for Charles Brennan without any success beyond the offer of a second-class constablenesship of police, not worth taking. It is possible these things may amend. I may have more power in the next change of Administration, as in the events approaching the Ministers will want *Radical* support. . . .

Your affectionate Kinsman,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Barrett, whose journal had now become the accredited organ of O'Connell, has been deemed by James Grant of sufficient mark for a special portrait. One or two touches may be reproduced. 'Mr. Barrett is a Protestant. He is a tall, robust-looking man; one in whose countenance you confidently read energy and determination of character. No one can see him without coming to the conclusion that

³ Who had been an active agent in not a few electioneering campaigns.

⁴ An examination of this correspondence will make it clear that the anecdote assigned by Mr. Ball to the year 1837 belongs to 1835. It represents O'Connell meeting Ball one day in 1837, near the corner of Downing Street, and saying: 'Con-

gratulate me, I am Attorney-General for Ireland. I have just been with Lord Melbourne, and have determined to accept office. But nothing must be said for the present.' Mr. Ball's paper appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine*, and has been inserted by Mr. Hamilton in his *Life of O'Connell* (Statesman Series, p. 144). (See p. 9, *ante*.)

if these be not qualities in his composition, then there is no truth in the science of Lavater. . . . In the management of his paper he is free and fearless, slashing away at the enemy regardless of their cries for mercy. Until twenty years ago he was a staunch Conservative.'

To Richard Barrett.

19 April, 1837.

A paragraph has been going the rounds of the newspapers purporting to have my sanction, and stating that I had been at one time Master of a Masonic Lodge in Dublin, and still continue to belong to that Society.

I have since received letters addressed to me as a Freemason, and feel it incumbent on me to state the real facts.

It is true that I was a Freemason and a Master of a Lodge. It was at a very early period of my life, and either before an ecclesiastical censure had been published in the Catholic Church in Ireland prohibiting the taking of the Masonic oaths, or at least before I was aware of that censure. I now wish to state that, having become acquainted with it, I submitted to its influence, and many, very many years ago unequivocally renounced Freemasonry. I offered the late Archbishop, Dr. Troy, to make that renunciation public, but he deemed it unnecessary. I am not sorry to have this opportunity of doing so.

Freemasonry in Ireland may be said to have, apart from its oaths, no evil tendency, save as far as it may counteract, in some degree, the exertions of those most laudable and useful institutions—institutions deserving of every encouragement—the Temperance Societies.

But the great, the important objection is this: the profane taking in vain the awful name of the Deity, in the wanton and multiplied taking of oaths—of oaths administered on the Book of God either in mockery or derision, or with a solemnity which renders the taking of them, without any adequate motive, only the more criminal. This objection, which perhaps I do not state strongly enough, is alone abundantly sufficient to prevent any serious Christian from belonging to that body.

My name having been dragged before the public on this subject, it is, I think, my duty to prevent any person supposing that he was following my example in taking oaths which I now certainly would not take, and consequently, becoming a Freemason, which I certainly would not now do.

I am, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

21st April, 1837.

My dear Barrett,—I will write you, if possible, a *private correspondence* to-morrow. In the meantime, exert yourself—

1st. To put forward in the strongest way the necessity of procuring addresses and petitions to sustain the present Ministry.

2nd. *Write a paragraph*—observe, a paragraph IN LEADS, upon the Irish Members. Mention Mullins of Kerry, who has been *missing* ever since the recess. Mention the folly of pairing as to election petitions. Mention Smith O'Brien's refusal to vote on the late division respecting the Irish Legion, although his countrymen were violently calumniated by Sir H. Hardinge, and although it was a question which, if carried against the Ministry, must have caused their resignation and deprived Ireland of Lord Mulgrave.⁵ Take care that this should not appear to originate with me. Comment upon the absence of every other member who was absent, but, of course, treat the real friends lightly.

3rd. Put forward the propriety of following the present pressing addresses and petitions relative to the Ministry with an address to the Princess Victoria on her attaining the legal age. . . .⁶

The Tories reckoned confidently upon a small majority. It was expected by them that it would not exceed twenty. Their disappointment was indeed great, especially as every-

⁵ The popular Viceroy, created Marquis of Normanby in 1838.

notice of symptoms affecting the health of Queen Adelaide.

⁶ The passage omitted is a long

body feels that they contended for the principle of Absolutism.

Always yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In 1835 Lord Forbes and Anthony Lefroy were elected for Longford. Lord Forbes dying soon after, a new writ was issued, and Luke White was returned. In 1837, on petition, Charles Fox was awarded the seat, *vice* White, declared unduly elected. But at the General Election, held the same year, Colonel Henry White and Luke White defeated Lefroy and Fox for Longford. Colonel White became Lord Annaly.

To Joseph D. Mullen.

London : 22nd April, 1837.

My dear Mullen,—I cannot avoid thinking of complaining of the imputation of folly with which I am charged on the subject of the Longford petition.

1st. We had a majority of two on the Committee. That has been thrown away by nominating an adverse Chairman, who has thus two votes, because one of our friends got ill and was discharged. I had nothing to do with this most unfortunate blunder.

2nd. It is said that I have prevented the abandonment of the defence, and have thereby left the voters to be struck off by the Committee.

The advice I gave is this : As you have got yourselves into a Tory Committee, strike at once if you can save a single elector ; but if the Committee go on, after you have given in, to strike off voters until the majority is disposed of, go on with your defence, and defend each vote.

Such was my only advice. I understand that nothing could possibly be gained by giving up the defence. *The voters would be struck off only with more flippancy.* Understand me. The giving in, the abandoning the defence, would not preserve a single vote. The Committee would go on and strike off 93, or rather 94. They can not do more at the very worst. Yet I get a letter from you and

another from Sausse,⁷ blaming me as if I had given an advice which placed the voters in jeopardy. I again beg to infix on your mind this, *that the Committee would strike off the voters even if the defence was abandoned.*

I beg of you to let Sausse see this letter, but do not let it get into the newspapers.

I also bitterly regret to find that the Association was badly attended on Thursday. Murphy and other men of strong intellect were absent. They seem not to understand the present crisis. There is but one thing that can save the present Administration, and that is a great and overpowering exertion from Ireland. Lord John Russell is at present determined to resign if the Irish Corporation Bill be rejected by the Lords.⁸ There is on this subject a split in the Cabinet. If I could have got Ireland to make a great movement all might be saved; but, alas! the apathy of our public men, of our men of sense and discretion, is most disheartening. I did hope that there would have been a rising *en masse* of the mercantile wealth and respectability of Dublin. How is it possible to serve a country in which such shameful apathy pervades even the wise and the efficient? May I implore you to go round and to rally for Tuesday next. It is not too late. Will you all abandon us to the Tories?

The Longford election must get £200 out of 'the Justice Rent.'

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

'May our hatred of tithes be as lasting as our love of justice,' exclaimed Dr. Doyle almost with his last breath.

⁷ Afterwards Sir Matthew Sause, an Indian Judge, alluded to in previous letters. Lady Morgan, after meeting him, said, 'I expected *Sauce piquante*, but I found only parsley and butter.' He died at Kenmare House, and is buried at Killarney.

⁸ Lord John Russell had been always a great friend to civil and religious liberty; his kind feeling for O'Connell was undisguised. His

Government had once a narrow escape of defeat. A small majority of votes, however, saved Lord John. When the tellers announced the result, O'Connell created much merriment by aptly quoting Dibdin:—

'There's a sweet little cherub that sits up aloft,
To keep watch o'er the life of poor Jack.'

Dr. MacHale, on whom his mantle had fallen, was naturally disappointed with the Tithe Bill. He considered that the powerful agitation which had all but swept tithes away had been compromised.⁹

'I cannot express to you,' he tells O'Connell, 'how great the dissatisfaction of the people is at the prospect of being obliged to pay the full amount of the tithes, after the hopes so often held out to them of being released from that tax. Paying it to the landlord rather than the parson they do not conceive to be any benefit to them.' In point of fact, however, the burden was transferred from the people, who were mostly Catholics, to the landlords, who were mostly Protestants. The parsons' demands were reduced by 25 per cent., and the arrears which had accumulated during the Tithe war were wiped away.

This, however, was not clearly settled when Dr. MacHale wrote. He sent forward a petition to O'Connell, signed by all his clergy, strongly deprecating the Tithe Bill, and requesting that he would present it in Parliament. This bill they regarded as the test of the justice which had been so long promised, but was so indefensibly delayed. O'Connell was much embarrassed by this letter.

To Archbishop MacHale.

London: 31st May, 1837.

My dear and revered Lord,—I had the honour of receiving your Grace's letter, and the still more cherished honour of your confiding to me the petition of the clergy of your arch-diocese. It is a petition fraught with matter and pregnant with wants. The Ministry is tottering to its base, and the old oppressors are ready again to pounce upon Ireland. I am, I own, timid, and could have wished that this blow had not been given to the falling fabric of

⁹ W. H. Maxwell, author of *The Wild Sports of the West* and *Stories of Waterloo*, but who was now a beneficed clergyman of the Established Church in Dr. MacHale's diocese, considering that the interests of his cloth had not been sufficiently studied in the Ministerial Tithe Bill, addressed a public letter to O'Connell solemnly protesting against what he called 'a crying

injustice.' O'Connell's argumentative reply began: 'Prebendary of Balla, thou art a wag!' Maxwell's manners were so fascinating—he had such a genial way with him—that when the people by concerted action withheld payment of tithes from every other person, they gave it to Maxwell with a hearty good will.

Ministerial power. I do believe it will be decisive of their fate. But do not understand these as tones of reproach. I may be sorrowful, but, in plain truth, I can have no elements in my mind which could create anger, when, as in this instance, the wise and the good adopt a course too bold for my humbler temper. What I grieve at is simply that it should have been necessary for your Grace to have adopted that course at the moment of all others most critical to the continuance of the only bearable Government Ireland ever experienced since the fatal day when the followers of the murderers of Becket polluted our shores.

Perhaps I would have been anxious to have canvassed the present Tithe measure with you had I been apprised of your opinions upon it. It is now too late; yet, in vindication of myself, permit me to say—

1st. That this Bill is not worse than the Bill of last year, for *that* kept a parson in every parish.

It is quite true that, although the parsons would lose by this bill £40 per cent., there is this difficulty, that the landlords would pocket, in many instances, part at least of the £30 per cent. reduced. But that is a difficulty inherent in the abolition of tithes. In spite of every precaution to the contrary, there is that in the present agrarian economy of Ireland of a mischievous tendency to throw into the pockets of the landlord every sum of which the tenant is relieved. This, however, is not to be attributed as a fault to Lord Morpeth's present measure. It has that fault in common with every other plan of partial or even total abolition.

I address these observations to your Grace not only respectfully, but, I will venture to say, in sentiments of affectionate respect. Your character is indeed cherished by me in a mode which makes it equally revered and loved. I believe your Grace to be a great blessing, bestowed by a merciful Providence on a long persecuted and, I trust, now rising and spreading religion. Judge, then, how poignant must be the regret with which I differ from you and from

your eloquent and powerful resolutions. Perhaps, indeed, my more feeble judgment is clouded by my apprehensions of, I fear, the now certain advent of Orange restored rule in Ireland, aggravated as that bitter misfortune will be by the fact that, in the exercise of a conscientious and awful duty, the clergy of Tuam have been under the necessity of accelerating that deplorable restoration. But the motto of purer spirits has ever been, *Fiat justitia ruat cælum*.

I do, however, my revered Lord, feel so deeply on this subject, that I write off for my son, who is, I trust, sufficiently recovered for the journey, to support the Ministers. But as the majority of the Connaught members will, as they ought, take their tone from your Grace, the consequence will be the Ministers will be left in a minority; and as they came into power on the Irish Church Bill, so will they be compelled to go out upon the same subject. The old Judges will of course resign, and for another generation *justice* (!!!) will be administered to the Irish people by the Wests, the Jacksons, the Brewsters, the Lyttons, and the Blackburnes.

It is almost in despair that I venture to suggest to your Grace just this for your consideration, whether, as it is in Committee of the House, alterations may be made in the Bill in all its details, and as the Committee comes *after* the first and second reading, you would think it right to write to each of the friendly Connaught members, counselling them to support the Bill into Committee, and when there, endeavouring to extend its relief and lessen its mischief. That would probably prevent any Catholic from being a party to the downfall of the Mulgrave Administration in Ireland.

But if this course does not appear to your cool and deliberate judgment to be a right one, then, of course, your Grace will treat my suggestion as one which ought not to be acted upon, and, at all events, forgive me for making it. You will easily estimate the deep absorbing anxiety for the peace of Ireland which alone stimulates me to make this suggestion. If, however, it were to be acted upon, it

ought to be done without delay. This I submit to your Grace.

I need not add that, although I myself deem Lord Morpeth's measure a valuable instalment, and, as a politician, know how it would aid my next move, yet I will, as of course, do every justice in my power to the petition with which I feel so highly, so truly honoured. But I will not present it until I have an opportunity of learning whether the sentiments of this letter render me in your Grace's eyes less fit to have that honour.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Archbishop remained unconvinced. It was not without deep regret, he said, that he could be brought to differ from O'Connell on any question affecting the interests of Ireland. The people, so far from regarding as a boon the £30 per cent. to the landlord, really looked upon it as an encouragement to that class to unite with the Church Establishment in the wish to perpetuate the tithes. Silence at that juncture might be mistaken for acquiescence. It would not be just to let the Government imagine that they conferred a favour by a measure which, to the Archbishop's certain knowledge, excited general discontent.

The Bill did not become law until a year later; and it would seem, from subsequent letters, that the Government were willing to make larger concessions to the just demands of the people. It was proposed that the Surplus Fund should be appropriated to the purposes of education.

But here the Archbishop saw difficulty also. If it were meant to apply it to the funds of the Board of National Education, the Archbishop regarded it as 'a curse rather than a blessing.' Several members of the Board he pronounced 'rank infidels,' and the books they put into the hands of children were calculated to unsettle their belief.¹

¹ Letter of Archbishop MacHale to O'Connell, April 26, 1838. Dr. MacHale survived to the year 1879, but would never allow any of the Schools of National Education to exist in his diocese. They are now in full operation under his successor, Dr. MacEvilly. The books to which

exception had been taken were withdrawn, through the interposition of Dr. Cullen, in 1853. The sinister design detected, or at least suspected, by Dr. MacHale is avowed by Archbishop Whately in a letter printed in the *Memoirs* by his daughter.

O'Connell assured his Grace that with deep interest and profound respect he followed his exposition of the then system of national education. 'I pretend not to decide,' he writes, 'but I do know that vigilance was never misplaced whilst the wolf is on the walk.'

Why Lord Melbourne's Administration, which came into power pledged to carry the Appropriation Clause, finally passed the Bill without it has often excited surprise. This correspondence serves to unveil the mystery. How strongly O'Connell had set his heart upon the appropriation principle Chapter XIII. shows.² But Dr. MacHale's wish was all potential. It was probably at the meeting at Lord John Russell's, which O'Connell notices in his letter of March 3, 1838, that the Appropriation Clause received its *coup de grâce*.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 3d June, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I ought indeed to have written to you, and would have done it if it were possible. The fact is, I had a long and intricate account to unravel, and an answer to put in in an equity suit.³ The last three weeks were all *lost*. I had each day a committee consuming from twelve to four; from four to twelve at night I was in the House, and my answer in equity absorbing every other minute. But you shall certainly hear from me once a week.

I was in the city this day. The confusion amongst the American traders is immense. It will affect all the manufacturing towns to an extent really deplorable. I find that, with the exception of Belfast and Londonderry, Ireland will not suffer. The Irish trade *in provisions* is every way safe. We have no other. The season is spent, and the prices have held up better than that of any other commodity. But I went to the bank—our bank—this day to see that we were all prepared for everything, and I am happy to tell you that we have upwards of four hundred thousand pounds of immediately available means, *exclusive* of £700,000

² See p. 1, *ante*.

³ The name of the plaintiff not appearing, it has been found impos-

sible to trace from the records of the Court any explanation of this cause.

and upwards in Irish bills. Keep this to yourself, because a precaution implies fear. But I only tell it to you to shew you how impossible it is to do *us* any injury.

Dr. MacHale's resolutions have made a considerable sensation. He sent me the petition to present, which enabled me respectfully but distinctly to argue the case with him. Unless he shall relax, the Connaught members will vote against us.

The Ministry, in the meantime, are determined not to resign. The King was, I am told, *not better* yesterday. The belief is that he has his last illness on him. Certainly there is no prospect of his being able to play off another *coup d'état*, as the French call it.

I will tell you a secret, *which must not get into print*, mind that. The answer to the City of London address by the Duchess of Kent is greatly admired. *She privately got Lord Melbourne⁴ to draw it!!* There cannot be a better proof of her confidence.

The success of THE TRIBUTE has really astonished me. I was convinced it would be a total failure. I repeat my conviction that I owe it all to you. Your arrangements must be admirable.

Your ever obliged

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 9th June, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I believe the King is *dying*. Poor man! The event will, of course, cause a crisis. I believe the result will prove favorable. The QUEEN—I mean Victoria—is at present in excellent hands. There is but one chance against us; that is, that the Ministry should be turned out this night on Sharman Crawford's motion. That chance is on the dice. What insanity! because, if *we* are in possession when the King dies, possession will give the Government the next House of Commons. If the Tories get that advantage—that is, of being in possession of power

⁴ Then Prime Minister.

when the new reign commences—they may keep it long indeed. And now Sharman Crawford's⁵ motion in aid of the Tories makes more than a possibility of the Whigs being left this evening in a minority. How miserable would that result be if the *Irish patriots* were to produce it! But I will not anticipate evil. I am writing from a committee-room, and *in confusion*.

I will certainly write to Mr. Hamilton to-morrow; but you really have no notion of how the Fictitious Votes Committee consumes my time.

I send under this cover a letter from Staunton Cahill, with a five-pound note. Acknowledge in the newspapers. Your success really astonishes me. At such a time as this it is really surprising that the people should be willing to continue their kindness.

I will write again to you to-morrow. We must prepare for a contested election everywhere. There must be a new parliament *after six months*. We are in a most critical period, but we are in the hands of God. How my heart beats at the advantages or miseries which Ireland may obtain or suffer by the approaching events!

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Arthur French.

June, 1837.

I think matters look very favorable for the permanence of the present Ministry.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

13 June, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The triumph in the House last night was truly great. There was a most unexpected rally round the Ministry. The first division, though much more numerous, being a majority of 83, than the second, being

⁵ Mr. Sharman Crawford advocated the total abolition of tithes, and urged that the Church should support itself by the voluntary system.

He therefore opposed the Ministerial Tithe Bill, which, as we find by Dr. MacHale's testimony, would not bring content to Ireland.

26, was yet more useful.⁶ The last time we divided on *the same point* we were only five majority. This is a hint to the young coming Queen that Lord Melbourne's Government, aided *by the Court*, will be all powerful. We have had various reports, which must have reached you, of the King's health. It is not permitted to wish for the death of every man, and such a wish must be excluded. Then how difficult it is to speculate on the consequences of a termination of his reign without allowing the manifest advantages of the political alterations to be derived from that event to interfere with our ideas respecting his health. The fact, however, I believe to be that he is dying fast. I am told that until this day the Tories never abandoned the hope of his recovery. Now it is believed they are in despair. A few hours may terminate *his* sufferings. It is said that beyond a few days he cannot linger. What next? Certainly a continuance of Lord Melbourne's Government with more, much more power; the Horse Guards, hitherto hostile, placed in their hands; the Court party not, as at present, thwarting but supporting them. A new election under the most favorable auspices. *The period* alone doubtful, depending on this question. Are the present English registries more favourable to the reformers than a new registry would be? The new registry takes place in July. If we wait for that we shall not have an election before October, probably not until December. You may well believe that the Irish members will not omit to press the *confirmation* of a liberal policy on the *new* Ministers. My course is obvious: to insist upon all and get something substantial, at all events, for Ireland—a better Corporate Reform Bill, an enlarged constituency, and a *break down* of the tythes. At the worst, I repeat, I will get something for Ireland.

⁶ This refers to the Church Rates Bill. Resolutions paving the way to the abolition of this tax were introduced on May 22, but were carried by a majority of five only. Thereupon Lord J. Russell contented him-

self by moving for a committee to inquire into the property of the Bishops and Chapters. This was carried by eighty-three, but a further resolution, proposed by Mr. Goulburn, was lost by twenty-six.

I will write to you as often as I can. Did I tell you that Lord Durham is on his way from St. Petersburg? He will be here within ten days. I dine to-morrow with his friend, Lord Radnor.—Believe me to be,

Yours very gratefully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Exactly at the date named by O'Connell Lord Durham arrived from Russia, no longer Ambassador to that Power, and the following year was appointed, with an extraordinary amount of authority, to the Governor-Generalship of Canada; but, having used those powers with a freedom which the Home Government declined to confirm, he returned home. Lord Durham died soon after, at the early age of forty-eight. He had served in Earl Grey's Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal, and to his energy is mainly due the carrying of the Reform Bill.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 16th June, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I may write to you again in the evening, when *we* shall have heard from Windsor.

The report is that the King is better this day. There really is no knowing what to believe, or what *his* real state is.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: June 17, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write from Brooks's. The report of an improvement in the King's health, which circulated yesterday, is all fudge. He is very ill, and I believe all hope of his recovery is over. I have had some communication which will, in the event of another reign, lead, I hope, to something useful for Ireland. It is expected by my informant that all will go right well with the new Queen. Of course these things are not to be *printed*; but I am greatly deceived unless the genuine friends of Ireland shall be consulted on the future arrangements. Perhaps it is my vanity which makes me believe I am to be listened to.

Tell J. D. Mullen he may depend on my not forgetting him. Indeed, I should rejoice more than he will if I can serve him. I hope and believe I can.

I will expect the lodgment of the other £1,000 with impatience.—In haste,

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: Monday (June 19th, 1837).

My dear FitzPatrick,—At this moment I write merely to say that the votes of supply were not taken this evening, because it is supposed that at this hour we have not authority to vote anything; that is, that the King is believed not to be alive, and, of course, we have not as yet sworn allegiance to Queen Victoria. The intelligence, however, of his death will probably not arrive until after post hour. At all events prepare 'the lieges' for intelligence of important movements. I will, of course, write you to-morrow. I have arranged to see some of the Cabinet Ministers as soon as the new movements begin. I need not say that we are all alive to the vital interest of the present moment. I have already had a most satisfactory communication, though, of course, of totally unofficial nature. Not a word on this subject. I hope it will be said of me, *Vigilat pro salute civium*.

As to the Agricultural Bank,⁷ I wish to save the shareholders from as much of ruin as I can, but will not press further the private Act respecting them; that is, give up any further co-operation. But if our friends knew as much of the evidence as I do, they would thank me heartily for endeavouring to save them from any further participation in that concern.—In haste,

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ The Agricultural Bank stopped payment this year. O'Connell's bank, 'The National,' was severely

tried by a run for gold. He was sometimes beaten with his own weapons.

Morgan O'Connell, M.P., to P. V. FitzPatrick.

June 20th 1837.

The King died this morning. All right as far as regards Government. Lord Melbourne in the highest favor to-day at the Privy Council. Hurrah for the young Queen!

We have been taking the oath of allegiance; no business will be done for a day or two, and then only what is absolutely necessary gone through. They speak of a dissolution and re-election before the end of July.

Cumberland goes to Hanover to-day. May the devil go with him! The story runs that the Queen at the Privy Council placed the Duke of Sussex and Lord Melbourne on her right and left while reading the Declaration, and snubbed old Cumberland. Everyone speaks in the greatest raptures of her bearing and comportment on the occasion—every inch a Queen.

On the occasion of the proclamation at St. James's of the Queen's accession, her Majesty was presented to the people by Lords Melbourne, Lansdowne, and Duncannon. Lord Broughton, in his 'Recollections,' writes:—

'The crowd was very great, but composed of decently dressed people, and gave the Queen a warm reception. O'Connell played a conspicuous part; acted as a sort of fogleman to the multitude, and regulated their acclamations.'^s

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: June 20, 1837 (Evening).

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write merely to say that the general arrangements are not as yet made. This day is employed upon them, but everything is cheering. Lord Melbourne, I am assured, has got a *carte blanche*. To-

^s The *Edinburgh Review* of April 1871 published exclusively fifty pages from Lord Broughton's MS. *Diary and Recollections*. Their disclosures derive additional piquancy from the fact that Lord Broughton, as I find by his will, directs that his diaries, manuscripts, correspondence,

and other papers, both official and private, may be delivered to the Trustees of the British Museum, to be kept without examination until the year 1900, when, if desirable, they may be published. Lord Broughton died June 3, 1869, æt. 83.

morrow we shall see about Ireland. This day I have had much labour, done some good, but have nothing tangible until to-morrow, if even so soon. The delay is not ominous of evil. On the contrary, I take it to be decisive of good. 'Wait awhile.' You shall hear again to-morrow from

Yours sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 24th June, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I was prevented by *pressure of business* from writing to you yesterday, and from anxiety to know how matters really stand. I now have the pleasure to tell you that *all is safe and well*. The Melbourne Administration has the Court decidedly with it. They will no longer be opposed by the Horse Guards or the officials surrounding the Royal person. It is believed that Lord William Bentinck is to get a peerage, and to succeed to Lord Hill, whose resignation will be *accepted*, as Commander-in-Chief. This is really the touchstone of the strength of the Administration. Besides, Lord Durham is hourly expected, and is a great favorite at Court. All his views are sound and liberal. As to Ireland, I need give you no better proof of the determination to do right than this, that Lord Mulgrave's being sent for is to arrange with him all the measures of good policy intended for that country. I will, of course, pay him my respects so soon as he arrives; and I have reason to know that he will return to Ireland with increased powers to do good. I will press for the BARONETAGES, &c. You may be quite certain that I will not forget our friend J. D. Mullen.⁹

I have had confidential communications, which enable me to say this, that *all is right*. I mean, that I do not speak from conjecture; but I need not say that I cannot enter into details.

The office of 'Clerk of the Hanaper' has been offered to my son-in-law, FitzSimon. It is a clear £600 per annum

⁹ Certainly not for a baronetcy.

for life, and scarcely any trouble. In my opinion he ought to accept the offer. When he arrives in Dublin see him, and pay out of my money the expenses of the patent appointing him to his new place, so that he may get into the office without its costing him one shilling.

We must, of course, be prepared for the elections. I will be in Dublin as soon as I possibly can. My own opinion is that the Government party will carry the City, notwithstanding every effort of the Orange faction. The English elections will give a majority of twenty-six Liberals, the Scotch about fourteen, and the Irish at least twenty, giving at the least a working majority of from 60 to 70, to which are to be added at least 50 who always follow a *settled* Ministry.

Yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Speaking at a meeting in Bandon at this time, O'Connell said :—

'We must be—we are—loyal to our young and lovely Queen: God bless her! The moment I heard of the audacious menaces of the Tories towards the Sovereign I promulgated through the Press my feelings of detestation and my determination on the matter. O! if I be not greatly mistaken, I could get in one day five hundred thousand brave Irishmen to defend the life, the honour, and the person of the beloved young lady by whom England's Throne is now filled. Let every man in this vast and multitudinous assembly stretched out before me, who is loyal to the Queen and would defend her to the last, lift up his right hand.' The entire assembly responded to the appeal. 'There are hearts in those hands,' he went on to say; 'I tell you that if necessity required there would be swords in them.'

The 'hearts' at least were not wanting, as the following letter shows :—

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 28th June, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have just sent off my letter to

the Association. We are to be the 'Friends of the Queen.'¹ All is going on exceedingly well. I will send my address to Kilkenny on Monday. We are making all useful arrangements. Do not for one moment entertain a fear of Meath.

I hope to leave this within the week.

I will see Lord Mulgrave² to-morrow. I have no news, because everything is going on as smoothly as we could wish. It is quite certain that Sir James Graham loses his present county.

To Arthur French, Secretary to General Association.

London: 28th June, 1837.

My dear French,—It being now certain that the young Queen (whom may God bless!) places full confidence in that Ministry which was the first, during six centuries, to desire honestly and faithfully to serve the people of Ireland, we must all, with one accord, rally round the throne of the Queen and support her Majesty's Government. The time is come to have the voice of the Irish people speak out in accents of dutiful allegiance and peaceful determination, to aid in ameliorating and consolidating the institutions of the country, by selecting such representatives as will support and give full effect to the benevolent intentions of our gracious Sovereign.

The disaffected party in Ireland, who have been hitherto styled Orangemen, will of course use every exertion to effectuate their disloyal designs. They will employ all the resources of bigotry and bribery under the mask of religious zeal; they will resort to the most atrocious corrup-

¹ O'Connell had probably in mind 'the Friends of the Constitution' favoured by Grattan in 1792, and 'the Friends of the People,' which Sheridan and Grey established in England.

Ireland fondly regarded the young Queen as 'the bright star of Hope.' The liberality of her mother encouraged this feeling. The *Dublin Evening Post* of June 21, 1836, acknowledged £20 for Tuam Catholic

Cathedral from the Duchess of Kent.

² O'Connell's known intercourse with the Viceroy had excited indignation and panic. *The Times*, in a leader which curiously illustrates the strength of expression usual at that time among the politicians of both sides, says:—'There can be no longer any doubt that Lord Mulgrave has invited and entertained to dinner the rancorous-mouthed ruffian, Daniel O'Connell.'

tion and intimidation. Bribery, followed by perjury, are the apt instruments by which they exhibit their anxiety for the propagation of what they deem Christian truths. Alas, how deplorable is the infatuation under which they labour ! They, indeed, fall more properly into the category of hypocrites, who know that they perpetrate crimes while they affect sanctity.

Our duty is to counteract the projects of these disloyal men ; our duty is to rally, one and all, in every county, city, and town, returning members to Parliament, and secure the return of the Queen's friends. I think you should at once form, out of your Association, a committee for elections to take the spirit-stirring title 'The Friends of the Queen.' Procure as many as you can to join you. Take the list of the places returning members to Parliament. Open, as it were, an account in each place. Ascertain your own strength, and also the probable strength of the enemy. Procure local committees to be formed, to act gratuitously for the friends, and against the foes, of the peace and prosperity of Ireland. Do everything to prepare for the coming contests, and to spare as much expense to the popular candidates as possible. There is one thing certain—that we will not have to pay any money on bribes ; but it is a great object to have honest men returned without any expense whatever. Write everywhere to the 'Pacifcators' to have the voters in their respective parishes go to the hustings at the expense of a small subscription in the parish. Organise everything now while there is time, and let us all be ready *before* the hour of contest comes. This is a most important crisis. We have on the throne a monarch educated to cherish the rights and liberties of all the people, free from preoccupations and prejudices, and ready to do justice to all, without distinction of sect or persuasion. We have surrounding her Majesty a Ministry honestly desirous to promote the interests and protect the franchises of every part of the empire. For the first time may Ireland raise its head in hope. This is the very point of the great experiment we are making to ascertain whether

or not Ireland can be well and justly governed by an Imperial Legislature, or whether we shall be driven back to look for a restoration of our native Parliament. This is the most happy period to work out the experiment. Ireland is now ready to amalgamate with the entire empire. We are prepared for full and perpetual conciliation. Let Cork County³ and Yorkshire be put on a footing—let Ireland and England be identified. But for this purpose equality—perfect equality of rights, laws and liberties—is essentially necessary. We desire no more, we will not take less. A real effectual Union, or no Union—such is the alternative. Mark our present advantages. To make the Union real and effectual we have the benevolent wishes of the pure-minded Sovereign; we have the full assistance of the Ministry; we have the voice of all that is liberal and enlightened in England and Scotland; we have the giant strength of the Irish nation.

Organise then at once the new society, ‘The Friends of the Queen.’ Let it not be a mere name, but a reality. Let no detail, however minute, escape; let no system, however laborious, be neglected. Let Ireland vindicate her old claim—honest, fearless, and persevering exertion; but let us hope that the old practice of using her sons in battle, but forgetting them in the fruits of victory, will be abolished for ever.

Yours faithfully,

DANIEL O’CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

1st July, 1837.

Confidential.—You know that I can be *compelled* to stand for Dublin.

11 August, 1837.

I have been greatly amazed by our defeat in Kerry, owing, as it was, to the most afflicting stupidity.⁴

³ This was done. Cork is now divided into East and West Ridings for the purpose of holding general sessions of the peace. The East Riding has been subdivided into

three districts for quarter sessions, the West Riding into two.

⁴ The rest of this letter deals with domestic affairs.

The Kerry defeat was the rejection of the previously seated member, Frederick William Mullins, in favour of Sir Arthur Blennerhassett, Bart. The senior member, Morgan John O'Connell, retained his seat.

O'Connell strained every nerve to ensure, at the General Election, the success of Melbourne's Government. The pledge required at the hustings was—'The Queen and her Ministers.' Every other test of patriotism was dispensed with. The struggle was a great and a close one, and behind the scenes O'Connell did not disdain to apply the subtle tactics of electioneering diplomacy. The following letters are addressed to a kinsman in Tralee:—

Merrion Square: July 8, 1837.

My dear ——,—Though I did not hear in reply to my first letter, nor could in answer to my second, I write again.

—— says they have subscribed largely for Blenner Thompson⁵ to oppose Maurice. He says £2,000. If that be true, it would clearly be a 'conspiracy to bribe the voters,' and very little verbal evidence would enable us to indict them all. Be discreet as to this and find out who were at the meeting and who subscribed.

If the H——'s took any part in the business I will have it reported to Lord Lansdowne,⁶ who has already given James a hint on the subject of Kerry politics. It is curious that his brothers should be the most violent in opposition to the political existence of such a patron of one of their family.

How I wish that you may have retained Tuite and Welsh the moment I wrote to you. I am dying with impatience to hear from you, and have every reliance on your long head and sound heart. . . .

I have written to Dr. McEnnery.⁷ This is in strictest confidence.

⁵ Thomas Blennerhassett Thompson (b. 1804, d. 1853) was the son of Peter Thompson of Tralee, Treasurer of Kerry, and of Anne Blennerhassett, nearly related to the Wellesleys of Dangan, and to Arthur first Duke of Wellington.

⁶ Lord Lansdowne, President of the Council, and next in authority to the Premier, had territorial possessions in Kerry.

⁷ Very Rev. John McEnnery, D.D., P.P., V.G. Tralee.

The vigilant kinsman continued to report progress, and on July 10 writes :—

‘That they will poll as many as they can I have no doubt, and this merely for the purpose of putting you to expense, and so as this object is attained they are quite careless of defeat. There are 87 Protestant voters who will adhere to one another, and it is a truly disgusting and lamentable fact that there are many Catholics who can avowedly be corrupted.

‘James H——, who was so very forward last election, has become as adverse as possible. It is said that some transaction with the National Bank, added to his being deprived of the directorship, has caused his hostility. There is a Catholic clergyman here who, I am positively informed, has signified his intention of voting against us; why, I cannot imagine. He has resided for some time in America, and should think and act otherwise. When Maurice called to canvass him he was not to be seen, tho’ certainly at home. Perhaps your writing to him may have the desired effect. He is a very eccentric man and requires to be dealt with in a peculiar way, which I am sure you will hit off.

‘I hope you have written to Maurice on the absolute necessity of his remaining in Tralee until after the election and during the approaching assizes. On this point there is but one opinion amongst his friends; besides, a flying visit of a few days is not the thing. Returning *so soon* to Darrynane will be laid hold of by the enemy, who know what use to make of his absenting himself just at the present crisis. After a careful and calm scrutiny I am convinced that, let the Orange party do what they can by bribes and other means, they will be beaten. We must, nevertheless, be vigilant and ceaseless in our efforts to render their defeat as signal as possible. H—— is as yet undecided. Your being able to effect a remission of the fine imposed on him some time ago would do the business.’

To a Kinsman.

Merrion Square: 11th July, 1837.

My dear —,—I have again and again to thank you. *All is right.* I have at once applied to get off —'s ^s fine and have succeeded. See him and send me up the particulars, that I may get the order to expunge it; but the thing *is done.* This was the moment to ask. Next I have got a positive promise of a waterguard's situation for Diggan; but you must take care that this intelligence is not used to him in any way which would interfere with the bribery oath. Read that oath. I would not for all the elections upon earth have any man take a false oath. Consult the Catholic clergy, especially Dr. McEnery, and see there is no tampering with the oath. But, in point of fact, I authorise you to pledge yourself that, let him vote as he will, he shall get the situation of waterguard.

As to the publicans, the £15 must be paid for them. See Dr. McEnery on this subject, and take care not to have the money so paid as to amount in *any way to bribery.* Again, *recollect the oath*; but whoever they vote for—let them even vote against my son—the money shall be paid for them.

I depend on your discretion in every respect. I will write to-morrow to P——. What is the stamp distribution of Tralee worth?

I wrote to Maurice yesterday, fearing he would leave Tralee. See him and tell him from me that I shall be utterly offended if he leaves Tralee without my express permission. Read this passage for him, and if you coincide with me in opinion, pray urge him to remain until after the assizes at least, nay, until I tell him he may go to Darrynane. The Parliament will be dissolved about the 18th. Do not let this date get into print.

There is the son of an honest man named Ash. I got a

^s The name omitted is that of a distiller at Tralee who, no doubt, had incurred some of the severe penalties for a breach of the Revenue Laws,

the nature of which will be found explained in connection with the letter of June 13, 1833.

Revenue policeman's situation for him which he would not accept. See him. What is he fit for? Is he under thirty? He is unfortunately married; that is, it is unfortunate that he has a wife and family, which renders it difficult to do anything for him. But I must try.

How stand the numbers? Let me know how stand the promises at both sides. I never felt confident of M——. My brother John will be sheriff next year. This conduct of M——'s disembarrasses John as to the sub-shrievalty.

Ever yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Notwithstanding the prestige of the youthful Queen, the returns of the new Parliament gave a return of merely 25 to the Whigs.

To a Kinsman, Tralee.

Limerick: 22d July, 1837.

My dear ——,—You are my 'confidential man' on electioneering points.

1st. Read the letter which surrounds this and then read for N—— the passage I have underlined. The letter is written by More O'Ferrall, who, you know, is one of the Lords of the Treasury. Keep the letter, that I may keep O'Ferrall to his tackle.

2nd. You can pledge yourself that if the county call on Stephen Rice, the second son of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, *he will stand*. I wish you to do this *discreetly*; *see sensible men* and make the communication discreetly. I do not want to turn Mullins out of the county; far from it. All I want is to fight the battle against our paltry Conservatives with all the best materials. But, if need be, do not hesitate to pledge yourself as a gentleman that, if called on, Mr. Rice will stand. Mat Barrington⁹ and his other legal friends will at once go to Kerry to canvass, make up poll books, &c.

3rd. This is the most delicate of all. Barrington bids me let Mullins know that, if he resigns in favour of Rice,

⁹ Sir Matthew Barrington, Bart.

he will confer a favour on men who have the inclination and, I believe, the ability to return the favour. If you can communicate this to Mullins, see that he promises you not to speak of it otherwise than as seeking thereafter to avail himself of it, which, of course, he will have to do, *but will meet no disappointment*. You may tell him you will keep this letter at his service. In short, this is a subject of much delicacy. It must be known through you that Rice, if necessary, is ready to stand if called on.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

More O'Ferrall¹ to O'Connell.

My dear O'Connell,—You are quite right not to be angry or jealous with me, for there has been no wish on my part to withhold confidence. I give all or none. There is not a single circumstance fit to be committed to paper of which you have not been informed. Lord Cork would not allow his son to go to Cork or Bandon. Boyle behaved as well as man could do. In every step I took I had the concurrence of Callaghan and O'Driscoll as regards Cork. I concur in all you say about Kilkenny and will second every effort you make in the public cause, whether it be for Finn and Tighe or any one else. Bryan would not on any account interfere with the county. Mr. Rennie has gone over for Carrickfergus, and Colonel Rawdon, an Irishman married to Lady Cremorne, will follow me to-morrow, to be ready to supply the place of any man who fails us at the last moment, or exacts terms which could not be complied with. Can I do more? *I have attended* to all your instructions with regard to N—— of Tralee² and to Jackson's qualification. I hope to see you soon after you receive this letter.

Ever yours,

R. MORE O'FERRALL.

¹ Mr. (afterwards the Right Hon.) R. More O'Ferrall, M.P. for Kildare, was Secretary to the Treasury, and

later on Lord of the Treasury and Governor of Malta.

² A distiller.

To W. Woodlock, Esq., Attorney-at-Law.

Tralee: 11th August, 1837.

My dear Woodlock,—My bargain with Mr. Hutton,³ as I understood it, was this:—

He was to pay for his half of the expenses £700; anything beyond that sum I was to pay, even if it amounted to thousands.

But he (Mr. Hutton) was to have a committee of his own, and any expenses they incurred were not to be included in the £1,400 joint stock as above. Besides this, I take it that I am clearly liable to one half of all expenses incurred by Mr. Hutton's committee which were or could be of mutual advantage, of which I participated in any way, such as the hire of additional cars.

I gave £100 to the Trades' Union; this reckons in my first £700

See Mr. Hutton with this note. If he differs from me in his construction of my contract, I at once abandon my view of it and abide by his.

I will make you a remittance early next week. You shall have the first instalment of £200, and the balance without delay until every demand is satisfied.

Some of the parochial committees came to me as I was leaving Dublin and stated that they had a surplus of their parish collection which they wished to apply to a public dinner to the newly elected members. Now I wish you to send Ray round to the parishes to beg that any such surplus may be applied to the expenses of the election, through you, as a much more available mode of application. See whether anything can be made of this plan. At all events, I will indemnify you from the effects of your pledge, *that* you may rely on.

Yours very, very grateful,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

³ Robert Hutton had just been elected member for Dublin with O'Connell, defeating Hamilton and West by a small majority. This

latter circumstance, however, had no moral weight or significance. (See note to letter of August 5, 1839.)

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 17th August, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Here I am 'in repose' for a season, greatly mortified at our Kerry defeat, the fault of which may, as usual, be shared amongst many. I acted, of course, for the best, but judge of my horror when, going into Mullins' Committee on the second day, I found a voter who had just voted complaining with truth that 1s. 3d., that is, fifteen pence, would not be paid for his car hire home ! Such a fellow to fight for as the man who refused such a trifle ! I cannot now help it. What trash of Conway to say that Blennerhassett is not Conservative ! Bah ! he is Orange to the backbone.

Inquire for me the impression made on the Ministry by the general result of the elections. I tremble lest they should dream of resigning. Are you in the way of getting anything like accurate information upon this point ?

Darrynane Abbey : 4th Sept. 1837.

Send me 'Tait's Magazine' and 'Bentley's Miscellany' for this month. The story of 'Oliver Twist' is continued in the latter, and I am most impatient to see it.

If Milliken has any recent *Ministerial* pamphlet, send it and any other book which strikes your own fancy. I intend to stay six weeks longer in this county. I enjoy it as much as I can possibly enjoy anything. The Ministry wish to dissolve the Association, and I see no reason why we should not gratify them. It is easy to start another whenever necessary.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Get a copy of Dryden's 'Hind and Panther,' and send it to me, but do not delay.

O'Connell's interest in the writings of Dickens reached its climax in the 'Old Curiosity Shop.' He followed quite excitedly the adventures and vicissitudes of little Nell; but when Dickens prematurely killed her he flung away the book, declaring that never again would he read a line that 'Boz'

wrote. It was obvious, he said, that the author had not sufficient talent to maintain Nell's adventures with interest to the end and bring them to a happy issue, so he killed her to get rid of the difficulty. O'Connell's resolve never again to read Dickens must be taken *cum grano*. It was one of the impulsive speeches of a naturally good-hearted man which, once uttered, he thought no more of. (See his letter to Barrett of March 23, 1843.)

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 18th Sept. 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have sent to London the draft of my 'Memoirs on Ireland and the Irish' to be printed and published. I have now to make out the notes and illustrations for the appendix. The book altogether will be, say, 300 pages.⁴ I want, to complete the appendix, to have here Barrington's 'History of the Union,' and the speeches of Plunket in 1799 and 1800, and also Bushe's speeches and Saurin's. I have them all at my house in Dublin, and I beg of you without any delay to send them to me, whether you find them at my house or not. I have many books here, but I want especially those I mentioned. You sent me a very small allotment of covers.⁵ Take this opportunity to send me more, and of a smaller size. Those you sent me are only fit for Castle despatches.

I write by this post to Mr. Drummond to remind the Government of our friend J. D. Mullen. I do it in the strongest terms; indeed, somewhat reproachfully.

You sent me a vagabond Carlist work, which I do not want. No matter. Send me, if you can, the continuation of the defence of the policy of England in Spain, also 'Captain Rock' by Tommy Moore?

I never had so much reason to wish to remain in this country as long as I can save 'the aching void left craving at my heart.' I can never again know happiness, and every day convinces me more and more of that fact. But my

⁴ The project seems to have fallen into abeyance. *Ireland and the Irish: A Memoir of Ireland, Native*

and Saxon' was not published by Dolman until 1842.

⁵ Envelopes, then a novelty.

health is excellent and the tone of my mind beginning to be quite fit for business.

Believe me, yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The concluding allusion of this letter was, of course, to his wife, who had lately died at Darrynane. In denying the charge that he had purchased a carriage in London he made a touching reference to his bereavement. 'She sleeps in an abbey ruin which rears its mouldering head above the ever-dashing billows of the Atlantic—a wild but sublime resting-place, typical alike of the past and present fortunes of Ireland, once resounding to the choral hymn of praise, now crumbling and desolate; swept by the storms and deluged by the spray of the wintry ocean, which bathes its rocky foundation, it bids defiance to time, preserves the memory of the past, the relics of ages of piety, and the ashes of the faithful repose within those desolate but consecrated walls. *Requiescant in pace.*' In another speech he spoke of the dying blessing he received from her as an 'angel's shield.' 'For five-and-thirty years I was her husband. *Was* her husband did I say? I am her husband still.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 25th September, 1837.

My dear FitzPatrick,—In this and another cover you will find Mr. Drummond's letter to me on the subject of my friend Mullen. Take care of it for me, just letting him know how 'the land lies.' Of course you will take care that no person beyond those interested should know anything about the matter. I am glad that there is a determination to do something for him, sincerely glad.

Yours, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mr. Drummond, who was practically the Government of Ireland, sought in the autumn of 1837 some slight relaxation at a watering-place within ten miles of Dublin Castle. But an evening at Bray, after a hard day's work, brought no rest to the jaded statesman. His letter, filling sixteen pages, and now before me, is a proof of it. Though

conciliatory, it had not a particle of that slavish subserviency of tone which, as some persons asserted, was offered at that time to the uncrowned monarch of Ireland. The intelligence, integrity, and active habits of Mr. Mullen are recognised, and the Lord-Lieutenant had in view an arrangement by which he hoped to render these qualifications available in the best manner for the public service; but he was inclined to the opinion that the office of a police magistrate was not the most suitable to a man who had neither the practical experience of the magistrate nor the professional education of a barrister.⁶ Mr. Drummond added that, in the performance of a difficult and generally disagreeable duty—the distribution of patronage—it had been the wish of the Irish Government to give due weight to the merits, the services, and the recommendations of all.

‘If there are persons who have represented to you that your recommendations do not receive that fair consideration to which they are justly entitled, I shall only say that I hope they have done so in ignorance of the facts, and not from a desire to promote their own selfish ends at the risk of far more important objects.’

Drummond’s labours extended far beyond the Castle. Himself an engineer, he was the mainspring of the Irish Railway Commission, which sought to develop the resources of the country. He was a man of science too, and ‘the Drummond light’ will be long associated with his name.

One of his first labours was to remodel the police force of Dublin by substituting 1,000 finely organised men for 400 old Dogberrys, whose presence seemed an anachronism, while the constabulary, almost all Orangemen, underwent equal reform at his hands. The official letters of the Irish Government usually bore merely Drummond’s signature. The letter to O’Connell is all in his own hand, but an exception might well be made in favour of so formidable a man. This is not the place to enumerate the varied labours of Drummond’s official career. The continued strain proved too much, and his health broke down at last. On April 15, 1840, he died at the early age of forty-two, and a fine statue has been raised in Dublin to his memory.

⁶ O’Connell, though himself a barrister, did not strongly hold this view. Charles Bianconi, on being appointed Mayor of Clonmel, wrote to ask him what legal books he

should consult before entering on judicial duties. In a letter now before me, O’Connell urges him to avoid all law-books, and to act on his own common sense.

To Arthur French, Secretary General Association.

Darrynane Abbey: October 19th, 1837.

My dear French,—I cannot be in Dublin until the 30th inst. I propose to submit two motions on the 31st to the General Association. I beg of you to give notice of them in my name.

My first motion will be to appoint a Select Committee to investigate and ascertain all receipts and expenditures of the Association, and to state and settle all its accounts.

My second motion will be to dissolve the Association itself. This last measure I adopt with some hesitation; but I think we are arrived at a period when we should give this proof of our satisfaction at the improved state of the administration of Government in Ireland, and of our confidence in the intentions of our gracious Sovereign, and in those of Her Majesty's Ministers.

For the present I content myself with this intimation. I will, please God, give my reasons in full to the meeting. I will listen with respectful deference to the opinions of other members, and abide without a murmur to the decision of the majority.

In the meantime, I beg of the gentlemen who compose the Association to reflect upon these unquestionable facts:

1st. That until the present Administration there never was a Government in Ireland determined to do equal and impartial justice to all parties.

2nd. That until the accession of Her present Majesty there never was a Sovereign on the British Throne sincerely friendly to the people of Ireland.

It is quite true that 'Ireland has never heretofore confided but she has been betrayed.' Yet I am not weary of confiding; that confidence will prove the sincerity, as well as the generosity, of our disposition to conciliation. Even if we be disappointed in our hopes, we will have the consciousness of having deserved a better fate, and also will have an additional stimulant to rely thereafter on our own exertions. If, indeed, our present reliance on the Queen

and her Ministers shall prove fallacious, it will not afterwards be possible to expect 'Justice for Ireland' from anything but our own constitutional and legal but continuous efforts.

I am for making this one experiment more on the cordiality of those who call themselves our friends. If we shall be deceived, we can fall back on our own resources.

Let me not be supposed to anticipate disappointment. I do no such thing. On the contrary, my hopes are high, and my expectations strong and deliberate. Of this, however, I am quite sure, that our readiness to leave the cause of the Irish people in the hands of a favorable Government cannot but tend to give to any future necessary agitation the character of not being sought for by us, but forced upon us by the futility of our reliance upon others, however plausible and probable their pretensions to our confidence may be.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Unlike the silver-toned Bushe, the sparkling Curran, or the more calm Plunket, whose orations are few and famous, the electric brilliancy of O'Connell was often accompanied by peals of wrathful thunder. A curious correspondence with Mr. Kirwan, *Avocat à la Cour royale banc de la Reine*, regarding a biographic sketch of O'Connell, reveals some proofs of this characteristic.

To A. V. Kirwan.

16 Pall Mall : 8 November, 1837.

Sir,—I have no small reason to complain of your conduct towards a man who never did you a wrong ; on the contrary, my feelings were most kindly towards you, and for that you have rewarded me with one of the most detailed libels that ever was penned against anybody. If I had imagined you would have neglected the ordinary sources of information, which were obvious—Burke's 'Commoners ;' the 'Monthly Magazine,' by young Curran ; the obituary of my uncle, Daniel Count O'Connell, in the *Evening Post* ; the

obituary of Maurice Baron O'Connell in the same paper—I should have protested against your writing at all. Even Tait's 'Ireland and O'Connell,' advertised on the cover of his magazine for years, was neglected; but more than enough of your neglect; your positive inventions are most prominent.

1st. My family forfeited upwards of £20,000 a year so late as the revolution of 1688. I have two estates, worth together £1,000 per annum, the ancient inheritance of my family. I care not for that family, for myself, but for my children.

2nd. At St. Omer I was first in the first class, and got premiums in everything; so far from being idle there, I shook my constitution by intense application.

3rd. No man ever got into business at the Bar more rapidly than I did; I know but one who succeeded so rapidly, and that was McMahon, the Master of the Rolls.

These were facts within your reach if you did not prefer inventing to reading, especially reading my reply on the 'Repeal Debate.' If you read that, you would be ashamed of your description of it. I will not proceed further, save by a general description, 'less of truth, and more of untruth, was never stuffed into so narrow a compass.' I return you the copy you sent me. I have marked some thirty passages directly contrary to truth. I could mark as many more. It is no answer to say that you have also attributed to me virtues I possess not, and talent to which I have no pretension.

And now I call upon you as an honest man to make me compensation. You cannot be honest if you refuse to do me justice. Withdraw the article if you do not correct it. I have a right, in point of common honesty, to require it. Recollect you have inflicted a most grievous injury upon me who never did, never would do, you the *slightest* disservice; one who, on the contrary, was ready and anxious to serve you, if he could. If you refuse to do me 'justice,' I must appeal to the Editors of the works; and if they do not redress me, I believe the French law will. It is not

reasonable to suppose that I should submit to such a tissue of the most gross *misrepresentations*. Hoping you will comply with my very reasonable request of suppressing or correcting this at present foul libel,⁷

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A. V. Kirwan to O'Connell.

73 Gloucester Place: Decber. 10th, 1837.

Sir,—I received half an hour ago, on my return home to dinner, your letter of the 8th inst. Considering the temper and frame of mind in which you take upon yourself to address me, and above all the language in which you see fit to convey the expression of your sentiments, it would doubtless be vain (while your violent excitement lasts) to express the emotions of surprise and regret which your communication caused me. Five days ago I sent you with a polite note a 'Biography' which even your most fulsome adulators call 'flattering,' and I receive in acknowledgement a letter which under excited feelings I do not care to characterize as it deserves. I undertook, Sir, at the solicitation of others to write your 'Biography' with a firm determination, as far as in me lay, to be at once impartial, authentic and just. You are far too able and sagacious a man not to know the family history and early academic lives of men, far more eminent and even as useful as I am willing to admit you have been, are frequently involved in doubt and uncertainty. Some there are even now who contend for the gentle birth of Cromwell and Buonaparte, while others as stoutly insist that the one was a small 'beer brewer' and the other the son of a pettifogging attorney. For myself, I am totally indifferent personally on the subject, being of opinion with Burns that the

Rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that—

⁷ 'To be a great man,' says Hoppers, 'means to suffer more pain, to have less satisfaction, less comfort, and to work harder than other men.' The wounded sensibility revealed by O'Connell's letter to Kirwan may have been aggravated by other causes. Addressing Archbishop MacHale on the following day—*i.e.* Nov. 9, 1837—he says, 'I know you

pity me and afford me the relief of your prayers. To-morrow I begin to console my heart by agitation. I am *now* determined to leave every other consideration aside and to agitate *really*—to agitate to the full extent the law sanctions. Command me now in everything.'—Miss Cusack's *Life of the Liberator*, vol. ii. p. 627.

but I am not the less convinced that we would all be well born if we could so manage it. Enough as to my opinion on a point at least incidental to the question. I am impressed nevertheless with a conviction that I ought to be accurate, and, if possible, authentic in so very trifling a matter. I, in August last, addressed you a letter requesting of you to favour me with authentic details of your birth and education, and at the same time pressing for an immediate reply, as I was limited to a precise day. That letter, which *I know* you received (for in conversation with me you admitted it), was politely couched, perhaps even flatteringly, remains to this hour without the slightest reply. Of the want of courtesy to myself I do not complain, neither do I complain of the tone and temper of your letter of yesterday. But I repeat to you now what I said at Charing Cross, and what I politely wrote to you on Wednesday last, viz. that if there be an error in your genealogy, you, not I, am to blame. In order, however, to prove to you that I have been all along as I am now, and, notwithstanding your expressions, ever shall be, actuated by the spirit of a gentleman—in other words, the spirit of justice, of candour, and of truth—owe it to myself most of all to declare that *if* I have done you or your family wrong in the least degree I will instantly repair it. Favour me with half a dozen lines on the subject of your descent in your own handwriting, and they shall be inserted, as coming from *you* directly, in the next number of the 'Dictionnaire.' One of the Editors of that publication is the descendant of an Irishman who knows all about your family much better than I do, for his father was a native of Kerry; but if he (which I do not anticipate) shall interpose any obstacle to the insertion of my correction under your hand, I pledge myself to address a letter on the subject to the leading journal of Paris.

The article in the 'Monthly,' published in 1825, I have read. If I remember rightly, there is an offensive allusion in that article which I abstained from, and to the best of my recollection also mention of that very harmless subject of college *laches*.⁸ The article in Tait's 'Ireland and O'Connell' I have also read, but, without admitting that these publications are authentic, I will merely oppose to any anonymous statements in them a very recent speech of your own, in which you boasted 'that you had *no* pride of ancestry, that you were merely the son of a

⁸ At school and college O'Connell was a model of application.

grazier, or gentleman farmer.' The people of France, as well as of England, would laugh most assuredly at this discussion, but I must revert to it in answer to your appeal, to prove to you *that your own statement conflicts with your own authorities*. It is therefore no marvel that no ten men in England, Ireland, Scotland, or America can agree as to your or any other man's precise genealogy. How, then, was I to reconcile these conflicting statements, *save by an appeal to yourself*? That application you will not deny I made. That application you admitted you never answered, and when I saw you, now more than three weeks ago, I lamented the fact (waiving all discourtesy) because my manuscript was already in the printer's hands. Unsuccessful not from the want of asking you, yet notwithstanding your own culpable *laches* and discourtesy against me, I repeat, I will, despite laches, discourtesy, abuse, adopt *unreservedly* any short account of your pedigree written and signed by you, and transmit it to Paris without delay. Permit me to say I have never read Burke's 'History of the Commoners,' and more than that, I never will read it, even on *your* recommendation. I cannot master so many subjects as *you* can, but even though I had your versatility I might better employ myself than in those abstruse and unprofitable 'Histories of Pedigrees,' the pursuit of which made Monsieur Guerin (a far greater man than any English herald) the laughing-stock of France and of Europe. Neither have I read the obituary of Count and Baron O'Connell in the *Dublin Evening Post*.⁹ Surely you will not seriously tell me to refer to the ephemeral columns of a journal in which I have frequently read the severest strictures on your own private and public character? Truly, Sir, the error about St. Omer is not of great importance. I did not, however, *invent it*. I met last season at dinner a most distinguished schoolfellow of yours, who stated (speaking at the same time in the kindest and handsomest terms of you) that you were a gay and thoughtless youth of more abilities than application. There is nothing criminal in this, even though it were true; it is but the history of the *greatest*, wisest, best of mankind. I accept your own version, and retract my involuntary error, with a painful conviction of the truth of the old remark of Sir Walter Raleigh. I have always heard and believed that you rose rapidly to eminence in your profession, and I take occasion

⁹ The memoir of General Count O'Connell, written by the Liberator himself, was merely copied into the

Post from the *Irish Monthly Magazine*.

to say that you were called in 1798, and were in full business in 1806, and in 1810 'the Eagle of the Bar,' soaring above all competitors. . . . I deny, Sir, most strenuously, most firmly, and in the most pointed language a gentleman should use, that I have inflicted on you any grievous injury or on any other human being. Some of my statements may be incorrect, there are also many errors of the press, but it would require unusual hardihood, believe me, to attempt to prove after this, my calm, collected, and temperate statement, that I deliberately, dishonestly, meant to do you wrong. Supposing all my statements true; are you a worse man? a less able, a less gifted, a less wonderful being? As to your pedigree, the public care not three straws about it. They look only to your powers and the use of them. I reiterate, there is nothing in my statements, nor in the mode of stating them, calculated to do you grievous injury or to redound to your discredit. On the contrary, some of my statements plainly enhance your merit. Sorry should I be, Sir, to bandy abusive epithets, or to retort in the strain in which you address me. I can neither forget your *exclusive privilege*, nor those impulses alike in your case the incidents of genius and the unhappy adjuncts of perhaps unequalled success. I do hope, however, that reflection and a perusal of this my reply may induce you to regret, not alone the tone of your letter, but the employment of a menace—I mean a recourse to French law; a threat which a gentleman ought not to utter, much less to pen deliberately, to one who was quite unconscious of having done him wrong. It is a menace, founded, permit me to say, on misconception both of law and fact, and even though founded on both, it should never have been used until you had failed by every just and judicious appeal to my sense of right and fair dealing. At the conclusion of your communication you state you are ready and *anxious* to serve me if you could. You can serve me, Sir, materially, by doing me the justice to believe that in every line which I have ever penned concerning you my chief desire has been to discover and promulgate the truth! I am bound neither to flatter, nor to please you, but I certainly am bound to speak the truth of you and of all mankind.

Your obedient Servant,

A. V. KIRWAN.¹

¹ Severe as this letter is, it contains merely part of the retort.

To A. V. Kirwan.

16 Pall Mall : 11 December, 1837.

Sir,—I send you back your most unsatisfactory letter, as no further correspondence can take place between us now.

I have too many libellers to be annoyed by one who, as you for once justly observe, mixes 'fulsome flattery' with what *I* call flagrant untruth. I care *nothing* for *pedigree*, but the total reverse of the fact ought not to be stated. The justice I claim is to have the article cancelled and remodelled according to truth, leaving out both the *fulsome flattery* and the *flagrant falsehood*. If you are unable or unwilling to do this, I banish from my recollection you and your libels ; only giving one moment of melancholy recollection of the quarter which has aimed this *brutum fulmen* at your very obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Kirwan, who complained of O'Connell's tone and temper, now retorted in a vituperative missive, 'flinging back' all imputations 'with the calm but unutterable scorn which an honest man should feel.' 'It is indeed a most flagrant falsehood to say that I ever wrote a libel on you, and no one knows it better than you do *yourself*. *My name* is signed to the article, I *avow* the authorship, and though you were called to the Bar long before I was born, I am ready to meet you, ay, to *defeat you*, on this question in the Queen's Bench at Westminster or the "Palais de Justice" of Paris. . . . I now take leave of you, calmly reminding you that I am your candid and just "Biographer," but not your "fulsome flatterer," and *certainly not your abject slave*.'² O'Connell, however, took no further notice of his correspondent.

A transcript of the correspondence was privately circulated by Kirwan. No trace of it appears among O'Connell's

² Mr. Kirwan's memoir opens with these words :—

'O'Connell (Daniel), né en l'année 1774 [*sic*] près de Cahirsiveen, comté de Kerry en Irlande, l'un des partisans les plus ardents et les plus enthousiastes de toutes les idées d'affranchissement et du progrès, l'un des plus fervents et des plus éloquents

apôtres de la cause populaire ; homme dont le nom brillera un jour dans l'histoire à côté de ceux des Chatham, des Fox, des Mirabeau et des La Fayette, ces puissants défenseurs des droits du peuple contre la caste nobiliaire, à laquelle ils appartenaient cependant par leur naissance.'

papers, but a previous letter has been preserved, from which the real cause of soreness may be surmised. He was clearly a disappointed aspirant to the honour of becoming a joint in O'Connell's 'Tail,' as his parliamentary following was familiarly called. On July 5 of the same year Kirwan writes 'to remind you of our conversation in the Reform Club and to reiterate my readiness to stand either for Dungarvan or Drogheda in the event of Sir William Somerville going to Meath. I have some small claims on Dungarvan, having been Counsel for the Sitting Member in April 1834. For the rest, it may be necessary to declare that I am for the Ballot, Household Suffrage, and Triennial Parliaments, and disposed to support, "even unto the death," the administration of the best (shall I say, the only good Viceroy?) that has ever been in Ireland. You know I live at the seat of Government, and I promise exemplary attendance and entire zeal and devotion. I am not, however, a "millionaire," but am, of course, prepared for all legal expenses. I have done my country, the State, and the present Ministers some small services, and have never touched one shilling of public money. This is all I have to say. If I did not think your nature noble and generous, I would not now appeal to you, though it was [*sic*] hard in strictest justice to make the man accountable for those differences which the boy had with the first and greatest of his countrymen.' In conclusion, Kirwan declares himself the attached friend of the Liberator.

Letters of this time allude to 'the Spottiswoode Conspiracy.'³ Mr. Spottiswoode was chairman of a committee which collected funds for the purpose of frustrating the election of O'Connellites to Parliament. The public eye had now become fixed on Orangeism. A Parliamentary inquiry into its objects was moved for and obtained by the brother-in-law of O'Connell, William Francis Finn. The Princess Victoria was known to have been reared in a very liberal atmosphere. During the inquiry it appeared that Orangeism, which claimed to be the ally of the sovereign and of the Protestant religion, had sought to foil the legitimate succession to the Crown by setting aside the young and virtuous princess and placing on the throne of England, Ernest king of Hanover, a man of notoriously demoralised habits; but Ernest was Grand Master of the

³ See also March 16, 1838.

Orange Society, which in some eyes covered a multitude of sins. The plot is said to have been one of much magnitude, but half the disclosures were not suffered to appear in print. Many of the compromising papers remained in the possession of Mr. Finn, who shortly before his death placed them in the hands of Dr. R. R. Madden. At the sale of Madden's effects in 1887, a MS. history of Orangeism embodying these papers was sold for a large sum.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

House of Commons: 20th Novr. 1837.

Go to the Castle and pay at Mr. Bessonett's office about £ for renewing my patent of precedence.⁴ Also pay at the club in Stephen's Green the entrance and subscription of my sons and my own.

(Private.) You will be glad to hear that the Queen is firm with us. She is determined to support this Ministry, and I have it from undoubted authority that, if Lord Melbourne resigned to-morrow, she would not send for any Tory. She *certainly* said this. You must take care that this does not get into any newspaper whatsoever, as it might be traced. Lord Melbourne, of course, has no notion of resigning, but the Queen said what I told you to shew her dislike to the Tories. Again I recommend caution as to letting out this fact. The Liberal members meet to-morrow at the Reform Club to decide upon the course to be taken as to the Spottiswoode gang. English and Scotch Liberals meet as well as Irish. I hope a decisive line will be taken. I am convinced that a prosecution ought to be instituted; of this more hereafter.

The speech, you see, says everything and nothing.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To R. B. Foster.

Merrion Square: 19th December, 1837.

Sir,—I am sincerely sorry to learn the death of your father. Had I known or recollected it, I should not have

⁴ A patent of precedence at the Bar. (See vol. i. p. 287.)

mentioned his name. But the fact I referred to was one which I had stated in his presence at the Catholic Association, the details of which he himself admitted.

He was no friend of mine. In '28 and in '29 he gave me all the opposition he could in Clare.⁵

I deeply regret having hurt the feelings of any of his family, and would make them any *atonement in my power*, but it is not in my power to retract a statement which is strictly true in its essential particulars. But this you may be certain of, that I never again will mention the fact. I heartily wish I had not done so at Norwich. I repeat that I most readily comply with your wish not to speak on the subject again.

Deeply regretting that I did hurt your natural and amiable susceptibility, I have the honour to be

Your faithful Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane : Saturday.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Will you call at the *Dublin Evening Post* office and complain that I did not get their paper of Thursday? This is one of 'the miseries of human life' in a remote country.

Tell Milliken⁶ he has my most ready assent to publish any abuse of me he thinks proper, provided no third person is introduced. Slander on myself personally I never resent or even discourage. He is, therefore, heartily welcome to publish anything he pleases about me, and especially if he makes money of it.

I sent you last night cheques for £762.

I am beginning to fear that you were too sanguine. The country parishes are not apparently stirring. But you know best. I see an ominous 'if' in your letter of this

⁵ Mr. Foster resided near Corofin, co. Clare.

⁶ A well-known Dublin publisher. He was a Protestant, but of Liberal views. It was on his affidavit,

describing threats to the Viceroy which he overheard in the theatre, that the bottle-throwing conspirators were prosecuted by Plunket in 1823. (See vol. i. p. 87.)

day's post, so that it may be necessary for us both to back out of our expectations. At all events, one thing is quite certain, that no person ever did or could do as much as you have for

Yours gratefully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 10th February, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . The Government have not as yet given the least intimation of what they intend doing with the Tithe Bill. I believe they have not decided. I will endeavour to give you the earliest information on the subject which can be relied on; for the present there is none. The Municipal Corporation Bill will certainly be pressed by the Ministry through the House of Commons. They have not the power to press it through the House of Lords, but I do believe that there will be a yielding on the part of Wellington's party sufficient to carry it through. My own opinion is that it will be law this Session.

London : 10 Feb. 1838.

The Poor Law Bill is in Committee. The Bill will pass nearly in its present shape. There will not be one single substantial improvement in it, and we shall have the constituency swamped and the farmers ruined to gratify a few unthinking men, exceeding charitable at the expense of others, and, what is worse, of others who cannot afford it. Never was cant more conspicuous than in the cry of some of our Poor Law mongers. Others imagine that, because they point out distress and destitution, they make a case for a Poor Law. Yes, they forget that Poor Law affords less relief than it inflicts injury; but the delusion will end in greater misery and more dissatisfaction. I have done my duty.

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Ministers are quite safe. All right with the Queen.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 15th February, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—. . . I enclose you £1,000.⁷

I wish to tell you in the strictest confidence—take care to keep it a secret—that the Queen has expressed a wish to see me.⁸ She is determined to conciliate Ireland. I will, of course, attend the next levee, and perhaps some good to Ireland may be the consequence. You will feel how imperative it is to keep all this from every eye but your own, especially as I may perhaps be honoured with an audience within ten days. Again, you would ruin all my hopes for Ireland if you were to communicate these facts; though, circumstanced as you and I are, I cannot conceal them from you. My projects include the final settlement of the Tithe question, the completion of the corporate reform, and of the electoral franchise in cities and counties. These are great objects, should they be realised; but perhaps I am dreaming. We shall soon see.

Tell everybody that there is not the least chance of amending the Irish 'Destitution' Bill. We must have it as it stands, or not at all.

The office Sheil has got is one of great respectability. It is also a most comfortable one, as it is for life, and is compatible with a seat in Parliament, and with the holding, at the same time, any other office. It is worth, as the saying is, 'in money and marbles,' at least £1,200 a year.⁹

I have applied to Lord Morpeth for Dillon.¹ I also wrote to Mr. Drummond on his behalf.

Believe me to be, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ For Mr. Harnett, of the Tralee Bank.

⁸ I have been unable to discover any particulars of this interview, assuming that it took place. The newspapers of the day announce that O'Connell and his sons were presented to the Queen by Lord Morpeth, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

⁹ The office which Sheil obtained in 1838 was that of Commissioner

of Greenwich Hospital. In the following year he became Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Sheil was Master of the Mint when the omission of the words '*Defensatrix Fidei: Dei Gratia*' from the florin occasioned much clamour. In Parliament he openly accepted the responsibility of the omission, but disclaimed all sectarian motive.

¹ Mr. Dillon was appointed a stipendiary magistrate soon after.

To Richard Barrett.

London: 15th February, 1838.

My dear Barrett,—I have just read your paper of the 12th. I am quite sure no man living would less desire than you to delude the Irish people. But you are doing so without intending it.

You say ‘that my assistance to the Poor Law Bill, while it will not prevent a Bill passing, will render the Bill a better one for the industrious classes.’ It is of this sentence I complain. There will not be any improvement of the Bill in Committee. I took a division on the first clause. The question I raised was, whether the Bill was to be administered by the English Commissioners sitting in London, with one of their number occasionally in Ireland, or by an Irish Board? My amendment was that the Board should be Irish, sitting always in Ireland.¹ For my amendment there were only twenty-three votes!!

I will take a division on every other obnoxious clause. My own opinion is that I shall not succeed upon any one *important* clause. In fact, the Bill is *entire* in its provisions, and to break in upon any one of its general features would be to destroy this Bill. The course to be taken by those who wish for Act-of-Parliament charity should be to throw out this Bill and propose another. . . .

Let the people of Ireland know the fact that, if they do not bestir themselves at once and meet and petition, this Bill will pass, and the occupiers of lands and houses in Ireland will be charged with an additional million of direct taxation, without any adequate or tangible benefit to the Irish poor. The Bill, in that respect, has no hypocrisy about it. It does not purport to be a Bill for the relief of the Irish poor generally. It is by its very title, as well as its enactments, limited to such of the Irish people as are selected as ‘destitute.’

¹ An essentially Irish Board was at last conceded. From the reign of Henry VIII. England had Poor Laws. Until 1838 Ireland supported

her own poor. The Local Government Board now represents, at Dublin, the Irish Poor Law Commissioners.

CHAPTER XVI.

General De Lacy Evans—Charge of Perjury—Lord Maidstone—O'Connell lectured by the Speaker—Shielded by Lord John Russell—Refuses to retract—Renewed Efforts to unseat O'Connell—'Victory!'—The Coronation Patronage—Amusing Mistake—O'Connell refuses the post of Chief Baron—Woulfe appointed—Corporate Reform—The Duke of Wellington—Lord Morpeth—Dr. MacHale—'The Precursor Society'—Walter Savage Landor—A Glowing Picture—Peter Purcell—The 'Dove of Elphin'—The Clash of Crosiers—Case of Captain Gleeson—Canada compromised—He 'owes Lord Brougham one, and pays it'—Lord Glenelg—Lord Clarendon—Feargus O'Connor leads 4,000 Chartists against O'Connell—The Young Circassian—Peril of a Tory Restoration imminent—Hume deserts—Melbourne out—Peel in—The Queen refuses to part with her Court—Melbourne reinstated.

ON February 21, 1838, four hundred gentlemen entertained O'Connell at a public dinner in London. The chairman, afterwards General Sir De Lacy Evans, said that O'Connell 'was the object of the attention of the whole empire, and the admiration of the best and most enlightened men, not only of England but of the world.'

Their distinguished guest, in reply, asked what had brought so many independent Englishmen to pay him a compliment. 'He believed it to be paid to the great principle on which he always acted—that of avoiding the prosecution of political advantages by force, violence, or fraud.' In the course of this speech he remarked, with his usual strength of expression, 'that certain members of election committees in Parliament had been guilty of foul perjury.' Some nights after he was asked by Lord Maidstone in the House whether he had uttered these words. He admitted to have made the charge, and added that he believed it to be perfectly true. Lord Maidstone then said that on the following Monday he would submit a motion relative to O'Connell's conduct. Lord John Russell started to his feet, and declared that, in case Lord Maidstone persisted in his intention, he, on his part, should submit a motion in reference to similar words used by the Tory

Bishop of Exeter. *The Times* remarked that this incident 'demonstrated how close was the alliance between the Government and the member for all Ireland.'¹

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 28th February, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You are all anxious to hear about me and my plan of future operations—at least, I take for granted that you are. I mean not you personally, but the good people generally.

You will have seen that the Tories have carried two votes against me, and have ordered me to be reprimanded by the Speaker. That reprimand will be given this day. My decision, of course, is taken. I will repeat my words, and let them send me to Newgate if they please. My own opinion is that they must commit me. I do not see how they can avoid it; it is quite clear that I cannot for one moment submit to retract or disavow one word. I said only the truth. Everybody knows I said nothing but the truth. Let what will come, my course is obvious.

I have no doubt that good, much good, will flow from my determination. The enormity of packed committees *must* be put an end to. The facts respecting these com-

¹ Years ago it was announced that the papers of Earl Russell had been placed, for historic purposes, in the hands of Mr. Spencer Walpole. Mr. Walpole, in his *History of England* (vol. iii. 295), writes of the 'Lichfield House Compact': 'O'Connell tacitly consented to support the policy of the Whig leaders.' Thus it would seem that no documental evidence of the 'Compact' exists, though a cordial alliance was publicly avowed.

'I have been taunted and aspersed because I supported the Ministry,' O'Connell said. 'I avow it. The men who persecuted and prosecuted me I joined the moment they displayed an anxiety to do a tardy justice to Ireland; and when they gave an earnest of their good intentions I flung myself into their arms, for-

getting everything but the advantage that might accrue to my country—forgetting the insults, personal and political, which they had showered on me.' The seeming closeness of O'Connell's coalition with the Ministry was made the subject of some amusing caricatures at this time. H. B., when portraying a lion, loved to limn O'Connell's features. Sometimes the lion was represented as goodnaturedly allowing Lord John Russell, like Van Amburgh, to put his tiny head into its great mouth, while Lord John licks the anxious words: 'Does he wag his tail?' A great number of these 'H. B.' sketches appeared, most of them remarkable for the dominating figures of the Queen, Melbourne, and O'Connell.

mittees must come before the public in so distinct a manner as to make it impossible to continue the system longer. I care not one farthing for going to Newgate in such a cause. I suppose my committal will make a sensation amongst 'the wilds' of Ireland. It certainly will make a noise *here*. I may have acted wrong, which I do not believe, but I have acted with the coolest deliberation. It is ruinous to Ireland to have the representation left to a lottery. It is true that in two cases out of three the lottery has been in our favour, but we have lost Belfast owing to the corrupt partiality of a Tory Committee. It really is too bad. Nobody else was taking means to abate the nuisance. I tried it in the House and failed. I therefore determined to try it out of the House in such a way as the Tories could not get over—that is, they could not avoid complaining of what I said.

Thus far we have proceeded. I believe it will be admitted that I have the moral courage to go through with the case until I have done all that men of my limited talent can do for ensuring its success. I laugh at myself for writing to you so much in the style of a martyr.

You *shall* hear again from me to-morrow.

Always yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

See my excellent friend Cornelius MacLoughlin, and tell him I will do the best I can for his friend; but he knows how slow and difficult any chance of success is.

O'Connell, when called upon by the Speaker to retract, said, 'I express no regret. I retract nothing. I repent nothing. I do not desire unnecessarily to use harsh or offensive language. I wish I could find terms less objectionable and equally significant, but I cannot. I am bound to reassert what I asserted.' The Tories had gathered to enjoy a triumph, but soon their faces fell. Not one rose to move that O'Connell's words be taken down. All sat mute. Even a member of the Administration remarked that they could send a poor printer to Newgate for abusing the House of Commons, while they dare not touch a hair

on the head of Mr. O'Connell. The Tribune afterwards said that his object had been to fix upon the committeemen the attention of the three kingdoms. 'I did expect that I would have been sent to the Tower for the assertion of a principle; and if the Tories had had the courage they ought to have sent me there. I had made arrangements for such a contingency.'

Thanks to O'Connell's exertions, his son Maurice was at length declared the seated member for Tralee, *vice* Bateman.

To a Kinsman in Tralee.

London: 28th February, 1838.

My dear ---, —You all must be off for London without delay. We will want—

1st. To authenticate the poll books.

2nd. To identify the persons who tendered their votes with the persons registered; that is, to show that it was the same persons who registered that tendered their votes.

As to the first, we must bring over (1st) the provost; (2ndly) the provost's poll clerk; and 3rdly, the Clerk of the Peace, in whose custody the poll books were deposited. But we must verify these books by the poll clerk. As to the second, we must identify every (?) voter whose name we seek to add to our poll, or to strike off *theirs*. For example, John Primrose tendered his vote. We must prove that he was the John Primrose who is registered who tendered his vote. It will be necessary to bring over our poll clerks for this purpose, and I fear Lynch must come also. In short, we must take care not to fail in point of form.

You must pay a viaticum of twelve pounds to each person who is to come over; that is, to the unwilling witnesses.

Write to me by return of the post and tell me how the fund—I mean the fund subscribed to the election—stands. Did S—— pay in his subscription? I suppose not. Call peremptorily—that is, as peremptorily as you can—on the

subscribers. Get also an 'attempt,' if it be feasible, made to have an increased subscription. I suppose, however, that is vain, and we should be only laughed at. We must bring over the valuator to show *our houses* of the full value and also the houses of our adversaries to be of *less* value. This I hope has been looked to.

I will write to you again to-morrow. Of course you will bring over any balance of the fund.

Your affectionate Kinsman,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 3rd March, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Object to Palmer ;² he is my personal and political enemy, and is conducting very virulently another Tithe case against me.

They all say here that my triumph is complete. The Tories did not dare to meddle with me, or they would have sent me to the Tower.

Not the least alteration of any importance in the Bill for Poor Laws. It will come out of the Committee as oppressive and useless as when it was first prepared.

The Tithe question will be on next week. I believe the Government will announce it on Monday. There is to be a meeting at Lord John Russell's at two that day for the purpose, I believe, of taking it into consideration. I will attend.

Tell Harnett that I will be over at Easter and get my son Maurice's fortune, over £6,000.³

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

² As a witness before the committee that sat to investigate a fresh petition to unseat O'Connell.

³ Maurice married, in 1832, Frances, only daughter of Bindon Scott, Esq., of Cahireon, co. Clare. She was a Protestant, and, on her arrival at Darrynane, O'Connell said, 'The nearest Anglican church

is at Sneem, twelve miles away. I have taken care that you shall not want the means of worshipping God in your own way on Sundays. You shall have a horse to ride to Sneem and a fresh horse to ride back ; and if the ride should fatigue you, the carriage shall attend you.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 9th March, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—If I had written to you on Monday last I should have written in great despondency, if not despair. The Ministerial existence was at stake. If they were defeated on the Canadian question they would at once have resigned. The defeat of Ewart, by reason of the vile and virulent conduct of the Tory Radicals, gave the most decided encouragement to the Tory faction. The Duke of Wellington declared that it was a symptom of reaction not to be mistaken, and the entire party determined to try the chance of battle on Molesworth's motion.⁴

It was supposed that Molesworth would affect at least six members, thus giving the Tories by their votes a difference of twelve, or at all events bring down the anti-Tory force by six.

On Sunday and Monday the most sinister rumours were afloat even amongst the Ministerialists. I heard one gentleman, who knows much of the interior movements of the Whigs, say on Sunday that the majority only would be five at the utmost, probably three. This was, indeed, discouraging. Judge, then, of the delight with which we hailed the division, giving the Ministry on their weakest point a majority of 29. In any event of the ensuing contested elections they must retain a majority, be the same more or less. This demonstrates that it is utterly impossible the Tories should form a Government without a dissolution. The Queen will not consent to a dissolution, neither would the party itself feel satisfied to undergo the expense and trouble of an election so soon again. I may thus pronounce the Ministry safe—quite safe; at all events they have another year of office without doubt or difficulty, and unless they commit some notable piece of folly towards

⁴ On March 6 Sir William Molesworth had brought forward a vote of censure on Lord Glenelg (Colonial Secretary) in consequence of the disturbances in Canada. Eventu-

ally the motion was withdrawn in favour of an amendment by Lord Sandon, laying the blame on the Ministry. The amendment was lost by 29 votes.

their own supporters they have a clear prospect of many years of office. At all events they are secure for the remainder of the Session. This is a great triumph.

The Irish members did their duty. They voted in the House 69 to 28, majority 41. Such is the decided support they have given the Administration. The Committee in the Tralee Election Petition have unanimously overruled Assessor Hickson's law. The sitting member, Mr. Bateman,⁵ franks for the last time to-day.

The report in Maurice's favour will be drawn up to-morrow. I hope he will take his seat on Monday. At all events he is member for Tralee. Hurrah!

The Tithe Bill will be brought forward next week, and the fate of Dublin be decided on Tuesday by the lottery of names. All is on the dice.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Petitions, harassing and vexatious, attended by merciless expense, followed up the old effort to unseat O'Connell and his sons.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 16th March, 38.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Yesterday the case was opened. The statement was mild. No intimidation. No bribery. Nothing in the slightest degree harsh or virulent.

This morning they postponed the paving tax, as their witnesses had not arrived, and they assailed more than 400 of my votes on the ground of defects in the affidavits of registry. They argued the points for three mortal hours. My counsel, Mr. Austen, rose in reply, and spoke for about a quarter of an hour, when he was stopped by the Committee, who decided, I believe unanimously; but, at all events, decided in favour of the voters by overruling the objection. This, at all events, saves 400 voters.

⁵ In 1837 John Bateman was returned for Tralee borough, but Maurice O'Connell, who had been

opposed by Bateman, was now seated on petition.

The objection really was frivolous in the extreme, and serves only to shew the virulence and pertinacity with which I am assailed. I do not know what they are next to go on with.

They have risen for this day at a quarter to two, not being ready to go on with any other part of the case. I understand we had 608 votes in jeopardy. What would have become of us if we had had a Tory committee?

They *ought* not to persevere, but they certainly will, to put me to expense.

They are fighting, according to the vulgar phrase, 'on velvet.' They have the bulk of the Spottiswoode money,⁶ while I am left like a boat on the strand with the tide out.

No matter. God's will be done. I must battle to the last. If the paving tax be, as it ought, decided in my favour, *all* must be well.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 22nd March, 1838

My dear FitzPatrick,—Two most important decisions in my favor this day.

1st. That no *default* arises until *demand* made of the paving tax.

2nd. That the paving tax of 1837 is *not* chargeable to the voters.

We lost one—a stupid fellow who owed the *entire* tax of 1836—an isolated case, which does not furnish another to be regulated by it. A demand on him was proved. In short, though I do not shout victory, as I lost one, yet this day crowns everything bygone, and renders the success of the petitioners impossible.

They are fighting out to put me to expense—nothing else, but I do hope to-morrow will bring them to a close. You may confidently promise victory.

⁶ See p. 124, *ante*.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

26th March, 1838.

' And we will plant a laurel tree,
And we will call it "Victory,"'
Said the Shan Van Vocht.

All over. Victory declared. Report in. All over. Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah!!! In spite of Old Holmes of the Northern bar and all the Conservatives. Hurrah!

It is really delightful to have this matter over so satisfactorily. Miller is a lucky fellow to have so cheap a seat for such a constituency. I am, blessed be God, lucky not to have more to pay; I mean, that the period of continuing to pay has ceased.

The Orangeists persevered as long as it was *safe* for them to do so. They struck this morning at eleven. We have had a most glorious *escape* from the Villains, as a Tory committee would, of course, have ruined me. As it is, I think one thousand pounds will cover all my expenses above the £300 I got from, or rather through, Close. I cannot get one shilling of the anti-Spottiswoode money. It is but little, and the English Whigs swallow it all. But the outcry is great indeed; besides, there never was a set of fellows so crestfallen as our adversaries. Their faces are as long as your arm; dismay and desolation are in their camp, whilst joy and gladness prevail as of course amongst us.

No more bulletins, but I will write to you about the advice of my wise and worthy friend.⁷ It is not possible for me to do what he says with *consistency*; at least, such is my present opinion.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 4th May, 1838.

I am delighted to tell you the Ministry is *safe*. I was yesterday in great alarm because I knew they were *most*

⁷ Probably J. D. Mullen.

weak on the subject of the English Church. It was, in fact, their trying question. Last year we were brought to the water's edge by this very subject. Our majority⁸ on this very topic, in a Parliament in which the Ministers were on other subjects stronger in number than they are in this, was only five last year. This year it is *eleven*—more than twice the majority we had last year. There will not be half so dangerous a question during the entire Session. In fact, there *cannot*, because on this all of English bigotry was roused into action, aided by Scotch. You may therefore reckon with certainty that the present Ministry will have all the Coronation patronage, and without any difficulty another year of office. This, after all, is cheering for Ireland, as it leaves with us Lord Mulgrave [as Viceroy], and gives us another winter *to kill* our worthless judges. They will stick fast as long as they can, the vagabonds!!

I cannot express to you how much I feared the fate of last night. I was bid not to fear, but still I would have given a large sum to ensure such a victory as we have obtained, blessed be God! It is almost fantastical to have the fate of Ireland depend on the vile passions of English Churchmen. What an argument for the Repeal!

The Hull Election Committee is just over. Two Tories unseated, two Reformers seated; difference on a division, *four*. On the whole, the election committees have added to our majority. So much for the Spottiswoode Conspiracy.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(No date.)

My dear FitzPatrick,—All is well, very well. The majority, as you know, twice as great as I expected. We are safe for another year.

⁸ On May 3, Lord John Russell moved for a Committee on Church Leases, which was carried by 26.

Sheil was brilliant, Stanley stupid ; but, on the whole, we had the greatest triumph in the debate. They talk much of a change in the detail of the Ministry, now in its principle sure to radicalise it a little.

The Tories are confounded.

Col. Butler¹ applied for a Lieuty. in the Navy for his son, else he *would not vote* with the Ministry. His son is passed only one year. The Ministry *could not* possibly make him a Lieut.

Therefore Colonel Butler stayed away from the division.
Oh shame, shame !

Yours ever, and in great glee,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 18th May, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am glad to tell you that the Ministry never appeared more secure. The defeat on Ackland's motion was indeed a triumph. We had (I speak not of myself) all the best of the debate. And when it is recollected that the Tories *artfully* mustered for the dinner to Peel, their not being able, after all, and with the greatest *whipping*, to produce within nineteen of us, it shews that they cannot possibly *govern the country*. Recollect *that* is the hitch. THEY cannot possibly govern with this Parliament, and there is no possibility of a dissolution. The Queen is decidedly with us, and the movements in Belgium, or rather towards Belgium,² give to the Queen's uncle³ so deep a personal interest in the continuation of the present Ministry, and above all in the exclusion of the Tories, that her Ministry are strong in Court favour.⁴

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ Butler is noticed in vol. i. p. 256.

² A treaty between Belgium and Holland was signed at London some months later.

³ Leopold, Prince of Coburg, elected King of the Belgians.

⁴ The outcry against Melbourne for coalescing with O'Connell reached its height this year. But all must now admit that, had not Melbourne been Prime Minister through O'Connell's help, he would never have had the opportunity of imparting to his

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 3rd June, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You tell me that the Grocers retailing spirits are angry with me under an impression that I withheld my assistance from them. Be it so. I cannot help them. There never yet were men more unjust, or perhaps more likely to persevere because they are unjust. Now I will tell you the fact, that I never in my life was so anxious, upon any matter of detail, as I was, and am, upon that subject. So far from neglecting them, I actually saw Spring Rice three times, and Lord Morpeth⁵ as often, upon the subject, besides *occasional* conversations: *these* were regular appointments. I have done all I could by argument, entreaty, and any influence I could use. I declare to you solemnly that I never took so much trouble as I did with this affair, and that as well out of abhorrence for the manner Lord Morpeth allowed us to be tricked as from conviction of the injustice done the Grocers. Rice is with us, Morpeth against us, upon the report of the Poor Law Commissioners and volumes of cant from other quarters. Notwithstanding the shameful *disregard* of my efforts by the Grocers, I will continue my efforts to the last. If I had no better motive than my regard for FitzPatrick⁶ I would be active. It is true I could not see the deputation as often as they wished, but I repeat I never was so hearty in any cause as in theirs. I have also incurred the blame of many friends of mine amongst the members for my zeal for the Grocers. Thus the

royal mistress that instruction in the exercise of her onerous functions which have since borne such fine fruit; and it is undeniable that he discharged this task with a tact and a conscientious care that not only earned the gratitude of the pupil, but elicited approval from his political opponents.

⁵ The Chief Secretary for Ireland, afterwards Earl of Carlisle.

⁶ Of Dame Street, Dublin, grocer, one of O'Connell's sureties in 1831. As a public man he had his uses; but in private life he was an irre-

pressible bore—fussy and unpolished—widely different from the genial anecdotist, P. V. FitzPatrick, to whom he was not related. O'Connell, when jaded, would often have 'P. V.' to rouse him. Mr. Sinnott—now a corporate officer—was well known to O'Connell. One day he said, 'Go to FitzPatrick, and make him come to dinner.' Away sped the envoy, only to summon the wrong man; but O'Connell, in rising to receive the unlooked-for guest, suffered his face to betray no shadow of discomposure.

world goes, and these things would soon drive me from politics, but that every day convinces me *we must repeal*. There is nothing else for it; everything else is trifling and childish. I will not ask anything for any son of mine. I hate the idea—God forgive me!—but I am heartsore at many disappointments. Yet I *live for the Repeal*. The enmity to the Union was my first effort, it will be my last; and, idle as it may seem, I *do* hope for success.

I have written to Ray about the new franchise proposed by Peel. The newspapers give no idea of the battle I made. No matter, agitation is absolutely necessary. I have been promised assistance from the Liberals of Liverpool. My letter to Ray explains the Peel project in all its details.

Believe me always yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I see by the tone of your letters that my heyday of popularity is gone by, blessed be God!

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Confidential.)

London: 15th June, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write one line that you may know facts.

1st. Lord Cloncurry wrote no letter intimating that I had asked or sought for the office of Chief Baron. I saw him on the subject.

2d. If he had, it would be to the last degree untrue.

3d. Woulfe has, I learn, stated to the Government that he waived all claim of his in my favour. This was generous.⁷

⁷ Stephen Woulfe became Chief Baron in the following month. In the struggle for Emancipation he had taken the side of the Vetoists, and O'Connell did all he could to break down his influence. At a meeting of Catholics Woulfe delivered a

powerful speech in support of the Veto, to which O'Connell replied, and told his audience the story of the sheep that were advised by the chief wolf to get rid of the watching dogs. He said the leading *wolf* came forward and persuaded the sheep to

4th. I believe that office, or that of Master of the Rolls, will be offered to me to-morrow, when Lord Mulgrave returns from Windsor, where he has been during the week.

5th. My friends may (but most confidentially) know that I do not intend to accept any office whilst Ireland is so totally unredressed. I nail my colours to my country's mast.

6th. Perhaps the conviction of my refusing may prevent a direct offer. *The indirect one has been already made.*

Take care that not an inkling of all this gets into the newspapers.

I am, perhaps, a fool, but I have not the heart to desert Ireland—Ireland that never yet had a steady friend.

Whatever I do, be assured, be assured I never can express sufficiently my sense of your invaluable services. If my gratitude and affectionate friendship can cheer you, be joyful, for you possess and deserve both.—Ever, my excellent friend,

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

My heart is sad at the sacrifice I now make. If *SHE*⁸ was alive I should have my reward and my consolation, but *her* memory casts a protection about me which will prevent me from abandoning my struggles for Ireland save with my life.

O'Connell, after he had declined office in 1838, said in

give up their dogs. They obeyed him and were instantly devoured, and he warned the Catholics of Ireland to avoid the fate of the sheep and not to follow the advice of a *Woulfe*. This pleasantry proved a complete discomfiture. 'Here,' said Woulfe, as he turned to Dean Coll, 'here have I made an oration that I had been elaborating for three weeks before,

and this man entirely demolishes the effect of it by a pun upon my name.' Nevertheless he was promptly promoted, and received lucrative posts even anterior to Emancipation. As Chief Baron his career was sadly short.

⁸ His late wife, who died during the previous November.

the hearing of Lord Houghton, and in a tone of much pathos, that he feared his desire to do justice to his political opponents might have made him unjust to his friends.

'It was stated in *The Times*,' said Earl Russell in a letter to the *Daily News*, 'that the Government of Lord Melbourne never offered a seat of a Judge in the Court of Equity to Mr. O'Connell. In June 1843 I stated in the House of Commons, "The fact is that the late Government offered that gentleman the office of Master of the Rolls, which Sir Michael O'Loughlen was about to vacate for that of Chief Baron." The statement made by me in 1843 has been lately referred to in a letter to *The Times*, but no notice has been taken of it.' The following letters throw much light upon this point:—

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London : 18th June, 38.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The die is cast. *I have refused office.* Lord Mulgrave sent for me yesterday to state the vacancy in the Exchequer, and to hear my wishes on the subject. I easily shewed that I ought not to accept the judging of tithe causes. He then stated that he believed it would not be difficult to make an arrangement to offer me 'the Rolls,' and in fact he offered it. You know that, if I took anything, it would be the Rolls. But I could not bring myself to accept it. My heart is heavy, but *I have made this sacrifice.* Nothing could exceed the handsome manner in which Lord Mulgrave treated me.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

London : 28th July, 1838.

My dear Barrett,—I beg of you to apologise to my constituents for the non-appearance on Monday of my second letter on the subject of the *alterations*—falsely styled *amendments*—in the Municipal Reform Bill.

I have been so busily engaged at Canterbury and else-

where since I sent off my first letter that I have not had time to compose the second.

For the present I will content myself with calling the attention of the Irish people to the insulting mockery of Corporate reform offered to Ireland by Lord Lyndhurst and the Duke of Wellington. The former has, by his decision in the great case of *Small and Attwood*—a decision most properly reversed—demonstrated to the profession of the law, and the public in general, that he has a mind so constituted as to be utterly incapable of appreciating what is right and just. Nature has made him unconsciously fit to be the tool of our meanly cunning and baneful Orange faction. Such he is, and such he ever shall be.

As to the Duke of Wellington, the malignant perseverance of his hatred of the people of his native land might astonish any person who was ignorant of the manner in which the ascendancy folk of his youth were educated—I should rather say brought up—at the time he grew from a Castle page into manhood. The bitter hate and insolent contempt of the natives of Ireland were the leading sentiments instilled into their minds from their childhood. The Duke of Wellington has risen into much fame, and greater fortune, but he preserves all the raciness and vigour of his anti-national and anti-Irish feeling with as keen a gusto as if he were still a page at the Castle to a Northumberland or a Haddington, or to some other bigot Lord Lieutenant. He cannot help it; he is, perhaps, the only ‘great man’ the world ever saw who had not one single trait of patriotism, and never exhibited one generous or noble sentiment either in expression or in deed.

My just resentment to the insulting *duo* has taken me away from the ‘alterations’ themselves. I will, by Monday’s post, send you a detail of their insolent malignity. Take a few hurried remarks.

By the 4th clause—a new clause introduced by Lord Lyndhurst—the Dublin fictitious freemen⁹ are to be continued in the exercise of their parliamentary franchise for ever.

⁹ See note to letter of August 5, 1839.

At present *they* acquire the franchise by unjust collusion with the Common Council and Aldermen ; hereafter they are to have the franchise in despite of the Council and Aldermen. The clause is perfect in its injustice.

Another clause continues to the present Corporators the execution of all 'charities.' Now, supplying the inhabitants of a town with water is, in point of law, a 'charity.' Everybody, therefore, will see at once that there is a device—an ingenious device—to keep the pipe-water revenue in the hands of the present Corporators. They have been, it is true, convicted by the Court of Chancery, and that conviction affirmed by the House of Lords, simply of misapplying some £75,000 of that revenue. No matter ; they are the 'properest' men to continue the mismanagement, so have sworn Lord Lyndhurst and the 'fortunate' Duke.

Yours, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Morpeth,¹ afterwards Earl of Carlisle.

16 Pall Mall : 6th August, 1838.

My Lord,—Permit me to refresh your recollection as to the claims of my friend and relative ——.² He is the gentleman on whose behalf Lord John Russell wrote to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant about three years ago, in consequence of his having been deprived of the office of Collector of Barony Cess, for his active services in the Liberal cause in Kerry. It seems to me that he is perfectly qualified for the office of Assistant Commissioner under the Poor Laws, and he *certainly* is the only man for whom I should ask a similar situation. I intend to write to the Marquis of Normanby on the same subject, and venture to hope for your Lordship's kind assistance.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ Chief Secretary for Ireland.

² Name omitted by desire.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 11th August, 1838.

I have arranged to get Mass from the Rev. Mr. Whelan at seven to-morrow morning, so as to go to Birmingham in the half after nine train.

Blessed be Heaven that the Session is over, and that we have a respite from the enemy and good government for another year !

In the course of the summer and autumn of 1838 O'Connell, having given the Whigs, as he said, a fair trial, made strenuous efforts to revive the agitation in Ireland, and with that purpose established the ' Precursor Society,' to which reference is made in the following.

To Archbishop MacHale.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey : 6th September, 1838.

My venerated Lord,—I feel the deepest anxiety that my present plan of agitation should meet favour in your eyes, because that would show that an intellect of the first order concurred with my humble judgment.

That judgment induces me to mark that we have arrived at a period in which we may attain all we politically desire, or, at least, much of it, if we take the proper means of achieving our objects.

The aspect of public affairs is such as seems propitious to our pressing our claims. The unfortunate state of the crop will produce a winter and spring in England in which the working class will suffer much, and their political discontent already exhibits itself in a shape which may become truly formidable when aggravated by personal distress and individual misery such as a scanty crop is sure to produce.

There is also much brooding discontent on the Continent ; much more, I believe, than is usually suspected. Some Prussian regiments the other day cried out for a constitution. It is true the soldiers were drunk, but drunkenness is, to a proverb, *sincere*.

But, confining myself to the British Empire, the poorer classes are all disgusted and irritated at the limited franchise conceded by the Reform Bill, and amidst these clamours is our time to press claims founded on eternal justice. I may be greatly mistaken, but I do think that an additional bonus of 15 or even 25 per cent. to the landed interest would bring them over to separate the rent charge from the church, *not of the people*, and have them easily to consent to appropriate the remaining 50 per cent. to purposes of real and public utility. I do believe that steady and universal exertion would free us from the incubus of the State-paid Church, and obtain for us all we desire besides.

If, indeed, these things—I mean disconnexion of the State from the Church and real corporate reform—were achieved, we should then have ninety-nine out of every hundred of the Irish of every persuasion friendly to a domestic Parliament. If Connaught aids us with the efficiency which your Grace can put in motion if you deem it right, we will have such an overwhelming majority of the Irish nation with us that the Lord Lieutenant may go on to preach patience to the winds. The time for impatience has arrived. I think your province has given strong symptoms of the prevalence of a similar opinion much earlier and, perhaps, more correctly formed; but if you now, my Lord, think we ought to be aided, I would venture to promise complete success to this agitation. Perhaps the fate of Ireland depends on your decision. Thousands of ‘Precursors,’ headed by the dreaded name of ‘John of Tuam,’ would make an impression just now beyond any ever before made by a numerical force. I will await your Grace’s reply with no small impatience. You will have seen in the *Pilot* my *first* letter with its objects in detail.

How delighted I shall be if you think it right to enrol yourself as a ‘Precursor;’ but in every case, and always,

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

Sep. 14th, 1838.

My dear Barrett,—I am sorry to see the ‘Precursors’ coming in so slowly.

I have delightful hunting. Yesterday’s was the best I ever saw.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Darrynane Abbey : 4th October, 1838.

My respected Lord,—I wish I could be as sanguine as you are that the people will persevere in that course of agitation without which there is no hope for Ireland. I know to a certainty the Ministry are taking every means in their power to oppose the organisation of the Precursor ‘Society.’ I have been written to menacingly—I may call it so; but their menaces, I need not tell your Grace, I despise. Let them threaten away. There are, indeed, several of the Ministry exceedingly anxious to be out of office, and I have reason to believe that they are seriously thinking of resigning. All of them do not concur in this view, but so many do as to make it highly improbable they should face Parliament again. This, of course, I say in the strictest confidence, but it is right that you should know the facts. The Tories, when they come in, will do sad work for Ireland, but we must do all we can to prevent them. The only comfort I have is, that we have assisted the Whigs as long as there was any, even the slightest, prospect of their obtaining for Ireland any one advantage. Nor did we desert them until their incompetency to do us good almost equalled their unwillingness to exert themselves for us. It is, indeed, a dismal prospect to have the insolent Tories again in power, but the fault is not ours. My present anxiety is to have our organisation completed during the reign of the present Ministers. It is that which takes me up to Dublin in November. The four principles of our new agitation are—1st, complete corporate reform; 2nd, extension of the suffrage; 3rd, total extinction of compulsory Church support; and 4th, adequate representation in

Parliament. These seem to me to constitute the proper basis of future agitation. On these, I think, we should organise for that contest which is now inevitable. When the Tories return to power they, of course, will again endeavour to establish the ascendancy of the Protestant clergy and aristocracy. It seems to me that it would be highly useful, or, at least, that it is the prudent course, to have our organisation as perfect as we well can before the enemy assumes the reins of Government. I entreat the consideration of your Grace to these topics, as this is the best plan for *future* agitation, or can you assist me with any other? Connaught will naturally go with your Grace. If you approve of my project, we shall have from the West 'abundant' precursors. I fear much for the result unless I can procure your aid, depending, as that aid must, on your deliberate and powerful judgment. I see a mistake committed by several speakers at the great Tithe meetings. It is in seeking for the repeal of the Tithe Bill of last Session, without repealing at the same time Lord Stanley's Tithe Bill, the first which removed the payment of the tithe composition from the tenants to the landlords.

It is astonishing how rapidly Stanley's Act was prospering. It had come into operation in no less than one-half of the tithe compositions in Ireland. By a Parliamentary return it appears that more than one-half of the tithe composition had become payable by the landlords in the short time since Lord Stanley's Act was passed, that is, in about four years. The transition was going on rapidly, and one landlord after another was submitting. The new Act has completed the transition, with a loss to the parsons of one-fourth of the entire.

Our business is to look to the appropriation of that which remains, not the miserable appropriation which the Government promised, and which would operate only after existing leases had dropped, but an appropriation *immediate* and *universal*.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Walter Savage Landor.

Darrynane Abbey : 4th October, 1838.

Sir,—You wrong me much in supposing that I do not know you. ‘Not to know *you* were to bespeak myself unknown.’ Little do you imagine how many persons besides myself have been delighted with the poetic imaginings which inspired these lines on one of the wonders of my infancy—the varying sounds emitted by marine shells—

Pleased, they remember their august abodes,
And murmur, as the ocean murmurs there.

Would that I had you here, to show you ‘their august abode’ in its most awful beauty. I could show you at noon-tide—when the stern south-wester had blown long and rudely—the mountain waves coming in from the illimitable ocean in majestic succession, expending their gigantic force, and throwing up stupendous masses of foam, against the more gigantic mountain cliffs that fence not only this my native spot, but form that eternal barrier which prevents the wild Atlantic from submerging the cultivated plains and high-steepled villages of proud Britain herself; or, were you with me amidst the Alpine scenery that surrounds my humble abode, listening to the eternal roar of mountain torrent as it bounds through rocky defiles, I would venture to tell you how I was born within the sound of the everlasting waves, and how my dreamy boyhood dwelt upon imaginary intercourse with those who are dead of yore, and fed its fond fancies upon the ancient and long-faded glories of that land which preserved literature and Christianity when the rest of now civilised Europe was shrouded in the darkness of godless ignorance. Yes! my expanding spirit delighted in these day-dreams, till, catching from them an enthusiasm which no disappointment can embitter nor accumulating years diminish, I formed the high resolve to leave my native land better after my death than I found her at my birth, and, if possible, to make her what she ought to be—

Great, glorious, and free,
First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea.

Perhaps, if I could show you the calm and exquisite beauty of these capacious bays and mountain promontories, softened in the pale moonlight which shines this lovely evening, when all which during the day was grand and terrific has become calm and serene in the silent tranquillity of the night—perhaps you would admit that the man who has been so often called a ferocious demagogue is, in truth, a gentle lover of Nature, an enthusiast of all her beauties, fond of each gentle and each dreary scene, and catching, from the loveliness as well as the dreariness of the ocean and Alpine scenes around, a greater ardour to promote the good of man, in his overwhelming admiration of the mighty works of God.

O'Connell regarded his country friends as the nerves and ligaments of the political body. Robert Curtis of Waterford gave good help in his time.

*To Robert Curtis.*³

Darrynane Abbey : 9th Oct. 1838.

My dear Sir,—I thank you very much for your kind letter. I am truly anxious to set the Precursor Society into full effect, and I would go to Waterford or anywhere else to do so, but I acknowledge that I should feel a bitter pang at not stopping at my long-esteemed friend, Father Sheahan's. I am most sincerely obliged to you for your kind invitation, and, under other circumstances, would be proud to avail myself of it, but I could not go to Waterford without a previous request in the shape of a requisition or something of that kind, and if such a thing be not deemed advisable it would be better for me not to go. Besides, I would not go there unless the Bishop was consulted, and unless his opinion was favourable to the measure; it is, therefore, better not to think of it. But this should not prevent the organisation of the Precursor Society; that I

³ Mr. Curtis was the descendant of a Cromwellian settler, and is now represented by his son Stephen

Curtis, Esq., Q.C., and his grandson Fr. Curtis, S.J.

take to be a matter of the most pressing necessity. Pray look to it.

As to my old friend Mr. Sheehan,⁴ I solemnly assure you I never gave him intentionally the least offence. He was told that I had spoken slightingly of him. It was totally untrue; I never spoke of him but with unfeigned respect. I therefore cannot help his anger to me, though I very much regret it.

Believe me to be,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To James Roche,⁵ Cork.

Darrynane Abbey: 19 October, 1838.

My dear Sir,—I shall be glad to assist in every mode in my power the objects you have in view, namely, the carrying into practical effect the report of the Education Committee of the last Session.

I hope the meeting you propose to hold will not limit its efforts to speech-making and passing resolutions, but that you will go on to practical purposes and appoint a working committee, or some body of that kind, to keep up and continue that salutary 'agitation' without which no measure of great public utility was ever achieved. I do implore of you to set about this great object as men of business habits; and if my humble assistance be deemed acceptable, I am ready to devote my best energies for the purpose—the plan of Provincial Colleges, in conjunction with, and subordinate to, a National University.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁴ Rev. J. Sheehan, an influential priest, who had worked shoulder to shoulder with O'Connell in the struggle for Catholic Emancipation. The difference was soon adjusted. By a letter of O'Connell's, dated October 17, 1840, it appears that he

accepted Mr. Sheehan's invitation to remain under his roof.

⁵ A banker; author of *The Essays of an Octogenarian*, and styled the Roscoe of Cork. Died April 1, 1853, æt. 82.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 23d October, 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Above you have the cheque you require, and you find enclosed the bill on FitzSimon. So far all is arranged. I have spent some unhappy time between the receipt of your letter of September and that which I got yesterday. Your former letter was more out of spirits than any I have ever got from you. In general you lean to the sanguine side, and as you then appeared in some despondency you easily affected me with that malady. Besides, I was assailed at every turn and defended with zeal or spirit by nobody save the *Newry Examiner*, a paper to which I really am more indebted than to any other in Ireland.⁶ But the tables have turned, and Sharman Crawford has written himself *into trouble*.⁷ Whilst my defenders are multiplying I have as yet received only four invitations—one to Kanturk, one to Youghal, the great Tipperary, and one to Galway. Of course I will attend them all.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To the Bishop of Galway.*⁸

Darrynane Abbey : 23rd Oct. 1838.

My esteemed Lord,—I am indeed anxious to accept the honour intended me in Galway, but it is not at present in my power to name the day.

We are come to a most important crisis. Our friends

⁶ Edited by Mr. Thomas O'Hagan, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland with a peerage.

⁷ O'Connell had long relinquished the large emoluments of his profession, and was obliged to depend very much on 'the Tribute,' which this year threatened to flag. Sharman Crawford, an influential Ulster patriot, had addressed several letters to O'Connell, caustically impugning his policy on various questions, including Repeal, and specially condemning him for having opposed a

legal provision for the Irish poor. (See note to letter of April 1, 1836.)

⁸ This letter, which I transcribed from the *Dublin Evening Post* of the day, is there distinctly stated as having been addressed to the Right Rev. Dr. Browne, Bishop of Galway. In Miss Cusack's *O'Connell* it is said to have been written to Dr. MacHale. This I believe to be an error; Galway is not in the diocese of Dr. MacHale. Dr. Browne was afterwards translated to the see of Elphin. O'Connell called him the 'Dove.'

are not powerful enough to serve us effectually, our enemies are so powerful as to be able to stop all salutary legislation on our behalf. What are we, therefore, to rely on? Only on our own exertions. We have conquered greater difficulties already, and we will be able to conquer more that remain. If the spirit of unanimous exertions be once roused we cannot fail. I have the happiness to know that the North of Ireland will come forward in its strength and intelligence, and I do hope that the other parts of Ireland will evince that their former patriotic ardour is capable of being reanimated, and of producing the most useful effects.

Ireland—blessed be heaven!—is able to work out her own destinies; she will not allow herself any longer to be trampled on by the fell demon of Orange tyranny. That bigot faction seeks a restoration to power, which would fill the land with affright and the people with almost insufferable oppression. The Tory party in England is identified with Orangeism in Ireland, and is ready to indulge that hated and hateful faction in the renewal of all the scenes of domination, peculation, and blood in which that foul faction so long indulged itself with impunity. We have, believe me, my esteemed Lord, but one way to escape the renewal of Orange tyranny, and that is to organise the people of Ireland into peaceable, legal and constitutional combination. It seems to me that the Precursor Society affords us the best opportunity of forming that combination.

I have, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Nicholas Maher, Turtulla.

Darrynane Abbey: 23rd October, 1838.

My dear Maher,— . . . We have much reason to blame the Ministry for not purchasing popularity by adopting the Ballot⁹ as a Ministerial measure, and also for not swamp-
ing the Tories in the House of Lords with Whig peers.

⁹ A provincial print, in reporting a local orator at this time, made some strange misprints, including 'Tri-

angular parliaments,' 'vote by bullet,' and 'universal suffering.

Let us look to the means we have and the resources we can resort to, in order to attain political equality. I believe all consists in our own exertions—in the combined efforts of Irishmen themselves. It is quite true that our gracious and beloved Queen not only is free from any prejudices against her Irish subjects, but is actually and sincerely friendly to the rights and liberties of the Irish people. I do verily believe that she has the noble ambition of making her reign celebrated by the pure and perfect pacification of Ireland. We never had a Sovereign before her present Majesty who was not an actual enemy to the Irish people; the change is propitious, and should be cherished. There is also another advantage: the present Ministry are desirous to serve Ireland, and would certainly do us some justice if they could. But neither the Ministry, nor even the Queen, can procure for us the legislative relief we want.

What, then, are we to do? Why, to rouse the people—all the people of Ireland—into one simultaneous and combined movement, until it ceases to be prudent for the Tories to oppose our just claims. Let us agitate, agitate, agitate, as we did before, but with redoubled energy. Let our agitation be peaceful, legal, and constitutional. We will never imitate the insane or dishonest Radicals of England, who, instead of appealing to common sense, declare their reliance on arms; and instead of resorting to reason and justice, talk of swords, rifles, and physical force.

The men who do this are either radically dishonest or incurably foolish. No useful political change can, in the present stage of society, take place through violence or bloodshed. Every outbreak of that kind necessarily increases tyranny, changing what may be hard to bear into a despotism not long to be endured. Moral means, reasoning, peaceable combination, the electricity of public opinion—these are our weapons, these are the instruments with which we have already won one great fight, and with which we will, please God, achieve a greater victory still. Our efforts are consistent with humanity, sound order and

religion ; our maxim is that true liberty can have no solid or permanent basis save religion ; whilst we have conscience free we assist the ameliorating influences of our common Christianity, and devote our exertions in favour of human freedom to the protection and guidance of Christian charity, for we know ' the greatest of all is charity.'

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Wm. Roche, M.P.

Darrynane Abbey : 25th October, 1838.

My dear Sir,— . . . Let it once be decided that the united Parliament sympathise with the Peel and Wellington policy of treating the Irish as a degraded and inferior people, and that people will adopt measures to revive their own legislature. We cannot, and we will not, submit to this degradation or inferiority. Our resources of resistance are in ourselves alone. We have indeed the means of success in our power, but they consist in our own combination and exertion ; we must combine to the number of millions, else there is no prospect of success. Bigotry, dull and malignant, is ranged against us in the shape of the Tory faction, and unless Ireland bestirs herself from ' the centre all around to the sea,' we shall be discomfited and despised.

I perceive with delight that the absolute necessity of self-exertion is beginning to be appreciated by everybody. It would be idle to expect effectual succour either from the Throne or the Ministry whilst the Tory faction is predominant in the Lords and powerful in the Commons. We must look for success only from the magnitude and perseverance of our own exertions. We have already won the first battle on this plan, and we want the crowning victory. Two millions of 'Precursors' are necessary to gain that victory, and if I can get them, success will be of easy attainment. . . .

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 28th Oct. 1838.

My dear FitzPatrick,—See Peter Purcell at once and tell him I have conceded to him everything I could concede—everything, in short, save ‘principle.’ Now the name of the society involves ‘principle’ without clashing with any. ‘The Precursors’ may precede justice to Ireland from the United Parliament and the consequent dispensing with Repeal agitation. It may precede Repeal agitation—and will, shall, and must precede Repeal agitation if justice be refused.

I cannot abandon the name, which is the best in the world, because it signifies what each of us means.¹

I have reserved the name ‘National Association’ for the agitation of the Repeal. That alone can be called a ‘National Association’ which seeks to make Ireland a nation again. The other may be United or Imperial, or anything else, but it would be a practical blunder to call that National whose efforts may induce us to acquiesce in being merely a province.

It is therefore vain to struggle with me on this point. I have conceded all I could concede, and it is really not fair or reasonable to ask me for more. Let it be asked as often as it may please anybody, I cannot concede it, and I now prefer making my effort with diminished numbers to the abuse of the name ‘National.’ Fie upon it! our present struggle is not national; it is only ‘precursor’ of nationality, or of continued provincialism.

I will publish my own book;² publish therefore Stuart’s, if you choose. The more shapes the facts are put in the better.

Yours, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O’CONNELL.

¹ Peter Purcell felt that the name ‘Precursor Society’ for a National League was one full of ambiguity. The final relations between O’Con-

nell and Purcell appear in the letters of Jan. 7, 1839, and Dec. 7, 1840.

² *Ireland and the Irish: a Memoir of Ireland, Native and Saxon.*

‘The Loyal National Repeal Association’ was the title under which that body became finally known.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 30th Oct. 1838.

I cannot but smile at the lack of wisdom there is in the Government folk not to be content with what they have got in the constitution of the Precursor Society, without dragging us through the mire by taking away *even our name*; but I have written enough on this subject, and I only am the more convinced that I was right from what has since occurred.

I hope to have roused a ‘pretty considerable’ agitation by my arrival on the morning of the 21st in Dublin. Will you take the trouble to give these directions more distinctly than I have written them?

DANIEL O’CONNELL.

To John Maher, M.P., Wexford.

Yo ghal: 12th Novr. 1838.

My dear Maher,—Your letters have been chasing me throughout the province of Munster. . . .

The sensible men of Wexford must feel with me that we are arrived at a great crisis. English Toryism, the compound of bigotry and tyranny, is rampant in its virulent hostility to Ireland. The peers, under the guidance of the despotic Wellington, the unprincipled Brougham, and the despicable Lyndhurst, threaten to restore the Orange reign of injustice and sanguinary oppression in Ireland. We have, it is true, some sympathy from the National portion—much the smaller portion of English Radicals. Our great resource, however—perhaps our only resource—is in ourselves. We should act as if we were convinced that our only chance of preserving what we have already obtained, and of procuring further advantages for Ireland, consists in our own courage and activity. Let the men of Wexford then be up and stirring, not in any fight of blood nor in any illegal combination, but in the peaceful but determined energy of a loyal and

constitutional association. If we do not go forward we shall go back, and lose what we have heretofore won. . . .

With many thanks for your personal kindness, I am,
my dear Maher, your friend

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

Galway: 19th Nov. 1838.

My dear Friend,—You will be surprised, I think pleased, to hear that Doctor MacHale has come here³ to *honour me*. On politics he is *now* heartily with me. We travel together to-morrow to Mount Bellew.

There is but one inconvenience can arise. Something may be said at this dinner *adverse*⁴ to Dr. Murray. I need not tell you that if it be, it will be done without my consent, and directly contrary to my wishes. But the question, what am I to do? I can not stop anybody, but, above all, an Archbishop, in making a speech. If it were a meeting to pass resolutions I would have some control, but at a dinner meeting there is no possibility of checking a speaker, and of course there ought to be no responsibility, save of the speaker himself.

I think you had better see the Rev. Mr. Miley⁵—I mean the gentleman who wrote so beautiful and so kind a defence of me in the public papers—and explain to him my position. Above all things, let him know that I would rather cut off my right arm than shew any disrespect to Dr. Murray,⁶ a prelate who, above all living men, I venerate.

³ O'Connell was now the guest of Bishop Browne.

⁴ Some painfully caustic letters had been addressed, through the newspapers, by Archbishop MacHale to his episcopal brother, Dr. Murray of Dublin. On certain politico-religious questions—notably National Education and the Catholic Bequest Bill—these prelates differed. O'Connell was grieved to witness the disagreement.

⁵ This was the origin of that

rapturous devotion to O'Connell which Dr. Miley's after life displayed. When the Tribune was sent to prison, Dr. Miley sought to console him by offering up, in his cell, the holy sacrifice of the Mass; he accompanied him to Genoa, administered to the dying Liberator the last rites of the Church, and carried his bones back to Ireland.

⁶ This moderate prelate never co-operated with O'Connell after the year 1829.

I have determined to take no part in the controversy unless *compelled* by duty, which is a case I hope extremely unlikely to arise ; but it never can be my duty to do otherwise than shew my most respectful submission to my own diocesan. Use this discreetly or not at all.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Nothing ever was so triumphant as my entire Mission.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Merrion Square : 15th December, 1838.

My ever-respected Lord,—In the affair of the unfortunate Captain Gleeson⁷ I must, in parliamentary *slang*, report progress, and ask leave to write again. There is, however, no pleasantry in my mind on the subject. The facts have occurred in this order. The day after I arrived in town I had communicated to the Lord Lieutenant that my conviction was that he (Captain Gleeson) was treated with great injustice. In consequence, the documents in the matter were handed over to Mr. Drummond to be prepared to meet me, and to justify the conduct of Government.

I accordingly waited on that gentleman, and found that, though he had the documents in his possession—they were lying on his desk—he had not read them. I, however, availed myself of the opportunity to give him a distinct view of the utter falsity of the principal ground of dismissal—that which alleged a *false* charge of drunkenness against Mr. St. Clair O'Malley. I called, in the strongest terms,

⁷ Captain Gleeson, a stipendiary magistrate, had been cashiered for an irregularity which will appear. A native of Tipperary, he is said to have owed his appointment to Lord Lismore, in acknowledgment of electioneering services rendered to his son, the Hon. Cornelius O'Callaghan, who, in 1832, was returned, with Sheil, as member for the county. After Gleeson had been superseded, he started a newspaper

—the *Mercury*—in Mayo for the special object of abusing the Government. But he had himself no literary talent and was obliged to engage for the purpose a Mr. Campbell, who had been the chief writer for Cavanish (p. 252, *infra*) on the *Mayo Telegraph*. Gleeson lost a large sum by his newspaper, and was glad to accept the post of barrack-master in the West Indies.

for an investigation and trial of the truth or falsehood of that allegation.

I mentioned that Captain Gleeson stated that he had more than ten witnesses to support his assertion. I believe I made some impression. I certainly did all I could to make it.

I was promised a speedy communication. A great deal was said of Lord Morpeth's being the patron of Mr. Gleeson, and of his being satisfied with the decision; but all this is trash. I have since had no further communication from Mr. Drummond, but immediately on receipt of your letter I wrote to him again, pressing the case for investigation or trial.

I went again pretty fully into my views of it, and I deemed it right to send him privately, and under another cover, your letter to me, in order to show him how deep an interest was taken in the injustice done to poor Gleeson.

I have had as yet no answer, nor can I *press* for one before Wednesday next, on which day I will see Lord Morpeth; and I have a right to a reply, which I will of course insist upon. I never felt a deeper interest for any man than I do for him, independent of my most unaffected anxiety to satisfy your Grace on the subject.

There is a strong rumour, or at least a suspicion, that the Whigs are to get Tory accession—perhaps that of the Duke of Wellington. At all events, Lord Fingall, who is in attendance on the Queen, writes that Lord Melbourne is perfectly satisfied that no change of Administration will take place during the ensuing Session. We shall see. But, in any event, Ireland has no resource save in self-exertion.

Three of the provinces are showing their conviction of the truth. Ulster, I think, is foremost.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Merrion Square : 3rd January, 1839.

My ever-respected Lord,—I have read, and return your Grace, Mr. Vigors' letter. I was aware that the Liberals of the Co. Carlow had strongly testified to Captain Gleeson's services ; nay, Mr. Drummond admitted to me that they had certified that he (Captain Gleeson) had prevented much bloodshed. As far as Carlow is concerned, his case cannot be made much stronger. All I can do for him is, to endeavour to prevail on the Government to give him some office in substitution of that which he has been deprived of. I told him the only plan which could assist me with that view—namely, the procuring a memorial most numerous and respectably signed in his favour. I do not know that such memorial will have the desired effect, but I do know that, without it, nothing can be done.

I could obtain an *investigation*—that is, I believe I could—but that there is one decisive fact to warrant the dismissal of this unfortunate gentleman, which is admitted most distinctly by himself, and, indeed, cannot possibly be denied : namely, his publication in the newspapers of the most peremptory contradiction of O'Malley—a species of publication most emphatically prohibited by the printed rules of the service.

How, then, can I talk of investigation when I am met by this plain proposition ? Suppose every other charge disproved, here is one of the gravest admitted, and only palliated by showing the truth of the matter published ; but the publication itself, not its truth or falsehood, is the offence.

It seems to me that there is no reply. I wish I could prevail on your Grace to believe me when I tell you the real situation of the Ministry. In the hope that you will give proper weight to my testimony I repeat it. Some of the Ministry, including Lord John Russell, are anxious to retire with honour : with the exception of Lord Melbourne himself, perhaps there is not one tenacious of office.

There is lately another element. It is the fearful state

of England, which makes it impossible to change the Administration. The Tories could not, and would not—that is, the leading and national Tories, Wellington, Peel, &c.—would not accept office at present. Even if Connaught or all Ireland were to abandon the Ministry, neither the threat nor the fact would have the least influence on any Government measure.

They are sure of gaining three Tories for every Irishman they may lose. There never was anything more hopeless than to attempt to bully them. *I know it from experience.* I have tried it and totally failed. I will never try it again—at least until there is a change in our prospects.

I do not, my respected Lord, presume to interfere with Connaught politics. Connaught has been neglected and vilified by the Railway Commissioners; you have in your last letter shown that it has been almost equally neglected by the Education Commissioners. It was the province from which in the Emancipation struggle we received the least and the last assistance; and now that the rest of Ireland is engaged, more or less, in another movement, with the exception of Galway, Connaught omits to join. This may be all quite right, but me it afflicts with melancholy. That it should rise in an effort for Captain Gleeson would give me great pleasure; because, although I think a struggle with and for Ireland would be more useful as well as more dignified, yet any political exertion is better than torpor or acquiescence. Ireland has never acted together since the close of the Emancipation fight, and she never again will combine in a simultaneous exertion until the happy day shall, if ever it shall, come when it shall be on the eve of another and a greater political victory.

But it is vain to hope for combination from Connaught until your judgment goes with us in our struggles.

It is not by mere neutrality, or even passive countenance, that we can be aided by your Grace. You do not *think* with us, or you would *act* with us. So far from stating this as matter of complaint, I tender my respectful approbation of the line of conduct you pursue, because I am convinced

it is the dictate of a mind of the highest order, and of a heart full of the purest love of country and of religion.

I trust your Grace will pardon me this lengthened trespass. I will conclude by assuring you that I do not deprecate any attack, however violent or powerful, on the present Ministry. I love them not—I respect them little indeed—but I support them to keep out the Tories, and if it shall happen, as events portend, that a Coalition Ministry shall be formed, you will probably have me in direct opposition before the end of the ensuing Session.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Peter Purcell and O'Connell had been fellow-workers in the cause of civil and religious liberty, but at last a coolness arose between them, and Purcell went so far as to impugn the accounts of the Precursor Society, just as he had previously condemned its name.⁷

O'Connell wrote to Purcell requesting that he would meet him and the treasurers at the Corn Exchange Rooms, and all would be explained. Purcell, however, declined an interview, from which he said he could foresee no satisfactory result.

To Peter Purcell.

Corn Exchange Room : 7th Jany. 1839.

Sir,—I beg leave respectfully to differ with you. Your presence here is *due* to *me*, after your publication of this morning. I think I have a distinct right that you should be one of the witnesses of the settlement of the Precursor accounts, so that the public may have the benefit, and that I may have the benefit, of your testimony of the accuracy or inaccuracy of them. I therefore entreat your attendance. I really think that, as an honest man, you are bound to attend.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Purcell declined, as he said, 'to audit the accounts,'

⁷ *Vide* letter of October 25, 1838.

and the old friends continued estranged to the end, though cordial overtures to reconciliation were made by O'Connell, as appears from his letter of December 7, 1840.

*To Wm. Green, Kilmanahan Castle.*⁸

Merrion Square: Jan. 15th, 1839.

My dear Green,—I want words to thank the honest electors of Waterford County for the heart-binding kindness they have shown me by the resolution you have transmitted. I appreciate this resolution, even beyond its great intrinsic value, because I consider it as a proof that the system of division which our envenomed enemies, and our more fatal, because pretended friends, have so long maintained amongst us can no longer be made to submit. All Ireland wanted was a continued combination amongst her people. The means by which her enemies succeeded in maintaining their oppressive and insulting rules were by creating dissension amongst the friends of popular rights. The best symptom in the present time is the failure of every attempt of that description to distract or divide us. In the species of recent attack made upon us, whilst I have to lament a malignant influence which I cannot comprehend, I derive no small consolation from the cheering reaction it has produced. It has, as it were, disclosed the heart of the country and shown me my name written on its inmost core. . . .

Let me thank you, my dear Green, for the terms and spirit of your communication. It is no small consolation to me to have such a co-operator. It also proves that in such men as you Ireland has resources hitherto unknown. I hail your advent amongst us as cheering, not only by the aid we derive from your talents and love of fatherland, but as an illustrious example to the Protestant youth of Ireland how to serve their country. I hope soon to see you in a situation to serve her more efficaciously.

Your very faithful

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁸ Of an old Protestant sept in Wexford. Godfrey Green, gent., of

Kilmanahan, obtained a grant under the Act of Settlement in 1678.

To the Attorney-General.

Merrion Square: 3rd February 1839.

My dear Pigot,—The late Sheriff Veevors⁹ will hand you this letter. You know how often I spoke to you about him. You do not know how often I spoke of him to others.

I am going away, and in my absence I want you, and ask you, my excellent friend, to take his case up, and pledge yourself from me that if he be dealt with *generously*, much, very much, can be done for securing the city. If he be neglected longer I despair.

Yours ever, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 6th February, 39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Your sister¹ arrived safe and well. One of the best female travellers I ever saw, but, I fear, sadly disappointed by the dulness of her travelling companions. I need not add that, if I *could* have shown her more attention, I would. She is a very clever, clear-minded being, and one capable of securing friends on her own account.

I found the state of politics here as dull and Lethean a pool as one would desire to see. The talk of agitation is fudge. The Corn Law meetings portend little, and the ultra-radical rabble still less. The House was exceedingly crowded, but the debate was prosy and dull. The Tories

⁹ Veevors held office in the old Orange Corporation of Dublin, and was previously a leading official in the Kildare Place Schools. Bishop Doyle handles him severely. (See *Life of Bishop Doyle*, vol. i. p. 436.) The *Dublin Evening Post* of August 19, 1837, contains the following, from which it would appear that Veevors during the city election showed to the Liberal candidates a courtesy unusual at that day:—'As the worthy sheriff was impartial he could not expect to escape the abuse of the faction or its organs. If he had

been a fierce partisan in violation of his solemn oath, Sheriff Veevors would have been bespattered with fulsome Orange adulation.'

Neither *Hansard* nor the Corporate Records throw light upon Veevors's 'case.' Pigot doubtless took it up—but quietly. Veevors seems to have claimed a share of the 'compensation' already obtained by Sir A. B. King, and referred to by O'Connell in his letter of July 19, 1832, and the sequel.

¹ Mrs. Eyre.

mustered strong, and there was a good muster of *our* side. I do not know on what point the House could so divide as to separate Whigs from Tories. I think they appear to be as much alike as possible, nor do I see the least chance of there being a change of Ministry. It has been said that we were to have a very animated Session, but, in my humble opinion, it will be as little so as any I ever saw.

With respect to Ireland there is a thorough indifference in both parties. In the Whigs, coldness and apathy; in the Tories, suspended hostility. They equally desire to keep Ireland out of sight, and to let her people continue in, I may call it, hopeless servitude. I am thoroughly convinced that my plan of going back once a fortnight is of the utmost importance. The Duke of Wellington drivelled about Ireland last night. He is not as much broken down as was imagined. Peel is in good health. I believe that the salvation of the cause of useful reform will come from Ireland. In short, my summary is: that it is the policy of the Ministry to get through the Session as quietly as they can; of the Tories, to abide their time, but not to make any violent attempt at power. So let us dabble through. The ultra-radicals are held in contempt, I think, by all parties.

I hope to rouse the torpor of the entire. Something *must* be done for us, or we become worse by mere acquiescence. I owe Brougham *one*, and I intend, if I can, to pay him.

Keep this letter merely to see how far my prophecy of a quiet Session will be verified. In fact, there seems no point of controversy; Canada is compromised as far as Lord Durham is concerned.

The only thing good is the apparent stability of the Ministry.

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To T. M. Ray.

London: 9th February, 1839.

My dear Ray,—You may assure the Precursor Society that I will keep my promise of attending a meeting of that

body about once a fortnight during the session of Parliament.

I am the more confirmed in this determination by everything I see and hear in this country. Their statesmen in and out of office have their minds too occupied with English and foreign affairs to have either leisure or inclination to be troubled with the wants of Ireland or the rights of her people. I solemnly declare my conviction that the senate of Petersburg or the divan of Constantinople would be as ready to attend to the grievances of Ireland as the British House of Commons. There is an utter ignorance of, and indifference to, our sufferings and privations. It is really idle to expect that it could be otherwise! What care they for us, provided we be submissive, pay the taxes, furnish recruits for the Army and Navy, and bless the masters who either despise or oppress or combine both? The apathy that exists respecting Ireland is worse than the national antipathy they bear us. You have seen the speech attributed to Lord Brougham. That publication contains one of the most virulent libels ever uttered against Ireland. As to my own share of the calumny, I freely forgive the noble Lord, as he is called by courtesy. I have, I think, repaid him tolerably well, and would have amused myself with a little more of his history but that the Speaker stopped me; yet I did describe some of his qualities accurately enough. I have another volley in store for him when he attacks me again. I think I can demonstrate that he is the most devoid of principle of any public man that ever exhibited on any political stage. Nay, I doubt whether I have not materials to seek for an impeachment in due form. But I will think of this more deliberately.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: Feb. 11, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I kept my word with you; I paid off Lord Brougham, and even the Speaker's interruption served to give more poignancy and point to the attack. I am told HE has determined to let me alone in future.

The only news here relates to the change in the Ministry. Lord Glenelg was, in fact, shoved out by his colleagues. He was a mere nuisance. The Tories make his resignation a proof of Ministerial weakness. It is no such thing; on the contrary, it shows that they feel their strength, and can afford to throw overboard one of their Cabinet. In his room as a member of the Cabinet we have Lord Morpeth. It is of the utmost use to Ireland that he of all other men should have a seat in the Cabinet. It will throw the management of Irish affairs into his hands, and they could not be in better.

There is no doubt that Lord Normanby succeeds Lord Glenelg as Secretary to the Colonies, an alteration of the utmost value. Lord Normanby will leave Ireland without delay. The question is, who is to be his successor? There are four persons named. The first in rank is the Duke of Sussex, but *that* will not happen; there is no chance of his being Lord-Lieutenant. The second is the Duke of Richmond; *that* would not do at all, and will not, cannot happen. The other two are Lords Radnor and Clarendon. The former is a sincere radical reformer in *Church* and *State*; he was the Lord Folkestone of the Duke of York's trial. He would be an excellent man in every respect, and my own opinion is rather favourable to the probability of his appointment. As to Lord Clarendon,¹ there could not probably be a better man. His opinions are all of the very best and highest excellence. I knew him in Ireland in the time of Lord Anglesey's *first* Government. He knows Ireland well and understands the Orange faction in all its rascality. But he is now in Madrid, and they cannot well afford to wait his return. But for that he would unquestionably be the man. I think Lord Normanby² fortunate

¹ Mr. George William Frederick Villiers, born in 1800, had filled a post in the Irish Customs, and succeeded his uncle as fourth Earl of Clarendon in Dec. 1838. His subsequent career was eminently distinguished. At the date of O'Connell's letter he was British Envoy at Madrid. During the Young Ireland

agitation Lord Clarendon suffered some obloquy for having put arms into the hands of the Orangemen, an incident which drew forth an amusing poem from Samuel Ferguson.

² The popular Viceroy, Lord Mulgrave, had now been promoted to the Marquisate of Normanby.

in leaving Ireland before he involved himself in any quarrel with us. He leaves in the height of his popularity.

I intend to be in Dublin, please God! on Saturday morning next, weather permitting; at all events on Sunday. I will leave again on Monday evening, to be in time for the debate on the Corn Laws.

There has occurred a *hitch* in the appointment to the Bench. The Chancellor has been prevailed on to object, by reason of Maule's being a free liver. What stuff and hypocrisy!

My prophecy of the mildness and dulness of the Session is thus far verified. It may break out into a storm, but I do not as yet see the elements of any such violence. My opinion is that the Tories are hopeless of maintaining themselves in power. Even if they got into office the public discontent would render it extremely dangerous to have the Tories in power. A Tory Administration would soon combine the disaffected of all classes in their resistance to Government.

That unfortunate Feargus O'Connor is desperately ill. He has burst a blood-vessel, and although at first it was not thought much of, it has, I am told, assumed a most alarming state. He can scarcely speak above his breath. Poor unhappy man! I am, after all, sincerely sorry for his premature fate. May the great God be merciful to him!

Very faithfully yours,

D. O'C.

O'Connell's *prognosis* proved completely at fault. He regarded Feargus O'Connor, who had dazzled half England in a march which seemed one continuous triumph, as being at death's door. Feargus had long been a thorn in his side. At first his disciple, and one of those who attended O'Connell's National Council, he soon broke away and tried to lead the Repeal party. In England he became the idol, as he boasted, of millions, and successive constituencies sent him to Parliament. 'His was like the majestic advance of one of Homer's demigods,' writes O'Keeffe, the biographer of O'Connell. Columns of Chartists followed his lead. Banners and even balloons inscribed

'Feargus O'Connor' floated on high. 'But, *sic transit gloria mundi*,' thought O'Connell as the gloomy news of his break-up came. How utterly he was deceived was proved by subsequent events. In 1839, when Feargus was confined for a seditious libel, he, from his cell in York Castle, sent forth his voice with a power which showed that the ruptured blood-vessel had healed, and that O'Connell's prayer for his eternal repose was premature. Feargus, in an appeal to the working-men of Yorkshire, asked whether, if ~~HE~~ ^{HE} were at large, would O'Connell dare to come to Leeds. 'No,' he said, 'a thousand times No!' He ironically urged the Yorkshire Chartist to 'give Dan *his* welcome,' adding, 'I live and reign in the hearts of millions who pant for an opportunity to prove their love, and who will embrace that now presented to show their approbation of my endeavours to serve the cause of universal freedom. I am, my friends, the tyrant's captive, the oppressor's dread, and the people's accepted present—*Feargus O'Connor*.' To oppose the Liberator, 4,000 Chartists marched to Holbeck Moor. Feargus continued for many years to annoy O'Connell, who predeceased him. O'Connor's newspaper, the *Northern Star*, attained a circulation then unparalleled. He passed under triumphal arches; his statue was erected in Nottingham; and, after turning the brains of thousands, his own gave way, and he died in a madhouse.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 13th March, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—This letter will be handed you by a young Circassian who is going over to Ireland, sent by the Minister of Public Instruction of Mahomet Ali, the ruler of Egypt. This young man has been directed to reside with a Miss N——, or a Mrs. N——, at No. 33 Upper Rutland Street, but who she is or what her character is are not known. I write you to take the trouble to ascertain these matters discreetly and confidentially, and also without delay. If this Mrs. N—— be not a suitable person for the youth to reside with, you will, I am sure, easily find a suitable residence for him. The gentleman who accompanies this youth will give you full information as to the station

in life for which the youth is being educated at the expense of his Government.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Merrion Square: 4th April, 1839.

My dear and ever respected Lord,—I am tremblingly alive to the importance of the subject on which I sit down to write to you—one effort more to procure your countenance to the junction of Connaught to the general exertions of the rest of Ireland. Hitherto that province contented itself with great and striking but only occasional efforts to aid the great cause and strike down the common enemy; and it was not until after we had sent G. McDonnell on a *foreign mission* that we obtained any substantial assistance from that province. There were then, as there are now, some excellent reasons for good men to suffer; but now we want union and the assistance of each other more than we did then, when the *English* bigotry was not near as much roused as it is now.

There is at present one ingredient which seems to operate against ‘Precursor’ co-operation from Connaught, and it is this—the condemnation of the National Education scheme by your Grace, which would require parochial contributions for the purposes of education, and, as an *apparent* consequence, the prevention of any part of the funds of any parish being diverted into the ‘Precursor’ *treasury*. On this subject, however, I can say, ‘*Experto crede Roberto.*’ I can give your Grace the result of thirty years and more of experience, and it is this: that once get a parish into a mood of contributing to public purposes, the more such purposes are brought before them the more liberal will be *each aggregate* contribution. So many persons will not give pounds or five shillings, but many more will give one shilling.

It will and has uniformly become a *habit* to contribute, and thus a Precursor subscription would, according to my experience, augment your school contributions.

At least results of this *description* have followed in almost every other instance. The fact is, the great resource, even

for collecting the revenue of the State, is to be found in the multiplication of small sums.

The contributors should individually be solicited to give sums smaller than each could reasonably afford.

The peril of a Tory restoration is very imminent, and every one's opinion is, that upon a new election the Liberal members for Ireland would little exceed forty.

The Tories in England would be greatly augmented. The English people are essentially Tory, and nothing preserves us from actual persecution but the numbers and the moral energy of the Irish people.

It is with this conviction I venture once again to solicit, or at least to suggest, your leading Connaught into the controversy by joining the organisation of our Precursors. We may, and I believe will, have a majority on Lord John's motion, but he will infallibly break up the Administration within twelve months. He is tired and disgusted with office, and would *personally* be glad we were defeated on the ensuing debate. We are arrived at *portentous* times. We are arrived at times in which persecution may again raise its head; and, at all events, there would appear to be no safety save in perfect union amongst ourselves.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 24th April, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—All is going on well with the Government. The effect of the late debate has been excellent.³ It is so manifest that we have had decidedly the best of it. Sheil's speech was admirable, argumentative and brilliant. He is a noble creature.

I am delaying my address to the Irish people until after Sunday, the reason of which delay is not obvious, but is in fact because we are to have a snug dinner of staunch re-

³ On Lord J. Russell's resolution in favour of maintaining the principles which had guided the Ad-

ministration in their government of Ireland of late years. The debate occupied five nights.

formers that day, say about eighteen, to make arrangements for an association or society for further reform. My course will be shaped according to the result. I am determined, if I get five to join me, to make the attempt at associating. In fact, the Ministry cannot remain in power unless some steps be taken to popularise them. I am working every possible engine to persuade them of this truth, and am determined to act my part at all events.

How bitterly do I deplore the publication of the squabble about the paltry £40 received by French! How our enemies chuckle at this miserable quarrel!⁴

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 29th April, 39.

We were in some anxiety lest the Ministry should be defeated on Friday on the Jamaica question, but I have the pleasure to tell you that *all* is quite safe. The saints of the anti-Harvey party all, or at least many of them, vote with us. If this had not been so we should have been in some peril. Blessed be God, the danger is over! I believe Lord Plunket is about to resign (the Seals). Campbell will be his successor, and it is believed that O'Loghlen will get a peerage,⁵ to help to keep Brougham and Lyndhurst in check in the Lords. The idea of a change in the *interior* of the Ministry is, I fancy, abandoned, or at least postponed. But I have strong reason to hope that the reduction of postage to one penny per letter will be adopted by the Ministry, and in that case it will give them the first accession of popularity. It will be a most beneficial measure to the poorer classes.

⁴ The *Dublin Evening Post* of April 20, 1839, contains a letter from Ignatius Callaghan complaining that 'Mr. Arthur French, the treasurer of a meeting held to address Lord Normanby, had not submitted to the public the accounts of the expenses incurred.' The same journal of April 23 supplies a long

statement from French, in which he claims to have 'exposed the fallacy of Callaghan's insinuations and the paltriness of his charge.'

⁵ He never did. A baronetcy came, and was worthily worn by his son, the late Sir Colman O'Loghlen, Judge Advocate-General.

I, with a most numerous deputation of members, go to Lord Melbourne⁶ on Thursday on the Postage question.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 3d May, 39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—We shall be pressed close on the Jamaica Bill. Hume deserts us, of which, I think, Kilkenny has to complain bitterly; but it is now too late. However, we expect a majority. If we do not get it the Ministry will resign. If we get it there will be some changes in the Administration—internal changes I may call them. I thought this was an idle rumour, and, I believe, told you so; but I have recent reasons for believing it quite true. If made, they will be all for the better. I also have reason to believe that we shall carry the Universal Penny Postage. It would be the most popular measure ever adopted. I said a few words on the subject yesterday at Lord Melbourne's, which were very favorably received and pointedly noticed by him. The dinner to Hume went off admirably. The *Morning Chronicle* gives some notion of a most successful speech I made, but which is turned into trash by the *Morning Advertiser* and other papers.

It is hoped that there are to be more peerages, especially in the Legal department.

If the Ministry succeed on the Jamaica question, and carry the penny postage, they will certainly survive this Session, and, in that case, we shall be able to raise a rational reform system and agitation for the next Session. The Chartists will be *hors de combat* by that time, and then we will easily unite a large portion of the middle classes in favour of further reform, and in the effort to push on the Ministry. This is our great hope.

⁶ O'Connell's letters to Lord Melbourne would be interesting, assuming that such letters were written, but that statesman's papers are inaccessible. Thirty years ago it was publicly stated that they had been

left for biographic purposes to Lord Brougham. The present writer having applied to Lord Brougham, was referred to the Right Hon. Edward Ellice.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 7th May, 39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—All is over. The Melbourne Ministry have expired. Lord Normanby is with the Queen, but he cannot make up a valid Administration. To-morrow the Duke of Wellington and the Tories will try. Blessed be God, it is a sad infliction ! Principally to be attributed to Joseph Hume. His conduct encouraged Smith O'Brien and others to revolt. O'Brien, though very ill-conditioned, would not have had the courage to behave so basely as he did if he had not been countenanced by Hume. Then that goose of geese, Brabazon,⁷ put his retreat⁸ specially on the fact of Hume's *speech*. We lost six Irish votes—four by Hume and Smith O'Brien voting *against* instead of *for* us ; two by the absence of Brabazon and Martin of Galway ; four by the two Tories voting *against* instead of *for* us. These ten would have kept the Ministry in.

Regret is vain. The Tories *must* dissolve.

But the blow is too fearful to allow me to do more than announce it to you.

The Whigs are out, but the Tories are not yet *in*.

Always yours sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 9th May, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Peel does not find it so easy to make out his Administration as he expected. He has, in fact, about him a species of double Cabinet—that is, two men for every one place. He will, however, get over the difficulty, but probably to fall into another. At present—past five—the only appointment known is Lord Lyndhurst to be Chancellor.⁹ This is the man who called us *aliens*, and

⁷ It must not be assumed that O'Connell's allusion was to Lord Brabazon, who represented Dublin County. He refers to Sir William Brabazon, Bart., M.P. for Mayo, who, after a career of some eccentricity,

died in 1840. The baronetcy is now extinct.

⁸ Backsliding.

⁹ See note prefixed to letter of May 16, 1836.

spoiled our Corporation Bill last year; in short, one of the greatest enemies Ireland has.

The list of Ministers in *The Times* is pure conjecture. Many probable guesses, that is all.

It is now believed that we are not to have a dissolution till after the Session is over. I have this fact from good authority—that is, from a person who would not deceive, and who *ought* to know.

I will give you another *bulletin* to-morrow.

There are symptoms of the commencement of a Reform Association. In a day or two these will probably ripen into activity. I am incessant in my endeavours to make men act together. I see reasons to hope that Peel's Ministry will not last.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 10th May, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Hurrah for the darling little Queen! Peel is out; Melbourne is in again. This I have from a source of undoubted credit. The scoundrel Tories insisted on her parting with all her Court.¹

She has shown great firmness and excellent heart. The best of her race, the country will respond to her call. The dispute with Peel commenced yesterday. Last night the old Cabinet sat from ten till one. Lord Melbourne was with Her Majesty two hours this morning, and his Cabinet sat again this day at half after two. They are just risen, and I have it for certain that all is right. I am just going to a confidential meeting, and can, of course, give you no further details of what has passed. You will laugh at the gratification to my vanity in some persons supposing that my letter had some influence; but that is idle.

Of course I will write to you to-morrow again. For the present, *all is well*.

Yours sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ This incident was known as 'the Bedchamber difficulty,' and is described by Greville, vol. i. pp. 201–

206 (*Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria*).

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 11th May, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—This has been a most interesting and exciting day. The formal decision of the Ministry was to be known this day. Without doing something they could not expect the support of the Radicals. I have the happiness to tell you that, after five hours' debate, the Cabinet have determined to continue in office, conceding the principle of progression as contrasted with finality. They intend to adjourn for a fortnight from Monday to make all arrangements of detail. Peel and his party are totally flung overboard. The ballot is to be made an open question, and amelioration in the Registry Acts is to be introduced into the Cabinet, so as practically to extend the franchise. The franchise itself in the counties will be put by the Ministerial Bill on the tenure of house and land at ten pounds a year as the least *bona-fide* rent, not clear value over rent, but of that value, £10 or upwards annually, as in cities. The rate-paying clauses also will be modified or abolished. If the Lords throw these bills out we will have the Queen and the country with us. The Queen has behaved nobly. To her we are indebted for our safety. May God bless her! Peel was for allowing her some of her ladies, but the Duke of Wellington insisted on turning out the entire corps. The Queen had a ball last night. She was in great gaiety and good humour, remarkably civil to all the Liberals, the reverse to the Tories.

The Tories are in the greatest rage. All Lefroy² was offered was a baronetcy, and it was distinctly stated that [Colonel] Perceval, &c., were not to embarrass the new Government by insisting on office in Ireland. Perceval³ was

² Thomas Langlois Lefroy, afterwards Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. He survived until May 4, 1869, aged ninety-three, and never got a baronetcy.

³ Old politicians will remember three prominent members—Colonels Verner, Sibthorpe, and Perceval. Two of the trio looked as if they

had never need to shave, the third colonel was all beard—a most unusual display in days which knew not a full-bearded Premier, as now. All three having opposed a small grant to Maynooth College as 'subversive of morality,' O'Connell called them 'the Church militant of the House,' and raised a peal of laughter

told he might be Governor of Trinidad, where it is clear he would kill himself in three months drinking *Sangaree*, a favourite beverage in the West Indies. In short, the mere approach to office has created one hundred divisions in their party. Every man who was not promised something is a declared enemy! More bad luck to the vagabonds! You cannot conceive how I seem to tread on air after the dismay for three days of suffering all the horrors of Tory rule! The *Globe*, of course, states there was a meeting of Reformers this day at which I made a speech. A pure lie.

I believe Brougham will give his aid to the Ministry. He is so clever a rascal that we ought, if possible, to have him. I have been busy and useful.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Of course you are not to let what I write get into the newspapers.

House of Commons: 7 o'clock [May 13].

All is right, quite right, improving hourly. I cannot write more till to-morrow.

We owe all to the darling Queen.

by concluding with a parody on Dryden's verses:

'Three colonels in three different
counties born
Did Lincoln, Sligo, and Armagh
adorn;
The first in gravity of face surpassed,
The next in bigotry—in both the
last.
The force of Nature could no further
go;
To beard the third she shaved the
other two.'

Canon O'Rorke in his *Life of O'Connell* states on hearsay (p. 249), that the above was written by Ronayne, who showed it to O'Connell merely for his opinion. Mr. Gladstone was present during this debate when the

'famous epigram,' as he says, fell from O'Connell, and he adds: 'I saw him with a pencil and piece of paper noting down something before he rose.' The Canon says that Ronayne was familiar with the English poets, and suggests that they lay outside O'Connell's path. But it will be remembered that a letter to FitzPatrick, dated September 4, 1837, contains a request for a copy of Dryden. The parody was uttered a year afterwards, *i.e.* July 30, 1838; which serves to acquit O'Connell from the meanness imputed to him. This epigram has been asked for more than once in *Notes and Queries*. For a notice of Ronayne, *vide* vol. i. p. 530 of the present work.

CHAPTER XVII.

Melbourne's Alliance with the Radicals—'The Derby'—O'Connell works up the English Catholics—Bishop Griffiths—Smith O'Brien—The Penny Postage—Remarkable Counsel to a Daughter—Melbourne's Influence with the Queen—O'Connell suffers 'Mental Agony'—Resolves to retire from the World—Monastic Views—In retreat at Mount Melleray—Villiers Stuart—O'Connell 'unburthens his mind'—A Gloomy Outlook—Secret Thoughts and Resolutions—Spring Rice—The Bank of Ireland Charter—Arthur Guinness—Orangeism formidable—O'Connell makes renewed preparation for Eternity—Fears loss of Popularity—Pleads for the People of India—Joseph Pease—Re-enactment of the Penal Code threatened—Appeal of Archbishop MacHale—Frost sentenced to Death—The Queen's Marriage—The Corn Laws—Protection.

O'CONNELL, true to the understanding at Lichfield House, continued to support the Government, which, without him, would, no doubt, have been as short-lived as its predecessors. But it became so fashionable with the Peelites to decry it as a 'do-nothing Administration,' and this impression still so largely prevails, that it may be well to recall a few things it achieved in addition to those already mentioned. The author of the 'History of our Own Times,' catching the tone of some contemporary journalists, seems to think that Melbourne's Administration 'dozed;' but he casually confesses, and with his usual honesty, that 'the foundation of the colony of New Zealand was laid with a philosophical deliberation and thoughtfulness which might have reminded one of Locke and the Constitution of the Carolinas;' ¹ and again: 'Some of the first comprehensive and practical measures to mitigate the rigour, and to correct the indiscriminateness of death punishment, were taken during this period. One of the first legislative enactments which fairly acknowledged the difference between an English wife and a purchased slave, so far as the despotic power of the master is concerned,' is due to this Government. Another boon belonging to the time on which we now enter claims a word. High postage proved

¹ It may perhaps be added that the great city of Melbourne was founded in 1836, and called after the Premier.

a great tax on knowledge, and also pressed heavily on the industry of the country, and checked what was essential to its life—all communication. It will be seen that O'Connell had interviews with Melbourne on the subject, and at last Rice² submitted to Parliament his plan of a uniform Penny Postage. Goulburn, in moving that such a measure was improvident and rash, found allies in Peel, Stanley, Graham, Lincoln, Inglis, and Sidney Herbert. The House divided, when a majority of 100 was scored for the Government. Subsequent hostility proved equally futile, and Melbourne himself carried the Bill, not without difficulty, through the House of Lords. After a long and patient trial, it is admitted, in the report of a Conservative Postmaster-General in 1876, that the change effected 'by lowering the rates of postal charge transcends in extent, degree, universality, and value, every other fiscal reform of our time.' It should also be remembered that this coalition set active inquiry on foot into the condition of the poor and labouring classes, and passed various measures of social and political improvement, including general registration, reduction of stamp duty on newspapers and the duty on paper, the improvement of the gaol system, the spread of vaccination, the regulation of child labour, the prohibition against young persons cleaning chimneys by climbing—whereby many lives had been sacrificed, the abolition of the pillory, efforts to relieve the Jews from civil disabilities, corporate and church reform, and the opening of the trade to India and China. Lord Campbell says that, during the six years of Melbourne's rule, peace being preserved, the glory of the country had been raised in the eyes of foreign nations, our territory had been extended, and our manufactures and commerce flourished. The weakness of the Administration lay in an absence of any grand principle of action, and they wavered between the two extremes of their supporters.

² It was about this time that O'Connell accompanied Carew O'Dwyer, Pierce Mahony, and other influential Irishmen, on an important deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Rice received O'Connell with much apparent cordiality, and the deputation

augured favourably from this circumstance. When all had left the presence chamber, O'Connell was heard to say: 'Pierce, did you see how he grasped my hand?' 'I did.' 'Did you observe how he took me by both hands?' 'Yes.' 'He is going to deceive us!'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

14th May, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have little to tell you, but that little is *all good*. Everything is progressing as favourably as possible. A section of the Radicals, sixteen in number, met on Sunday and formed a project of *progression* on which they were to give their support to Lord Melbourne. They included eight of the men who deserted on the Jamaica Bill. They sent a deputation to Lord Melbourne, and he met them this day. The interview was conducted in the most amicable manner, and the deputation came away quite satisfied. This gives us *all our support* again and ends the hopes of Toryism. I rejoice in the goodness of God for our escape, especially as it seems from your letter that that wretched unmanly spirit of truckling to enemies in power, which has been the great source of the depression and degradation of Ireland, was beginning to shew itself again. I never will get half credit enough for carrying Emancipation, because posterity never can believe the species of *animals* with which I had to carry on my warfare with the common enemy. It is crawling slaves like them that prevent our being a nation. As to the Duke of Leinster, what would my friend Murphy have? I paid him a compliment when I talked of dormant patriotism. I should have denied the quality *almost* altogether. I go to-morrow to the races, and leave for Dublin on Friday.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Very Rev. Dr. Costello, V.G., P.P.³

London: 16th May, 1839.

My respected Friend,—What are you to do with Smith O'Brien? ⁴ In asking the question I have no personal resent-

³ An influential priest of Limerick. O'Brien represented the county.

⁴ William Smith O'Brien, born about the time of Emmet's rebellion in 1803, early joined the Catholic Association, but, with the caprice

from which he was never entirely free, he opposed O'Connell's candidature for Clare in 1829 and fought a duel with 'the Head Pacificator,' Thomas Steele. In May 1837 O'Brien maintained that the

ment or personal feeling to gratify. All I want to know is, what do you think best for the county in particular and the country in general? I easily forgive his foolish imprudence towards myself. The question remains, What is best to be done with him? He is an exceedingly weak man, proud and self-conceited; and, like almost all weak men, utterly impenetrable to advice. You cannot be sure of him for half an hour. But are you in a condition to get rid of him, and have you a candidate to supply his place? The answer to these two questions ought to be decisive as to the mode of proceeding, and to you I apply for such answers and for suggestions as to the steps which ought to be taken. It would be, at all events, most desirable that he should be pledged not to oppose the present Ministry.

I am happy to tell you that, if we were free from desertion in our own camp, the Tories would not have the least chance of resuming power. Indeed, my own opinion is that we are quite safe; but then it is the part of wise men to make, if they can, assurance doubly sure.

We should, I think, address the Queen on her escape from the Tories, and pray her to come to visit Ireland. We will set about these things when I arrive in Dublin.

Yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 16th May, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—At present no news are good news. All is going on smoothly and well, the Ministry disposed to *progress* with and for the country, and the parliamentary Radicals disposed to be satisfied with reasonable

Catholic clergy should be paid by the State, and he declined to support the Ballot. In 1844 he joined the Repeal Association, which led O'Connell to exclaim that he found it impossible to express adequately the delight with which he hailed O'Brien's accession. In July 1846 he seceded from O'Con-

nell's standard, and soon after took a leading part in establishing the Irish Confederation. His appeal to arms and fate are well known. The shock of the secession is understood to have hastened O'Connell's death in the following year. Letters dealing with the secession will be found among the last penned by O'Connell.

concessions. I think there is present security with a prospect of increasing strength in future.

I intend to leave this to-morrow evening for Dublin so as to cross over on Saturday. This would enable me to hear Mass in Kingstown on Sunday morning and consult with our friends upon a public demonstration, for I do think there ought to be a public demonstration. I am also strongly of opinion that the Queen ought to be solicited to go to Ireland this summer. It would be a *brain-blow* to the Orange faction to have the popular party well received at Court and their own leaders treated with the indifference they so highly merit.

Is there any exposure to infection of scarlatina in bringing the Precursors to assemble at the Corn Exchange, or any annoyance to poor Ray's⁵ family? Inquire into these things before my arrival. Of course you will put my name for as *much as I ought* to poor Barrett's subscription.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 27th May, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—All is well—our majority eighteen. It would have been more but for some accidents, but it is quite sufficient and satisfactory. The Ministry will progress. They concede the 'penny postage;' that is, an universal postage of one penny only. This is a most popular movement. They will also announce their intention to amend the Reform Bill, and that also, I believe, to-morrow. We are in the greatest spirits. The country will be with us to a man—that is, all that it is desirable to have.

7th June, 1839.

All is right. All is quite right. The Radicals quite conciliated. The Ballot an open question. When I wrote to you yesterday the Cabinet was sitting, and I reserved the apprehension that they might have quarrelled amongst them-

⁵ Thomas Matthew Ray was Secretary to the Precursors' Society.

selves. But the result was unanimity in favour of leaving the Ballot open. The Radicals are conciliated. I have just parted with one—a leading one, who has proclaimed the entire satisfaction of his party. The carrying of that one measure in the Cabinet has done wonders. I tell you distinctly that the Ministers are stronger than they have been for the last two years. On this you may rely.

The Tories rumour a dissolution, but there will not be one until the close of the year at the soonest.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 28th June, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—There are no news; the railway plan is, you see, abandoned. Nothing can possibly be done for the vintners this Session. For the grocers we have tried everything. I fear we have no chance, although we have the Chairman and Board of Excise with us. The Corporation Bill will pass the Commons this year, but be thrown out or mutilated by the Lords. Nothing will be done for Ireland, and, in fact, Ireland has nothing for it but the REPEAL.

The Ministry will certainly last until the next Session, and much longer if they will take proper steps to secure themselves in power. In the mean time the chapter of accidents may do much, especially as there are strong prospects of war. Turkey and Egypt cannot remain as they are.

I am working up the English Catholics to peaceful agitation. The middle classes have so multiplied that we will have a force sufficient to attract attention, refute calumnies, and proclaim Catholic principles, though the Aristocracy may not join us. We have resolved upon a public meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern on Monday week unless we are restrained by the Bishop, who is out of town, but returns this evening or to-morrow. I have prepared resolutions to be converted into a petition on the Education subject, and everything is arranged unless, as I said, the Bishop interposes a veto. You are aware that the Clergy

here cannot stir without his permission. They are all and always in his power.⁶ I intend to hold Catholic meetings in Liverpool and Manchester on my route to Ireland.

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The following letters, addressed to one of O'Connell's daughters, are of a character so sacred that some persons may deem them out of place in this collection; but the lady to whom they are written has herself placed them in my hands, and to suppress them would be doing an injustice to the dead. They recall to mind the excellent domestic letters of old Admiral Collingwood to his daughter, written while he was out at sea, fighting his country's battles.⁷ Assuredly they do more to portray O'Connell's true character than any number of political papers, however historically important. O'Connell's daughter, at the period of their date, had been suffering acutely from nervous scrupulosity; but, thanks to the wisdom of her father's counsel, it was soon succeeded by a happy calm.

To his Daughter.

London: June 28th, 1839.

My dearest darling Child,—I have complied with your wish. I have procured Masses to be said for your inten-

⁶ The Right Rev. Dr. Griffiths, Bishop of Olena and Vicar Apostolic of the London District, ruled the Catholics of Middlesex, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and the Isles of Wight, Guernsey, and Jersey. Dr. Wiseman became his coadjutor, and this great diocese was divided. Bishop Griffiths lived in the seclusion of Golden Square, and when he ventured out of doors he seemed to pick his steps as though the streets were lined with penal traps.

In 1798 an Irish priest named O'Coigly was imprisoned in Maidstone Gaol, charged with complicity in a treasonable mission. Here he wrote an account of his life, which appears in Madden's *United*

Irishmen (vol. ii. 3rd ser. pp. 27-9), but is omitted from the second edition. O'Coigly bitterly complains of the visits of a Father Griffiths from London, who ceased not to urge the captive to make reparation and save his own life by swearing against his fellow-prisoners, including Arthur O'Connor, nephew of Lord Longueville. O'Coigly refused, and was hanged on Penenden Heath.

⁷ Collingwood, however, makes confession of his own infirmities: 'I am quick and hasty in my temper, but, my darling, it is a misfortune which, not having been sufficiently restrained in my youth, has caused me inexpressible pain. It has given me more trouble to subdue this impetuosity than anything I ever undertook.'

tion, and after my communion to-morrow I will offer up my wretched prayers for the daughter on whom my fond heart doats with a tenderness that is not to be described or known to any but the heart of a parent.

Represent to yourself your darling boy in mental agony, and then you will read my feeling of utter misery at your state of mind. This, I own, is the severest blow that ever I experienced, to have you, my angel daughter, consuming your heart and intellect on vain, idle, and unprofitable scruples. It is quite true that you are in a state with which it is the inscrutable will of God to try the souls of His elect—a state of great danger, if the spirit of pride, of self-esteem, or of self-will mixes with it so as to make the sufferer fall into the snare of *despair*. Despair is your danger, your only danger. Oh, generous God, protect my child from despair! If you, by humility, submission, humble submission to the Church in the person of your spiritual director—if you give up every thought, and throw yourself into the arms of God by OBEEDIENCE and submission, you will soon be at peace, and be so for life, and in an eternity of bliss.

Is your scruple such as you can communicate to your father? If it be, tell it to me, and probably you yourself, when you write it, will see how idle it is. Can my child think that the God who, in the lingering torments of the cross, shed the last drop of His blood for her, is a tyrant, or that He does not love her? Your greatest love for your babe is nothing to the love God bears for you.

Why, then, my own child, not confide in His loving kindness? Generously throw all your care on Him, confide in His love, with humble submission to Him, and to His spouse, His Holy Church. Oh, my beloved child, that He may through His bitter passion and cruel death give you His grace! If your scruple be such as you cannot communicate to your father, go at once and consult Dr. McHale^s about it. Determine, before you go in the presence of God, to submit to whatever the Archbishop shall

^s R.C. Archbishop of Tuam.

say to you. In the meantime, pray quietly, and with composure of mind, once or twice a day; say coolly and deliberately, ‘Oh God! Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,’ and then attend to your family and children, taking your mind, without bustle and violence, from the thoughts that make you unhappy to your domestic occupations.

You would pity your poor father if you knew how miserable you make me. I fear with the most agonising fear for you in this trial. If you go through it with humility, submission, and obedience you will be an angel for all eternity.

Write to me, darling, darling child. I enclose ten pounds to pay your expenses to France. If you do not go there, use them as you please.—Ever, my own, own dearest child,

Your fond though distracted Father,

DANIEL O’CONNELL.

To his Daughter.

London : 8th July, 1839.

My own darling, darling——,—I write to you by your pet name, to recall to your own tenderness your fond father’s affection.

I see your case clearly, and it breaks my heart to think of it.

There is one remedy, and *only one*; that is, absolute, unqualified submission to your director—unreasoning submission. Do not argue with anybody. Let nobody reason with you, but *submit*. Do exactly what your director requires. In your case your director may—and, I think, should—compel you to go to communion without going to confession at all. Many persons in your condition have been perfectly cured by perfect submission.

Believe me, my own idolised child, you have ease and happiness here and hereafter in your own hands. Submit, my own ——. Do not think on anything but implicitly obeying your director.

The moment you receive this letter tell your director you submit to do everything he desires—to pray or not to pray, to fast or not to fast, to confess or not to confess, and, above all, to go to communion whenever he advises or commands you.

By that simple process your mind would be perfectly restored to tranquillity and the love of God, submission, the first of virtues, the corrective of pride, of subtile pride, that wants us to think *we* are perfect.

I believe it will kill me if I do not hear that you take my advice. I would call it, darling child, my command; but no, I give you your father's blessing, if you submit to be ruled by your director without reasoning or arguing. Cast your heart and mind in humble thought into the hands of a loving God who, in the excess of his love, died on a cross for *you*. Do not argue. Tell the priest not to argue with you, but to command you, and to obey to the tittle, and you will be at once and for always relieved.

The moment I can leave this I will go to you, my own darling child. I will go to you to hear you say you have obeyed me. I am sure, if you do obey, I will find you happy in your sweet family, and in the spiritual delight of the love of God. *Obey*; you know you are safe in obeying your father and director.

May I not tell you, darling, that you seem not to know what the theological virtue of contrition is.

Contrition, darling, is a belief and conviction that it is a great evil to have committed sin. It is the knowledge that in committing sin we did that which was a great evil, and the consequent regret.

Contrition is not such a grief or sorrow as you would feel if your child was sick, or as I do at your mental affliction. It is a conviction of the evil of sin in its offending God and subjecting us to deserve punishment hereafter. Ask your director how accurate this is, but obey him, and you are safe and well. May God bless you!—Ever, my own darling child,

Your afflicted and most fond Father,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 3rd July, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write merely to tell you that the hint you gave me of Harnett's⁹ being asked to join his brother in Liverpool enabled me to bring his case before the Board with effect. I succeeded in raising his salary from the 1st inst. to £600 a year; that is, an additional £100 per annum. Tell him, as you can with truth, that I have thus kept my word with him, and hope, when we pay our shareholders 6 per cent., to get him another £100.

You will be glad to hear that our bank is most prosperous. We have made this progress. I examined to-day the accounts of this period in the year 1837, and compared them with our present state. We have paid back £130,000 to Irish shareholders, and we have an excess of more than £500,000; that is, more than half a million available assets than we had two years ago. Another year or two will place us at the head of the banking business in Ireland.

There are no news. Of course the Ministry will not resign in consequence of the decision in the Lords.¹ They will pay no attention to it. All is, in other respects, quite right in the political world.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 5th August, 39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—It is impossible to take the Municipal Bill. It perpetuates all the abuses of the Freemen,² and adds for the first time 'Burgesses' in perpetuity. It would be as foolish as imaginable to take it, especially as we shall know to a certainty next year how the Poor Law Bill will work. I cannot sacrifice my conscientious convictions to any advice, however I may respect it.

⁹ An official in the National, popularly styled 'O'Connell's Bank.'

¹ Lord Lyndhurst's motion to omit from the Jamaica Bill a clause giving certain powers to the Governor in Council was carried against the Ministry by ten votes on July 1.

² The privilege of voting at elections for the City of Dublin was long exercised by a phalanx of needy artisans and others known as 'Freemen.' They were usually Orangemen as well, and notoriously accepted payment for their votes.

I know Murphy's wisdom and knowledge, but after the attempt made by the Chancellor to re-establish the clauses which left to the freemen their title at law, and did not make it imperative on the new Mayor to admit them without investigation, I cannot accede to accept the bill. Besides, the Lords have altered the assessment clauses, and *that*, if the Bill was otherwise capable of being relieved, is a *constitutional* objection which can never be got over by the House of Commons. The Bill therefore *goes* inevitably, and, indeed, I fear the Lords have been tempted to go farther against it than they otherwise would, because of the report that *any* Bill would be countenanced by influential men in Dublin. Heaven help us, what a curious race we are !

The Ministry are strong at the Court. The Queen is full of intellect. She may not marry for years, as she wishes to enjoy *her* power. She can not be better disposed than she is at present. I see also symptoms of a better feeling amongst many of the Tories. The defeat of the Chartists at all the trials, and the approaching dissolution of that body under the vigorous means employed by the Ministry, open better prospects.

The state of Europe also is such as to show that things cannot remain as they are.

Yours ever,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I will, of course, do the best I can for my friend White.

A letter dated June 10, 1839, includes a list of eleven cheques, amounting in all to £9,800, drawn by O'Connell on a Bank in Tralee between December 1838 and May 1839. It then goes on to say :—

The political aspect of affairs is good. There is every prospect of the Ministry keeping together and increasing in strength. I believe they are all become quite alive to the necessity of further progression. The Corporate Reform Bill of the present year is much better prepared than any former Bill, but of course it is quite uncertain what the Lords will

do with it. The Session will not be long, and we shall all be in Ireland in July.

There have been many applications for relief from many parts of Ireland—for relief in provisions or money. Encourage such applications, or rather stimulate them wherever there is *real* distress. Let the applicants state the *ordinary* and the *present* price of potatoes and the state of employment; in short, everything that could prove the necessity for the interference of Government.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 7th August, 39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—My own opinion is that the Municipal Bill will pass. I do think that the Corporation has got its death blow, and although I did not approve of the Bill as it stands, I have no chance of successfully opposing it. The point of privilege will, it is said, be conceded by the Lords, or so arranged as not to have the objection of any validity. My opinion, on the whole, is that the Bill will pass.

I am, I confess, very unhappy. I look upon myself in danger of ruin. The country is plainly tired out of my claims. I am, indeed, unhappy. I will write to you again on the *painful, painful* subject to-morrow. If I had thought of it sooner, I should have begged of you to come here and talk to me—the trip now is nothing—but it is too late. I do not believe I will long survive the blow I apprehend from the desertion of me by the country at large. It weighs upon my heart and interferes with my health. All this is in the most strict secrecy. At my time of life mental agony is *poisonous*.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Again strictly private. I believe I must go to Paris for ten days about General O'Connell's will.³

³ Daniel Count O'Connell, the twenty-first child of his father and mother, and uncle of the Liberator,

died in 1833 at his château on the Loire, aged ninety, being a General in the French, and the oldest Colonel in

The letters which follow disclose a strange resolve. O'Connell thinks of retiring to a religious house, and there ending his days wrapt in contemplation of God. This idea originated during the previous year. In 1838 Mr. O'Neil Daunt had accepted a seat in his carriage to Mount Melleray, where O'Connell had arranged to spend a week's spiritual retreat. The scenery through which they passed was wildly picturesque. They did not reach the monastery until night, and were then met by a procession of monks in cowl and habit, bearing torches, and headed by the Lord Abbot, with his mitre and crosier. The abbot led O'Connell by the hand, and the monks followed, chanting a psalm. All advanced through the aisle of the lonely church, the extent of which, partly revealed by the torches, seemed great from the intense darkness that draped its extremity. Two hours after midnight Mr. Daunt was awakened by a violent storm of rain and wind. Looking forth upon the night, he saw light streaming from the church, and heard, in the fitful pauses of the gust, the chant of sacred song. He learned next day that the holy occupants of the place were engaged in the usual service of lauds. The voices streaming out upon the dark and lonely mountain side produced an effect wild, impressive, and romantic.

During the week that O'Connell spent at Mount Melleray, Mr. Villiers Stuart⁴ came to wait upon him, but received for reply that the *Liberator* had given strict directions that he should not be disturbed while in retreat.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 8th August, 39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The Corporation Bill is, after all, in a most awkward predicament. The point of privilege cannot be got over. The Lords will, of course, adhere to their Amendment, and the Speaker says that we cannot suffer them to legislate on the subject, so that the opinion

the English, service. Count O'Connell was in command of the infantry of the garrison of Paris in the beginning of the Revolution, and always said that if Louis XVI. would have allowed him to act against the mob, as he asked to be permitted to do, he would have

crushed them, and prevented matters going to the extreme they did.

⁴ The gentleman whom O'Connell largely helped to secure the seat for Waterford at the great election of 1826, afterwards Lord Stuart de Decies.

I gave you yesterday that the Bill would pass is falsified by the prospects held out this day. I believe the Ministry would be glad to get out of the scrape if they could, but there is no possibility of doing so. I am glad, therefore, to this extent that the risk of rejecting the Bill does not lie with me.

See Ray and *Masters of the Trades Unions* and let them know that it would be madness to think of a run upon the Bank of Ireland. Tell this also to Barrett. The second reading⁵ has passed without debate, because I lose nothing and have gained a day's delay by letting it pass. The grand debate will be on Wednesday, and then we go on to battle the case in the Committee. I will have abundant Motions before the Bill is out of Committee. I scarcely think I will let them pass it this Session.

My own prospects appear to me to be daily darker and more dark. It does mortify me, but it does not surprise me, to find that I have exhausted the bounty of the Irish people. God help me! What shall I do? I think of giving up my income, save an annuity of a small sum to myself and my two sons, and going, if I am received, to Clongowes, and to spend the rest of my life there. I want a period of retreat to think of nothing but eternity. I sigh when I look at the present agitated aspect of affairs, foreign and domestic, and vainly think that if Ireland thought fit to support me I might still be useful; but it is plain I have worn out my claim on the people. You are aware that Connaught is, of course, estranged from me. I am, I believe, on the verge of illness—the illness of despondency; but it is clear I have no one to blame but myself. I hope against hope; that is, there is a lurking expectation about me of relief, which my more sober judgment tells me cannot come. Sometimes my hand shakes as I write; but of this querulousness there is more than enough. I have not said one word on this subject to anybody else but you, nor shall I until we meet in Dublin and compare notes, so as

⁵ Mr. Spring Rice's Bill to renew the Charter of the Bank of Ireland, which expired at this time. More on this point presently.

to determine as to my future line of conduct. For your exertions I never can be grateful enough. Your machinery was perfect, and its failure is only due to their materials to work upon. Still I do not regret that I gave up my profession and refused office. Adieu, my dear friend! It is a melancholy pleasure to have one to whom I can dis-burthen my mind.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I believe I will write again to you to-morrow. Yes, you shall know the fate of the Bill.

The following [copied from the original MS. of O'Connell] was transcribed by his daughter, and by her placed in the hands of the present writer. The thoughts and resolutions so earnestly formed seem the fruit of the spiritual retreat which he made about this time.

1st. To avoid all wilful occasions of temptation.

2nd. To appeal to God, and to invoke the Holy Virgin and the Saints in all real temptation.

3rd. To say the acts of faith, hope, and charity every day.

4th. To repeat as often as may be a shorter form.

5th. To say daily, at least, and as often as *may be*, a *fervent* act of contrition.

6th. To begin every day with an unlimited offering of myself totally to my crucified Redeemer, and to conjure Him by all His infinite merits and divine charity to take me under His direction and controul in all things.

7th. To meditate for at least half an hour every day, possibly longer, if God pleases.

8th. 'We fly to thy patronage, &c.,' and St. Bernard's Prayer to the Virgin as often as convenient, daily.

9th. Ejaculations, invocations of the blessed Virgin, as often daily as may be.

10th. Pray daily to God, His blessed Mother, and the saints for a happy death, and as often as may be.

11th. To avoid carefully small faults and venial sins, even the smallest.

12th. To aim at pleasing God in *all* my daily actions, and to be influenced by love of God in all rather than hope or fear.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 9th August, '39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You will perceive by what fell *from* Lord John⁶ this evening—at least I collect from what he said—that the present Corporation Bill is to be thrown overboard, and a new Bill containing the Bill as amended by the Lords brought in and passed this Session. Indeed, at present I have no doubt upon my mind on the subject. The consequence will be that the present Common Council and Board of Aldermen will be annihilated, and we will have a chance, at least, of better men. We could not possibly have worse.

The next great debate on the Bank question⁷ will be on Wednesday next. It then goes into Committee, and will certainly be several days in discussion. It is, however, but little likely that any important amendment should be made in it.

My mind is more calm and resigned, but it still preys on my frame. I, of course, dislike the idea of terminating my political career and shrinking into obscurity, but, my excellent friend, it is inevitable. I must take care of Fitzsimon⁸ in any event. Of this I will speak more so soon as I hear from you. I am, I believe, an exceeding blockhead to entertain hope; but hope *clings* to all.

Send me the particulars of the deed of annuity from John Scott. I have paid the premium on his life.

I have a foolish impatience to hear from you. Yet what can you say? What do you think of the harvest?

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁶ Lord John Russell.

⁷ Proposed renewal of the Charter of the Bank of Ireland.

⁸ His son-in-law.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 12th August, 39.

My dear Friend,—It turns out that what I first wrote to you of the clauses respecting freemen is accurate. There was a clause inserted at the third reading in the Lords which was not printed in the Bill, but is now before our House, and that clause does, as I said, confirm all that is bad respecting freemen, and throws in 'Burgesses' for the first time. The consequence is that the Cabinet find it impossible to bring in another Bill this Session, and the entire stands over for the next. This is CERTAIN.

Ten thousand thanks for your cheering letter. It removes a load off my mind.

The Bank Bill alone remains, and that I will fight step by step. It comes on again on Wednesday, and Rice will exert himself to carry it through.

In haste, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Bank of Ireland had long held exclusive privileges under an old charter. O'Connell often declared that, of all countries in the world, Ireland was that where joint stock banks were most necessary, but joint stock banks were prohibited from issuing notes within fifty miles of Dublin.

In 1839, Spring Rice, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought in a Bill to renew the Charter of the Bank of Ireland or, as O'Connell said, to create a monopoly, the charter, in point of fact, having expired. The question mainly raised by Rice was whether a particular bank in Ireland should possess the unlimited privilege of issuing its own notes. O'Connell, late on the sultry night of July 23, 1839, rose to oppose the Bill. Nine-tenths of the Irish members, he said, had left town, and it was most unjust to postpone this discussion to so late a period of the Session. Only thirty-two members were present, and of these several were asleep. There was a pledge given, he contended, by a former Chancellor of the Exchequer that the monopoly would not be renewed. The result was that 25,000 shares were subscribed for the establishment of another bank. He had received letters requesting him to save the mercantile community of

Dublin from the monopoly of the Bank of Ireland. The writers knew that he was a supporter of Her Majesty's Government, but implored him in this instance to do his duty, and with God's blessing he would. Mr. Rice had talked of the Bank of Ireland always meeting its engagements, and read a pamphlet full of sounding assertions of its stability because, indeed, at such a time as 1798 they met those engagements. How did they meet them? By paying promises by other promises—by handing out ten small promissory notes for one large one. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might as well refer to the foolish vengeance taken by some of the rebels when, to spite the Bank, they lit their pipes and wadded their guns with bank notes, and he might boast that the property of the Bank was not lessened by such injuries. Bank monopoly, O'Connell declared, was crushing the resources of Dublin, depressing its trade, and rendering it a spectacle of decay. Many a time had the thought of the fatal union between the two countries come painfully on him, but never more oppressively than on that night when he saw the thin House by which this question—so vital to Ireland—was to be decided. O'Connell moved the adjournment of the House, and the following letters tell the result.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 16th August, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I believe I may congratulate the public on the total defeat of the Bank of Ireland Bill. Nay, I may venture to assure you that it cannot pass this Session. You will see that the House refuses to be dragged in the kennel by Spring Rice. The House failed yesterday, it fails again this day; and what between the apathy of the members and the lateness of the season, I can promise that the Bill shall not pass, until next year! There never was a more close Orange confederacy than that at the Bank of Ireland. It was impossible to get an honest special jury in political cases in Dublin by reason of the undue influence of the Bank directors.⁹ Dishonest and bigoted they are and have been.

That miserable old apostate, Arthur Guinness, was

⁹ Mr. Lecky says that, though Catholics had begun to take a great place among the moneyed men of Ireland, yet, when this bank was

chuckling at carrying this Bill.¹ I met Tom Wilson² in the street a few days ago. I proposed a compromise highly advantageous to the Bank. He treated my advance with as much careless insolence as could be consistent with keeping within the limits of personal civility. I wonder what he thinks this evening. By the failure of making a House this day I take it that the Committee is at an end, and that Rice must begin again with a new Bill if he were to go on at all. In this instance my political triumph is complete. This was an attempt to crush Ireland in its monetary system, and to continue a monopoly in the hands of unrelenting enemies of the religion and liberties of the people, but the reaction of Irish spirit has in this, as in so many other instances, overthrown the enemy.³ I got, to be sure, as little assistance as possible from Ireland, but I battled it with unflinching constancy, and behold the end! Rice has also failed to fund his exchequer bills this day in the City. Lord John [Russell] is very ill, matters look dark at every side, but the result cannot be unfavourable to Ireland—at least matters can not be made worse. But the more we are thrown on our own resources the better. I intend, with the blessing of God, to be in Dublin in ten days.

You shall hear of every varying circumstance as it occurs.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

founded in 1782, it was specially provided that no Catholic could be a director (*Hist. England*, vii. 475). *Nous avons changé tout cela*. Several Catholics are now directors of the Bank. One tells me that during the period he has been connected with it he never heard the words 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' mentioned in the place.

¹ O'Connell calls Arthur Guinness an 'apostate' because, while he had formerly supported the Liberal party, he voted against O'Connell and Hutton at the election of 1836. The first attempt to

carry out the system since known as boycotting was then made by a national determination not to buy Guinness's stout.

² The Governor of the Bank of Ireland in 1839. The Bank directors were great Bashaws in those days. Francis Codd said that when a couple of them took up position near the fire at the Chamber of Commerce no one dared to invade the divinity which 'hedged' such 'kings.'

³ The journals of the day report several indignation meetings held in Dublin, Drogheda, Mullingar, and elsewhere.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 17th August, 39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—What can I say or what can I do for the Grocers? I did all one man could for them, and there is not the least chance of legislative relief. I know not that they have any prospect of benefitting themselves save by seeking the mercy of the Government and giving up the sale either of groceries or of spirits.⁴ There is now nothing else for it. The only comfort is that not one man in Ireland can be honest unless he be a *Repealer*. Of this more hereafter.

We have had no communication with or from Rice since I wrote to you last. The Committee, it seems, can be reformed on Monday, but nothing effectual shall be done on that day; and I may venture to say that I will tire Rice easily out of his obstinacy. Lord John, I am told, is better this day, but will not be able to attend the House again for at least a week.

I am happy to tell you that I do not go to Paris at all. A compromise has taken place which will enable me to return to Dublin the moment Spring Rice permits me—that is, the moment this Bill is disposed of. There is nothing else to detain me. I hope, therefore, to reach Dublin before you leave it.

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 19th August, 39.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have the pleasure to tell you that we have beaten Rice through this day. The question is just where it was this morning. I have not allowed them to advance a single inch. I believe we shall have to-morrow a compromise, giving all banking privileges in Dublin save issuing our own notes, and confining the monopoly to twenty miles. This will give us Drogheda, &c. &c.

⁴ See letter of June 26, 1836.

London : 20th August, 39.

The result of our fight against the Bank will be known at *five*. If the Chancellor ⁵ does not strike I will not be able to write to you the ultimate result in my second letter, but you may be sure I will fight it out. My expectations are that the limits will be restrained to twenty miles or the Bill given up altogether, but if you do not hear from me again this day, believe that the battle is raging adversely—without compromise. I am told the House is to be prorogued on Tuesday next, and believe the fact to be so. That will render it impossible to carry this Bill. There is no danger of a political change during the recess, so that Ireland will continue to be tolerably well governed in the interval. I intend to address a letter to the English Reformers and another to the Irish people. The time is come for calling for the application of the higher rent-charge to the aid of the poor-law. I have now a double incitement to hold out : first, the taking the rent-charge from the clergy, *not* of the people ; that motive will animate many ; and the second motive, the exoneration from so much poor rate, will make the prospect agreeable to many more. It is a just and reasonable ground of agitation.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 21st August, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The Bank Bill is thrown out.⁶ I have had this triumph at least—that I have beaten the very worst of the Orange confederacies in Ireland. The Bank of Ireland never will get such good terms as Rice would have given them. There is some comfort in discomfiting one of your bitterest enemies.

Affairs remain much as I have described them to you, the Lords becoming daily more and more insolent. Their audacity will certainly create a reaction, but at present they

⁵ Of the Exchequer.

⁶ Peel's Act of 1844 satisfactorily

settled the question of banking relations.

are most malignantly powerful, and direct that malignant power chiefly against the Catholics. Indeed, the spirit that binds together the Tory party in this country is the 'No Popery' feeling—the hatred of Catholicity. You can not form an idea how prevalent this feeling is, nor how much and how vivaciously it is cherished by the English Parsons. Nothing can exceed their rage at finding the number of Catholics and of Catholic places of worship increase.⁷ I have no doubt they would rejoice in a rebellion or any convulsion that enabled them to extirpate Catholicity with the blood of the Catholics. I do not in the slightest degree exaggerate.

It certainly is necessary to warn Ireland. Our registry force is dwindling away or swamped by fictitious votes. The crisis is more imminent than perhaps you imagine. The state of Turkey necessarily preludes to war. There is also an internal uprising in Europe. The Cossacks are in revolt against the Russian Emperor, though the truth is concealed. I heard within the last two days from Prussia, and there a revolution is not improbable, or at least an outbreak and separation of the Catholic provinces. The people of Hanover are awaiting in a steady German fashion a civil war. There never was a period when the Continent of Europe presented more material for hopes and fears. Prussia and Hanover are the props of Protestantism in Europe, and as that has ceased to be a religion and is now either merely political or indifferent, or infidel, if these powers were subverted or even checked the increase of Catholics would be probably enormous. But why do I dwell on these points? It is much because you should know *all*, and be able to see the connexion which events there are likely to have with affairs at home.

In Ireland the Orange faction is strong because it is so

⁷ In one of Southey's letters (edited by Warton) he mentions that an English dignitary had exhibited to him with horror a map of England with black dots indicating the increase of Roman Catholic chapels.

Under date March 13, 1832, Southey writes: 'When the Archbishop of Canterbury was here about ten years ago, I showed him a Catholic magazine, and he gave a start at the size and pretensions of the structure'

powerfully supported by the Tory party in this country. The Tories certainly reckon on attaining power, and if they had not terrified and displeased the Queen they would be now in authority, and woe to the Irish and to the colonial Catholics if that were so! As to the Queen, I have it from a source of the best authority that she is perfectly *true*. But will she be able to resist *both* Houses of Parliament should the Tories get a majority in the Commons?

I will develop my plan of agitation to you in this and future letters. I could indeed wish to retire altogether from political life, for I have met some disgusts, but I really believe that we are near events which require my assistance. Of this no more at present. I will only tell you that I propose to address the people of England, and then the people of Ireland. My address to England will be an effort to rally the Reformers once again; my letter to the Irish to animate them to the registry, to the obtaining the application of the tithe rent-charge to the poor rate, and quietly and cautiously for the Repeal. I must now conclude.

Yours always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 24th August, 1839.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I mean to leave London early in the ensuing week. I never went to Ireland at a more critical period. The Tories are strong, very strong, and the principal ingredient in their strength is the hatred of Ireland and of Catholicity. This hate is burning more intensely in proportion as Catholicity increases in this country.

Our resources in England for support against the faction are few. It is true that the Queen is steady and the real Reformers are numerous, but they are so checked and thwarted by the Chartists that it is very unlikely that the English Reformers will do much during this year to give support to the popular cause.

The House of Lords is nearly all powerful, and is

animated with the very worst spirit towards Ireland. I believe that the desire to do mischief *there* was never so strong. The minority in the Commons is strong also in numbers and, what is more formidable, in unity of action, while the Ministerial majority is divided and some of its members discontented. In short, at no period of our history was the cause of Ireland more friendless and more destitute of any prospect of augmenting its friends in Great Britain.

There remain only our *own* exertions. 'Hereditary bondsmen,' &c., is now becoming a literal truth. Do not think I say this to you to enhance the value of a *long tried leader*—meaning myself—yet I do believe that I am *wanting* just now or I should think, and you know I have thought seriously, of dedicating the remaining years of my life to the solitude of my native mountains and the preparation for a change which may be postponed but is inevitable.

Yet, if you are asked my sentiments, communicate *this* and no more: 1st, that my health and strength entitle me to struggle longer in harness; 2ndly, that my own conviction is, that I ought to continue to struggle, especially as the coming poor law will, when in action, give me a powerful lever to raise up even the sluggishness of the land to demand that the tithe rent-charge should be applied in alleviation of the poor rate. That is my first object; 2d, Corporate Reform; 3d, exercise of franchise and attention to the registry; 4th, abolition of the Catholic oaths; 5th, laying the foundation for the Repeal.

I have also the most important question of the Bank of Ireland to be prepared for. It is more important than is generally believed. Ireland must put herself in political movement again or nothing can be obtained, and, what is worse, unless we advance the Orange faction will drive us back.

All these reasons convince me that I am *wanting*; but my fears are that the country is tired of supporting me. I fear that either my want of more prominent or glaring success has weakened the tie of affection Ireland has

cherished for me. If so, I have no reason to complain. It is only astonishing how long practical popularity has attended me. It has placed me in a situation in which enormous expense was, and is, inevitable, and that many should desert me now would be to be deplored by myself and my friends, but would not be wondered at. These thoughts inspire me with melancholy occasionally, and the more so as I feel there is not anyone at present to take my place. Conceal nothing from me. I had hoped, and still hope, to make the Irish people independent in their own legislature. I see many occasions Ireland has for a faithful and fearless advocate, but does the country agree with me in these opinions? If so, something must be done to enable me to continue my services. Nor in any advent shall I complain. Indeed, I ought not. You see I think on paper when I write to you, and I know how safe I am in thinking in words in your company. I have, I own, a feeling of degradation upon me when I write of these things, but you will stand between me and dishonour if there be any. At all events, may God's holy will be done!

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To Joseph Sturge.*⁸

16 Pall Mall : August 26, 1839.

My respected Friend,—I here insert a notice of two motions which I intend to bring before Parliament at the earliest period of the ensuing session :—

‘ 1. That it is the opinion of this House that her Majesty's Ministers ought not to advise her Majesty to recognise the independence, as a State, of the persons located on part of the territories of the Republic of Mexico, with which Republic we are in alliance, and who have called themselves the State of Texas, unless with the assent of the said Republic of Mexico; and also unless such alleged State of Texas shall

⁸ An English quaker, one of whose last acts of philanthropy was a journey to St. Petersburg, in the

hope of dissuading the Czar from embarking in the Crimean War. Born 1793, died 1859.

make the abolition of negro slavery a fundamental law and also consent that the slave trade shall be treated as piracy.

‘2. That an address be presented to her Majesty humbly praying that she may be pleased to give directions to her Ministers to endeavour to make such arrangement with the Government of Mexico as would place at their disposal such a portion of the unoccupied territory of that Republic on or near its northern boundary as should be sufficient for the purpose of establishing an asylum or free state of persons of colour, her Majesty’s subjects, who may be desirous to emigrate and to establish such free state.’

In order to succeed it will be necessary that I should obtain as much of the support of the opponents of negro slavery as possible. The public attention must be roused upon these subjects, for it is clear that we shall have thrown away in pure waste much labour, great exertions, and twenty millions of the public money unless adequate measures are taken by this country to prevent the formation of new slavery states ; and, at the same time, to prevent the incalculable quantity of human misery and the terrific slaughter of human beings which must ensue from our permitting any other slavery state to raise its head.

Look to Texas. The gang of land pirates who have settled themselves on the Mexican territory actually make negro slavery the basis of their association, and propose to take away from their intended legislature the power of abolishing domestic slavery. This is in itself sufficiently horrible ; but it is infinitely more atrocious in its necessary consequences. For if we permit the Texans to succeed in their odious scheme, there is room for forming—and in the United States there is abundant disposition to form—three or four more slave states in the unoccupied lands between the peopled part of Mexico and the line of territory which the United States claim for themselves.

Reflect, my esteemed friend, upon the horrors, the crimes, the atrocities which must be perpetuated by the creation of these new slave-holding states. Reflect on the quantity of sin and guilt of every kind that must be perpe-

trated by the slave-breeders of Virginia and the other slave-breeding states of the North American Union; and, upon the other hand, only think of the indescribable scenes of cruelty that must be perpetuated in Africa, and in the carrying home of new slaves for the purposes of the Texans and the other white monsters of these intended new slavery states. Of what avail is the generous and noble humanity of the British people? It is worse than in vain that so many years of toil, of literary exertion, of dauntless opposition to interested tyranny, and of persevering maintenance of the cause of humanity have been made to rescue human nature from the blood-guiltiness of negro slavery. All these exertions and our twenty millions are thrown away to the idle winds! Fowell Buxton has demonstrated that the slave trade has augmented enormously in amount and still more frightfully in the cruelty and slaughter it produces, and that this augmentation has taken place in consequence of the emancipation of the slaves in British colonies. This is the result of all our pains and all our money! We gave twenty millions as the purchase-money of humanity, and the result is—a greater accumulation of still more atrocious cruelty if we stop where we are. Great Britain will be the laughing-stock of the world. Twenty millions to purchase liberty and humanity is a cheap bargain; but twenty millions of sterling money to purchase cruelty, barbarity, and human blood is the worst speculation ever made since the sun first shone upon the earth!

Be up, then, and stirring. Call together the friends of humanity. Assemble the apostles of benevolence. Let the English people doom to impeachment any Minister that shall dare to recognise Texas or any other slave-holding state. Such a Ministry would actually be participators in all the guilt of the perpetrators of the increased slave trade both internal and foreign.

But let us not confine our efforts to mere threatenings or to the expression of sentiments, however decided or animated. Let us counteract the machinations of the enemies of humanity.

My plan is this : to follow the example set by the Australian and New Zealand societies, get together a number of the friends of humanity who will come forward and subscribe a sufficient capital to form, upon the New Zealand plan, a society sufficiently extensive to constitute a new colony or state, either subject directly to the British Crown or, at all events, under the protection of the British flag, so as to obtain a rallying-point for all free persons of colour who may choose to give their labour for such wages as may enable them to become purchasers of the soil. For the present I need not enter into details, the plan of the South Australian and New Zealand societies will enable you and the other friends of humanity to work out my system into practical effect. With this view a communication should be had as speedily as possible with the Mexican Government. It is so entirely the interest of the Mexicans to form a colony of free persons of colour between them and the North Americans, that I should presume they will readily enter into our plan. This colony should be interposed between the Texans and the sea. It should be a place of refuge for the free men of colour of the United States, who are naturally enough disgusted with the paltry injustice of being called ' free,' while they are deprived of all the practical rights of freemen. In short, I think it will strike your mind, as it does mine, that thousands upon thousands of advantages would be derived from the existence of such a colony. But no time should be lost in laying the foundation of a society to form it. An intelligent agent should be sent at once to Mexico. I have formed a very high opinion of Santa Anna, and I think he would at once see the great advantages to the Mexican Republic of having an establishment of free men of colour intervening, as it were, between Mexico and the United States. At all events, even should Santa Anna not be in power it is impossible that any government in Mexico should be blind to the multitudinous advantages which a wise colonisation of free men of colour would necessarily confer upon the Mexican States. Let me, then, conjure you to reflect deeply upon

the suggestions I thus make. Should you see the subject in the same light that I do, I know you will at once begin to act. You have already been a benefactor to the human race, and if you succeed in preventing new slavery states, and above all, if you succeed in establishing in a genial climate a colony or state where free men of colour will be on a perfect equality with the white people, you will have formed a basis on which can be constructed the entire emancipation, all over the world, of the hitherto neglected and oppressed black population.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To Redmond O'Driscoll.*⁹

Darrynane Abbey: November 19th, 1839.

You have published a letter of Mr. Henry Arthur Herbert¹ respecting a statement made by me at the late meeting in Killarney. That letter does, on the face of it, contain much presumptuous absurdity. To make this plain, I will just state the facts. At the meeting in question I was tracing the atrocities of the Orange faction in Ireland in former days. I specified, among others, the law which had been passed in violation of the Treaty of Limerick, and by which, if a Catholic purchased an estate, paying the price, any Protestant could by law take away the estate from the Catholic, and leave him at the total loss of both his estate and his purchase-money. Mr. Henry Arthur Herbert does not venture to deny that this was the state of the law when I was born, and for some years after, although he had a deep interest in denying it if he could, as he belonged to the political party who would re-enact that law if they had the power, although he, individually, might oppose its re-enactment. To illustrate the mischief of that law, I stated what I had repeatedly heard from my late uncle, Maurice O'Connell, of Darrynane, that when the estate of 'Tomies on the Lake' was offered for sale he agreed to purchase it, and had the

⁹ A journalist of Cork.

¹ In 1857, during the administration of Lord Palmerston, the late

Henry Arthur Herbert, of Muckcross, became Chief Secretary for Ireland.

purchase-money ready ; and that thereupon the ancestor of the present Mr. Herbert sent him a communication to this effect, that if he (my uncle) became the purchaser, he (Mr. Herbert) would immediately file a bill of discovery—that was the technical name of this legalised plunder—against my uncle, and deprive him of the estate. So that my uncle would have, in that case, lost his money and his lands.

On this communication my uncle, of course, withdrew from the purchase. Mr. Herbert afterwards became the possessor of the estate at a sum considerably less than my uncle was to have given for it. Such was the statement which my uncle frequently made. It was with him a common illustration of the working of the iniquitous penal laws. If born at the time of the transaction, I was quite too young to have known any of the facts of my own knowledge. I therefore took them and told them on his authority. That authority no man who knew my revered uncle would or could doubt. He died, in his ninety-sixth year, in 1828. He carried with him to the age of close upon a century all the clearness of a powerful intellect, and what is still more rare, all the tenderness of an affectionate heart. In the year before he died he wrote a splendid letter to the Catholic Association, in which he distinctly alluded to this very transaction. My beloved uncle ! How those who knew you would be astonished at the flippant contradiction of this uncivil young man ! though, indeed, the lame and impotent reasons on which he has based that contradiction would console them for its hardihood. He was a man of the most singular accuracy and of the highest order of integrity. In Kerry everybody knows that he was a magistrate and deputy-governor of the county—so soon as Catholics could hold the commission ; that he was a grand juror from the same period until, in his eighty-sixth year, he ceased to attend the Assizes ; that he was a man esteemed by everyone who knew him. Why should such a man invent what in that case would have been a gross calumny ? He had no object to gain by it. He entertained no resentment against the

individual, he only blamed the law; on the contrary, he said that Mr. Herbert had behaved fairly to him in cautioning him *beforehand*. Others would have allowed him to purchase, and then taken the property without any price, as the *law* would have enabled them to do. He entertained no hostility to Mr. Herbert or to his family. On the contrary, this young gentleman's grandfather stood several contests for the representation of Kerry. My uncle supported him in every one of these contests, and was always on the most friendly terms with the Herbert family. It is, therefore, utterly impossible that he should have invented the story, and I am sure the conviction of its truth will never be weakened by any contradiction of Mr. Henry Arthur Herbert, however unqualified or discourteous.

But this young man verily has, he says, reasons to sustain his contradiction! Now do just look at the admirable specimen of sound reasoning he gives us. Here it is. He has in his possession the deeds and documents—the papers, the proposal, and the letters relating to the purchase, and in all these, he says, there is not one word respecting the transaction alluded to!

What a happy discovery! what a demonstrative proof! just as if the very thing which should *not* appear in the papers, letters, and muniments of the title would not be precisely such a transaction as I have stated!

Does the young gentleman imagine that there could be found any human being so devoid of rational faculties as to leave amongst the muniments of his title such a blot as this? for, as between him and the seller of the estate, it would have been a fatal blot on the title. And because Mr. Henry Arthur Herbert does not discover that the evidence of such a blot is preserved among the papers relating to this purchase he comes forward, and, in as offensive terms as he could compose, denies that the transaction ever took place.

I do remember a witness once, in one of our courts, solemnly swore that he had been ordered to search an empty trunk and that he was astonished to find nothing in it! Mr.

Henry Arthur Herbert is one of the white witches who would, from finding nothing in an empty trunk, draw grave and potent conclusions of irresistible logic.

Wishing him better temper and sounder reasoning powers, I remain, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The great gate of Bandon once bore the inscription :—

Turk, Jew, or atheist
May enter here—but not a Papist.

Which Swift supplemented with—

Whoever wrote this wrote it well,
The same is written on the gates of Hell.

Times, however, had now changed. In November 1839, Henry Townsend, a local Protestant and descendant of a Cromwellian settler, invited O'Connell, in the name of the Liberals of the West Riding of Cork, to afford them an opportunity of evincing their respect by giving him a public dinner in Bandon. 'Your refusal to take office of the highest order,' he wrote, 'lest it should interfere with your active services in promoting the welfare of Ireland, your wise and statesmanlike determination to support a Government of whose administration you justly approve, and your anxious desire to promote the happy union of all sects and parties, clearly demonstrate a powerful mind, calculated to surmount every difficulty that forms an obstacle to the accomplishment of those great and necessary objects so essential to the future happiness of our country.

'To further this blessed sentiment of Christian charity among all classes of Irishmen it is that those whose wishes I have the honour to convey to you (professing different creeds) ask you as a favour to name a time when you can, with the least inconvenience to yourself, honour the Reformers of the West Riding of Cork with your company at a public dinner to be given in the town of Bandon.'

To Henry Townsend, D.L.

Darrynane Abbey : November 19th, 1839.

I accept the invitation with mingled sentiments of pride and pleasure. The manner in which you have conveyed it

would alone be sufficient to give me most cordial satisfaction. If I had talents commensurate with the extent of my insatiable desire to promote the liberty and happiness of our beloved country, I might aspire to the honour to be ranked amongst her greatest benefactors. But, alas! I have only the ardent inclination and the continuous activity to advance her interests. These I cheerfully devote to her service, hoping that, with the aid and co-operation of men like you, some substantial benefit may be achieved.

You do me but justice in saying that I have shown an anxious desire to promote the happy union of all sects and parties. That is, indeed, the great object of my political life. If that great object could be attained, our country would be as free and more prosperous than any other on the face of the earth.

We have all the great elements which produce legislative independence and agricultural, as well as commercial prosperity.

But dissension and religious animosity have blighted all the previous exertions of good men and all the proffered blessings of a bountiful Providence. Patriotism in Ireland emphatically consists in causing the inhabitants to combine and coalesce in the true spirit of human benevolence and Christian charity.

If the people of Ireland, now approaching to nine millions,² were reconciled to each other and would co-operate for the common good, what country on the face of the globe could be more powerful or more capable of producing all the blessings of peace and all the sweet comforts of the social state? It is because of the incalculable value of extinguishing national dissension that you, and men like you, are so truly estimable; Protestants who, like you, struggle to promote Christian goodwill to the sacrifice of sectarian prejudice and interests are, indeed, most cherished by the real friends of Ireland.

But there never was a period at which it was so necessary for the real reformers and patriots of Ireland

² The population is not four millions now.

to combine. The spirit of Toryism is rife in England. The revolutionary mania is abroad and would wreak its choicest vengeance on Ireland. On the one hand, the sanguinary and misguided Chartists seek to overthrow the groundworks of the social state—the protection of property and the institutions of the country; on the other hand, the oligarchy, headed and conducted by the peerage, strenuously endeavour to subjugate the throne and rule with absolute sway the destinies of the people. Each party is numerous and influential. Both are equally traitors to the Queen and the country. The Chartists are the less formidable of the two, because their only means—physical force—can be easily and effectually resisted. ‘The Oligarchs’ have already one branch of the Legislature their own—the House of Peers—and they almost predominate over the Commons House. Much may be left undone which the Lords would wish to see accomplished, but nothing can be done which they oppose. In this state of affairs, if they could control the Queen, the oligarchy would be complete, and the people of England would be slaves—alas! many of them willing slaves.

Unable to succeed by cajoling and deluding the Queen, the aristocrats are throwing off the mask and beginning to avow their treasonable designs. Bradshaw and Roby speak out that which others secrete and more securely contemplate.

If ever there was a time for Irish reformers to combine and consolidate their strength it is the present. I therefore rejoice at having this opportunity to preach within the walls of Bandon the pure doctrines of civil and religious liberty, to advocate there the great principle of freedom of conscience, the leading topic of my political and public life, and, above all, to solicit there ‘Peace on earth and good will amongst men.’

Let us then show our enemies the bounty and Christian charity of the principle we profess and practice; and if there be in the Bandon district, as I can well believe there are, any worthy men who mistake our motives or misunder-

stand our objects, let us convince them of their error and hold out to them the hand of peace and fellowship.

Your obliged and very faithful,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 7th December, 1839.

I arrived only this day from Bandon, where everything went on in the best possible style. You always put me in spirits. Whether we succeed or fail, may God bless you ! I really do want *the pleasures of hope*.

Could you send me the *Dublin Review* ³ in a *Castle frank* ?

*To Joseph Pease, M.P.*⁴

Darrynane Abbey : 13th Dec. 1839.

Respected Friend,—I wish to remind you of our clients, especially your clients, the people of India. I do think it must be admitted that our first public meeting was of essential utility ; it launched the great cause favourably, but now that it is on the ocean we must carry sail and seek a strong and prosperous gale. To drop metaphor, which, indeed, is not suitable to so important a subject, I would very respectfully suggest to you the propriety of bringing the matter before Parliament as speedily as possible. We must be defeated twenty times before we can succeed. The English people are careless respecting the Indians, especially by reason of their ignorance of the real state of the unfortunate natives of the Peninsula and of our other territories there. They never will be roused until they are made to understand the misery the Indian people endure from our misgovernment. We have the strongest case that ever was handled by the advocates of humanity. *First*, the misery, the wretchedness created by our misgovernment are on the greatest and most continuous scale that ever yet was known in human story. *Second*, this misgovernment is,

³ This Review belonged to the class of serial that, according to Southey, made the Primate of England start (p. 203, *ante*).

⁴ Joseph Pease, M.P. for South Durham, born 1800, died 1872. He was the first Quaker sent to Parliament.

in fact, as useless to us as it is horribly afflictive to the natives. We would obtain more revenue if we adopted a humane, just, and protective course. But why should I dwell on topics which are familiar to your mind—you who are the real parent of *this* cause? My object is to instigate you to active measures. On this subject the first and last *thing* necessary is public agitation; there should be a meeting as soon as Parliament sits. A petition should be presented to the Lords by Lord Brougham, who was a little astray at the last meeting, but who will, even to eclipse so humble a being as myself, which he can easily do, exert himself to a splendid effect. Everything is propitious for our purposes; even the recent successes of our arms add to the public interest, and, opening as they do fresh views of increased dominion, make it doubly imperative on us to prevent the extension of the *present system* of plunder of the agriculturalists. More than one hundred millions of human beings are under our control; they have oppressors and plunderers in abundance. How few friends, how few disinterested advocates have they? Again, my excellent sir, permit me to remind you that the question of compensation for the opium delivered up by Captain Elliott will come before Parliament; we must not allow one shilling to be paid for that hideous poison. This, I say emphatically, is the time to strike a great blow, to extend our forces, to rouse all the humanity and all the pure religion, pure and undefiled before God, in the British Isles to the rescue of the miserable natives, to insist upon fixed tenures and moderate rents. The former is more important still than the latter, but both are an essential to the preservation of the lives as well as to the attaining of any of the comforts of existence by the now oppressed natives. I am a practised agitator, and I know that you can never succeed in the most just cause without agitating the public mind until you obtain a sufficient moral force by means of public opinion.

Pardon me—I know you will—for this lengthened trespass. My object will be attained if you determine to come

to London and have a public meeting. Nothing but good can come of it.—Yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 14th Dec. 1839.

I will give opinions while in Dublin to any persons unwise enough to pay for them.

Your sanguine temperament has given me cheerful feelings and pleasant anticipations. Many thanks.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Merrion Square : 23rd December, 1839.

My dear and most esteemed Lord,—If the period we have arrived at were not one of singular interest I should not obtrude on your Grace's time or attention. I, however, believe that a crisis of deeper interest has not arisen for many years, nor one which in my humble judgment could be more capable of being converted into purposes of such great utility for Ireland. It is this conviction which emboldens me to ask your Grace for advice and for co-operation.

The time is come when all Catholic Ireland should rally—should form a strong and universal combination.

The Tories are united ; you perceive that they are daily becoming less careful to conceal their intentions. They avow their bitter hostility to the religion and to the people of Ireland.

The furious and most sincere of the British Tories avow their intention to re-enact the Penal Code, whilst the more wily declare their designs not to go farther than to render the Emancipation Act a mere dead letter—to leave it on the Statute book, but to render it totally inoperative in practice. I care little for its not being repealed in point of law if it be repealed in fact and in operation.

The mainspring of Tory hostility to Ireland is hatred of the Catholic religion. This is not to be endured. We cannot suffer ourselves to be trampled under the hoofs of the brutal Orangemen of either countries.

We want protection for the Catholic against all parties, Ministerial as well as Tories. My object would be once again to organise all Catholic Ireland in an effort of resistance to all our enemies.

It is proposed by some Catholics of the very moderate party to make the basis of our new exertions a declaration that the Catholics are now too numerous, possess too much property and intelligence, and are too brave to submit to *any* inferiority in their native land ; and of course that, at the price of life and fortune, they are ready to resist by all means within the law and constitution *all* and every oppression. These general principles will include all details, and, of course, involve the application of the tithe rent-charge to public purposes. I know the Education question creates a difficulty in the way of general co-operation between the Catholics. But for that I should expect the signatures of all the Catholics, prelates, priests, and people, to an exceedingly strong declaration of determined resistance to the threatened oppression.

Would to God I could interfere to have your Grace and Dr. Murray understand each other ; I mean, agree together on the proper securities against anti-Catholicism in the plan of general education. This wish is, I fear, an idle one, but if your Grace were in Dublin I do think something might be done to satisfy your just apprehensions. The scheme of giving Government dominion over Catholic education is failing on the Continent, as the Catholic people grow alarmed at its tendency.

We have ourselves to fight the battle of Ireland and Catholicity against the Orange and Tory faction. I am tremblingly alive to the part you will take ; your co-operation would, in my mind, be quite decisive of success. Of course I will not take, nor allow to be taken, any step inconsistent with law ; nor would I ask that your Grace should commit yourself one inch beyond your own inclination, but I do want your countenance—your *something more* than mere acquiescence. The larger that more is the better.

Indeed, I do believe the fate of Catholic Ireland is now

in your hands. If we had you going with us in the strength of your judgment there would arise a combination more powerful than the old Catholic Association.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 17th Jany. 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The meetings in Manchester⁵ were most glorious. It was utterly impossible to be better received than I was, though, of course, there were many Chartists present in such an assembly.

Yarde-Buller has been selected to make the anti-Ministerial motion, as being supposed not to be a Tory; but that is a mere supposition. He is as malevolent a Tory as any amongst them. But I am assured that we shall beat them, and the lowest calculation is by twelve. The Radicals will on this occasion vote with us to a man. After that motion no other attempt to distort the Ministry will be made by the *Tory power*. Some say our majority will be near thirty; but all agree that we shall have a majority.⁶

I have every reason to hope and believe that the Chartists will soon be exploded. All the reasonable men will join the Reformers. This change, if it takes place, will have a more powerful effect than you can easily suppose without knowing more of the working of the internal policy of this country than anyone in Ireland.

We expect to gain all the elections except Newark; that will be a great loss in the person of the Solicitor-General.

The House of Commons will firmly assert its privileges, and all other bodies must therefore yield.

Private. I send this day a cheque to Wright for £500. This is for London expenses. The action at the suit of Livesey costs me £174!!! What we suffer for our country!

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁵ The Anti-Corn Law banquet.

⁶ Sir J. Yarde-Buller's motion of want of confidence in the Ministry

was defeated by twenty-one votes on January 31.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 29th January, 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I enclose you a cheque for £310. . . .

I have the pleasure to tell you that the political prospects are daily becoming more bright. The debate last night was all in favour of Ministers. There never was such a contrast as that between the miserable drivelling of the Opposition and the powerful discourses at our side. We will, I now think, have a majority of twenty. I know two belonging heretofore to the Tory ranks who will certainly vote with us. We fear no defection but that of Fielden of Oldham. On the other hand, Sir William Molesworth has come up to town for the express purpose of supporting the Ministry. In short, this attempt to upset the Administration will give it additional strength. There is no doubt of another year of a Liberal Government, not the least.

You will be surprised to hear that there are not to be any creations of titles on the occasion of the marriage.⁷ I have this from the very highest authority.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 3rd February, 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Be joyful and rejoice and thank God, for the Tories are completely discomfited. They are in absolute despair of gaining office. A high man amongst them said to me in a *private* conversation that he admitted the debate⁸ did the Tories the greatest disservice, and that the Whigs had ensured another year of office. The truth is, Peel sees distinctly that he cannot hold power in this country with his present adherents without risking a revolution. For my own part, I solemnly assure you that my conviction is that the Tories will never obtain the Govern-

⁷ Of Queen Victoria with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg.

⁸ On Sir J. Yarde-Buller's motion.

ment of this country. All Peel's adherents of the violent school are quite mad with him. They say he has betrayed them. The truth is, this attack on the Ministry was directed by the Duke of Wellington at the Apsley House meeting the day before the Session commenced. Stanley, amongst the Commoners, was violently favourable to the attempt. They are all distracted at their utter defeat. The Ministry have a good working majority—over twenty—during this Parliament to turn the scale against them, so that you may congratulate all the friends of Ireland on the stability of the Administration. In fact, there is a real reaction against the Tories. The Tory Radicals are almost annihilated, and the spirit of Reform, believe me, *for I know it*, will soon be roused in a shape highly useful to the present Ministers. Rejoice, then, and be glad, for the foe is really prostrate.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Feb. 4, 1840.

All I can say of politics is that we are now soberly engaged enjoying our triumph, and the certainty of the Ministers remaining in office, with the additional conviction gaining ground that the Tories NEVER will regain power. Blessed be God, the Queen is exceedingly angry with the Tories! They had done all they can to spite and *thwart* her. So much the better for honest folk.

Yours ever most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To James Martin.

London : 4th February, 1840.

My dear Sir,—I have the honour to transmit, for the Trades Political Union, the answer of the Marquis of Normanby⁹ on the subject of the petition to Her Majesty on behalf of Frost¹ and his fellow-convicts, which was signed

⁹ Then Home Secretary.

¹ John Frost, an ex-magistrate, had been found guilty of high treason for his descent on Newport at the head of 10,000 armed Chartists. A brisk fire was kept up, during

which the mayor received a bad wound; but a volley from the military having left twenty of the Chartists dead and numbers wounded, Frost's followers dispersed in confusion.

by me as President of the Trades Union. It confirms the gratifying fact that the lives of these unfortunate men are to be spared, though the enormity of their guilt forbids that they should remain altogether unpunished. I submitted to his Lordship that the Irish were peculiarly entitled to be heard favourably by our most gracious Queen, as they had never countenanced the guilty pursuits of the Chartists; but, on the contrary, had rejected and defeated the missionaries who had come to Ireland to preach Chartist violence and insurrection. I stated, also, that the members of the Trades Political Union were foremost in this loyal demonstration. I do trust that your petition was one of the ingredients in the wise and humane determination of the Ministry to advise Her Majesty to an act of mercy so congenial to her very amiable feelings and goodness of heart.

Believe me to be,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 6th February, 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—There never was such a storm² for nothing as the Flour question. How ignorant Bianconi and Co. are when they tell you they would not object to the introduction of American *wheat*, but do to *flour*. Why, the wheat can at present be imported and always could. In England flour can also be imported, but it cannot in Ireland. So far the Corn Laws in both countries differ. There is an additional monopoly in Ireland, namely, that of flour. This is solely for the benefit of Irish millers. You know, and the world knows, I oppose every kind of monopoly,

² I can find no report of the meeting in question, but the cause of 'the storm' is easily gathered. The *Dublin Evening Post* of February 8, 1840, mentions that the duty of 20s. 8d. had been paid on foreign wheat in Dublin, but that 'now a further advance on that rate of duty' had been levied. Soon after I find a Bill brought in provid-

ing that 'so much of the Act of George IV. as prohibits the importation into Ireland of wheat, meal and flour be repealed.' At last Free Trade was carried, mainly through the energy of Cobden, in 1846; and statues have been raised to him as its 'Apostle'; but the principle had been advocated by Adam Smith so far back as 1776.

and above all, the Corn Law monopoly, and I would make myself ridiculous and contemptible if I were to stand by the Irish millers' monopoly, superinduced as it is upon the original Corn Law monopoly, and aggravating it of necessity.

The reason why the second monopoly—the millers'—on the back of the other—the Corn Law—has been allowed to subsist is that Ireland is a country *exporting* wheat and flour. Until the last two seasons I cannot find that there was any foreign corn imported into Ireland. I do not find either at the Board of Trade or from practical millers that a single grain had been previously imported. But these two years the quantity of Irish wheat is small, and therefore some foreign wheat has been introduced, but the quantity, after all, is *very very* inconsiderable.

Now the last Irish wheat crop was not only deficient in quantity but defective in quality, so that it would be injurious to the human health unless mixed with a better quality of flour, which can be got only from abroad—in fact, from America, the *dry* flour of which is just the corrective wanting to our flour. This flour, in order to be introduced at all, *must* pay the full duty. It seems to some of my friends that *our* plan is to introduce flour duty free. I am sincerely sorry to say it is no such thing. The flour, I repeat, pays the full duty. So far, therefore, as the former is concerned he does not lose any part of his *protection*, that protection being the duty. But then comes out upon me the miller and says, 'The present law entitles me to *all the profit of grinding* the corn. Bring in foreign corn, but let me, the Irish miller, have the profit of grinding.' Now he can grind cheaper or as cheap or less cheap than the foreign miller. If the first, he will easily drive the foreign firm out of the market by buying foreign corn and grinding it. Even if he can grind as cheaply he still has the home market nearer him, and the foreign miller will also be defeated. But if he grinds less cheaply then the public of Ireland are entitled to the same protection against the Irish miller which the English people have against the English miller. Be-

sides, it is an ascertained fact that foreign corn ground in Ireland will not be sufficiently dry in time to cure the deleterious effects of the bad quality of the Irish wheat of this season. I have considered the subject fully. I am convinced that a ridiculously undue importance is given to the subject in Ireland, and that at all events my principles, founded on the advantage of the greatest number, command me to get rid of this monopoly.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 8th February, 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I enclose you a cheque for £414, and a draft on FitzSimon for £210, which will, when paid, *abolish* £1,000 I got on his acceptance.

All looks well in the political world. The Tories are scattered and powerless. Lord John is too pliant on the Privileges question; but, in other respects, all is quite satisfactory. The Queen's marriage attracts little attention. It is surprising how indifferent the public appear to it. But there is a lull in politics after the recent storm—a lull on our parts of great security. The promotion of Liberal politics and politicians in Ireland is now the great study of the Ministry. There is no danger of a dissolution, nor any necessity for it. Everything will be done in the next week to arrange a committee in this city to forward the Irish Registries.

I send you a specimen on this paper of the ingenious devices³ which have strangely grown up under the auspices of the Penny Postage Bill.

Ever faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 15th February, 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Of course you command all the interest I can in any wise make for your being Town Clerk

³ Mulready's envelope. O'Connell had taken a great interest in Postal Reform, offered to move for a committee on the question, and

of the new Corporation. *You supersede all others in my grateful estimation.* Begin, therefore, your canvass with the certainty of having me with you heart and soul. Find out *privately* what William S. Hart, the attorney, is looking for, and let me know, that I may *privately* take means to put him on another scent if he be looking for the Town Clerkship.⁴

You have seen in the papers a Ministerial defeat⁵ and may be alarmed at it. I write to quiet your fears. It will not, and cannot, have any consequences, save to make our party more vigilant, as we had forces in town sufficient, if brought up, to turn the balance the other way. Besides, that pig-headed fellow Hume—a man totally devoid of tact—carried over three of ours. The Tories whipped up their men from a distance of more than one hundred miles. We did not get in even those actually in London. The only evil effect is, that it will give some encouragement to the Rascals, or rather the 'Vagabonds,' at your side of the water.

The Duke of Wellington has had another attack on Wednesday. They say, I believe with truth, that it was epilepsy. He has been, it seems, subject to a repetition of epileptic fits for some time past. He was better yesterday. They administered, it is said, a large quantity of calomel—a medicine too powerful for his failing constitution. No doubt is entertained of his being speedily *hors de combat* as a political man. Peel, too, looks very ill. The party, if they lost him, would be in sad want of leaders, as the Duke is actually lost.⁶

From what fell from Jackson I should fear that the Corporation Bill will be so mutilated by the Lords as to be totally unacceptable.—Your most grateful and sincere

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

was the most prominent figure in the deputation that waited on Lord Melbourne. (See *Life of Rowland Hill*, vol. i. p. 278.)

⁴ Mr. FitzPatrick never became Town Clerk. O'Connell did better for him in procuring the appointment of Assistant Registrar of Deeds. (*Vide* sequel to letter of Feb-

ruary 8, 1847, *infra*.)

⁵ Mr. Herries's amendment to the Budget, carried by ten votes.

⁶ The Duke survived twelve years from this date, and is described by Raikes as reading with zest and unction the proclamation which checkmated O'Connell at Clontarf.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 20th February, 1840.

Do not believe the Duke of Wellington to be recovering. He is merely dragging on from day to day, and if he continues alive he is politically defunct. Prince Albert is a fine-looking young man with a very manly countenance. I got a smile from her and a civil bow from him yesterday.

24th February, 1840.

I am assured from high authority that the Tory party are crumbling into factions. Do not let it get into the newspapers, but I heard it from most excellent authority indeed, derived from a personal friend of Peel, that he was so disgusted with his own party—I should say with the Conservatives—that he was determined after Easter to spend some time on the Continent; indeed, the residue of the Session. This and the political demise of the Duke give Ireland a prospect of peace.

I write merely to say that there is not the least reason to despond or to be out of spirits at the defeat of last night. It does not in the least degree affect the Ministry.

The Bill shall not and cannot pass, but Ireland must be roused. See William Murphy. I will be in Dublin during Easter week. Consult about a great public meeting. I will write again, please God, to-morrow.

Ever yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Bahoss : 9 Sept. 1840.

What a pity that I have nobody to answer the very answerable articles on Repeal in the London Press. Staunton is my only support in that respect.⁷ If you would speak to Barrett to *read* those articles, he would then answer them.

⁷ In marshalling statistics, a point in which O'Connell was not the strongest.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 14th Sept. 1840.

I always agreed with Conway that we should have war ;^s I think it quite inevitable. Pigs and Papists will begin to look up again. Seriously, the result of a present war may be beyond conjecture useful to Ireland.

I have had delightful hunting since I came here, and am grown young again. . . .

The Repeal prospects are brightening at every side.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 6th November, 1840.

I feel nervous, but you always cheer me. Do you hear anything about Carlow? Surely Bruen is not to be allowed to walk over! Alas! that they did not join the Repeal cry.

^s With China. In January 1841 diplomatic negotiations with that Power ceased; Chuen-pe and Tae-

coc-tow fell before the British arms, and Hong Kong was ceded to England.

CHAPTER XVIII

Repeal Association founded—The Duke of Leinster—‘Scorpion’ Stanley—Radical Secession—Defeat of the Government—Dr. MacHale receives O’Connell’s Confidence—Outlook ‘dark and dismal’—Attempt upon the Life of Queen Victoria—‘The Hanoverian Conspiracy’—Ministry again beaten—The Son of a Peer commits Arson—Grave Charge against an Irish Catholic Bishop—W. H. Maxwell—Government Money for the Mayo Election—Prince Albert—Every Nerve strained in the Contest for Dublin—O’Connell ousted from the Representation.

ON April 15, 1840, O’Connell founded the Repeal Association. Repeal was no novel project with him. On the night that Catholic Emancipation passed, when both stood witnesses of the incident, Carew O’Dwyer slapped him on the shoulder, exclaiming: ‘Othello’s occupation’s gone!’ ‘Gone!’ cried the Liberator with an arch smile, ‘Isn’t there a Repeal of the Union?’¹

The old Whig leaders now sought to dissuade him from embarking in the new course of agitation, but zealously demanded justice for Ireland in other shapes. Their manifesto has been described in connection with the letter of March 28, 1840. Writing to FitzPatrick at this time, O’Connell says:—‘Shortly after I got your letter Lords Charlemont and Gosford came to consult me on *that* subject. You will see my opinion in Monday’s *Pilot*. I approve of every effort to do good to Ireland, but retain my Repeal agitation, which, by the bye, is the cause of this step.’

The Repeal movement had assumed so formidable a character in 1830 that the aristocracy, it will be remembered, became alarmed. The Duke of Leinster led a counter-movement, and published a declaration which expressed a strong desire for the permanence of British connection, and deprecated political discussions as likely to produce results prejudicial to the interests of Ireland. Among the signatories were Lords Ross, Portarlington, Cloncurry, Enniskillen, and De Vesci. This document became widely celebrated as ‘the Leinster Declaration.’

¹ The late A. Carew O’Dwyer to the editor, December 6, 1859.

To the Duke of Leinster.

London : March 28, 1840.

My Lord Duke,—It was with the most sincere respect that I differed from your Grace upon the part which you took in the years 1831 and 1832, and against the agitation for the repeal of the legislative union. But I recollect with gratitude that your opposition to such agitation was accompanied with an avowed hope, and a *distinct demand*, that the Imperial Parliament should do justice to Ireland.

My Lord Duke, I respectfully remind you of that hope and of that demand; and I submit to your judgment whether the hope has not been disappointed, and the demand disregarded, with more of indifference, if not of contempt, than could have been anticipated by any rational being, with respect to a demand made on the occasion, and with the political weight of your Grace, and of those who joined with you in supporting the *Declaration against Repeal* at that period. . . .

We have all been disappointed, deluded in our hope, and deceived in our expectation of attaining our just object. That object was the perfect *Identification* of the Rights, Privileges, Franchises, and Liberties of the Irish People with those of the British People.

My Lord, that Union which you, in your exalted station, conscientiously uphold, and which I, in my humbler capacity, would wish to repudiate and repeal; that union is but a name and a mockery, whilst it leaves the people of Ireland in an inferior station of political rights and privileges; and unless it so amalgamates the people of both countries that there shall be no distinction or difference between them, no inferiority on the one part, nor superiority upon the other, and unless *all* shall be placed upon an equality in the eye of the law and in the enjoyment of the constitution. . . .

In sadness and in sorrow I respectfully claim your Grace's patriotic sympathy with me and with the insulted people of Ireland. This is not the union which *you*

support. I am sure it is not that which you would consent to make perpetual. The blood of your ancestors flows in your veins with a more gentle current. Those ancestors have given to the liberties of Ireland many a patriot, many a martyr ! But the pulse of your heart beats as true to all the sympathies, affections, and ardent aspirations for the liberties of old Ireland as did that of any of your venerated progenitors. . . .

I conclude, my Lord, with respectfully imploring your Grace to take your natural station at the head of the Irish people in protection of their rights. Your eldest son, the hope of Kildare, has just entered upon manhood ; you may possibly deem it a fit occasion to introduce him to the service of that people, whose love and veneration he may easily obtain. But, at all events, my Lord, I venture to call upon *you*. The declaration which you together with that other admirable nobleman Lord Charlemont have procured to be so numerously signed is a great national service. But, great as that service is. it consists in *words* : Ireland now requires *deeds*.

For my part I place myself under your Grace's commands. I shall be in Dublin in about a fortnight, sooner should your Grace condescend to require it. I submit to your judgment that all Ireland should be aroused in its peaceful strength. That from the north to the south a great popular demonstration should be made. Parliament must hear the Voice of Ireland ; that voice must also be heard claiming the protection and countenance of our beloved Queen, the best of her race ! the first British Monarch who knew how to appreciate the loyalty and affection of her temperate, moral, religious, and brave Irish subjects.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It will surprise many persons who knew Augustus, Duke of Leinster, that O'Connell's letter should have succeeded in rousing him into activity. Within the next few weeks—*i.e.* in Máy 1840—there appeared a declaration signed

by the Duke and Lord Charlemont, in which they said that the efforts which had lately been made in England to revive exploded prejudices and to raise an outcry against the Government, because Roman Catholics as well as Protestants had been appointed to office, appeared so unjust and mischievous in their effects as to impel them to the step. The great mass of the people in Great Britain was Protestant, in Ireland Roman Catholic, and the Duke submitted that, whoever tried to set Protestants against Catholics, laboured to set Great Britain against Ireland, and consequently Ireland against Great Britain.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 28th March, 1840.

My dear Friend,—I enclose you a *reformed* cheque, being for £120, the amount of Jeremiah Dunne's bill. I wrote the former with a batch of expectants most unpleasantly boring me. I continued to write in order to signify my wish to be left alone.

The Ministry had another defeat last night, owing entirely to the unpopularity of Spring Rice, though he was not directly involved. Many of our best men, such as Bannerman and Warburton, Paterson of the City, Mark Phillips, and several others, went away without voting. Eight or ten of those who ought to be ours, such as Wakely and, of course, pig-headed Hume, voted plump against us. The Tories crow over it as a great victory ; but it is no such thing, nor does it affect the stability of the Ministry in the slightest degree. It is one of the occasions which, not having any vital importance, and being in itself wrong, prevents our men from mustering, and causes the ' affected ' part of them to go over to the enemy. I repeat, however, that the least importance is not to be attached to it as endangering the Ministry, who are exceedingly strong at Court, and the Court itself is much strengthened by the popularity of the Queen.

I fear I *must* go to Galway for Kirwan's trial ; I mean the ejectment brought against Dean Kirwan.²

² This case is not mentioned in Burke's *History of the Connaught Circuit*.

Can you tell me in strict confidence how stands the Education quarrel amongst our Bishops? Let me have the facts accurately. I shudder when I see them getting into print.³ How I wish that they would come to an unanimous determination not to publish any more letters in the newspapers. Our enemies triumph every time an angry letter appears. I will, of course, make no public or indiscreet use of the information you give me.

Ever yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The biographers of O'Connell think that the nickname 'Scorpion' Stanley was of the Great Agitator's concoction. It did not originate with him, as is clear from the following letter. Stanley's sting had often gone deep into O'Connell's sensibilities during the debate on the Irish Municipal Bill. O'Connell, observing Stanley taking notes for a reply, said: 'I see the noble Lord 'dipping his pen in ink; he may dip it in gall if he chooses, but he cannot weaken the position that I have taken.'

To Richard Barrett.

London: 30 March, 1840.

My dear Barrett,—I beg to call your particular attention to the first article in the *Examiner* of yesterday on the subject of Stanley's attempt to abrogate the Irish Reform Bill. It is an admirable article, and if it had no other merit it would be a great one, that it has fixed on Stanley for life the appellation of 'Scorpion' Stanley. It is a short but most expressive name, 'Scorpion' Stanley. It is the more appropriate, as Ireland is blessed with soil to which serpents and adders and scorpions, and other venomous things that crawl and kill also, when they can, are quite ungenial and incapable of protracted existence.

The attack Stanley has made on Irish liberty justifies

³ Some very caustic letters appeared at this time addressed by Archbishop MacHale to Archbishop Murray.

⁴ The same peer has often been credited with the saying that 'inde-

pendent men were men whom nobody can depend upon;' but it may be found in a speech of O'Connell's delivered at Cork on August 30, 1813.

and merits the name. Let us, on our part, exert the native energy of our irresistible people. You, of course, have seen and will circulate my letter to the Duke of Leinster. It will be followed by another, an address to the Irish nation, which I hope will appear in your paper of Friday. They must rouse from the Giants' Causeway to Cape Clear, peaceably and constitutionally, but determinedly and, I trust, unanimously.

My plan is to go over to Ireland early in Holy Week, to assist in the meantime in organising every parish in Ireland. The North is now always ready for legal agitation.

One of the most excellent of the Liberal papers of Ireland, the *Vindicator*,⁵ is established at Belfast, and it has given a tone and a temper to the honest and independent Catholics of Ulster which have made them shake off the miserable subserviency to pretended friends and enabled them to act manfully for themselves. The North, too, has another admirable newspaper, the *Newry Examiner*, conducted by one of the most eloquent and most amiable young men of the Irish Bar,⁶ a learned friend of mine. With these auxiliaries we will be able to rouse the energies of the sturdy North, no longer the black North.

The rest of Ireland we will easily wake into exertion.

Stanley's Bill⁷ is, in fact, a Bill to take away from the Catholic people of Ireland, and from the humbler classes of Protestants and Presbyterians, all participation in the franchise.

I beg of you to print at full length the article I alluded to in the *Examiner*. I think I can promise you my address to the Irish people for your paper on Friday. It shall originate with you.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁵ Edited by Mr. (now Sir) C. Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G., late Premier of Victoria.

⁶ Thomas (afterwards Lord) O'Hagan.

⁷ On March 25 Lord Stanley carried against the Ministry a motion to introduce an Irish Voters' Registration Bill, providing for the annual revision of the registers.

To Archbishop MacHale.

(Private.)

London : 8th April, 1840.

My ever venerated and dear Lord,—Whenever I have formed the intention of making a *great* popular movement, or a movement which I hope to be *great*, I have in latter times taken the liberty of announcing my intentions to your Grace in the strong wish to obtain the aid of your giant mind and national influence. In this I have not been very successful. I got from you much excellent and wise advice, but active co-operation you thought it fit not to give me. I bow with submissive respect to the judgment which induced you to decline, I would not, and I could not say, to refuse me, that co-operation. I have neither the right nor the inclination to complain of your decision. If you were not as free as air to act or not to act I would not be guilty of the great presumption of addressing your Grace on political subjects at all, or in any contingency.

With these sentiments, embodied as they are with the most profound respect, I now lay before your Grace my present plan.

It is this :

To organise a ‘Justice or Repeal’ Association. The justice I require branches itself into four different heads of grievance.

1st. The payment and support by the State in Ireland of the Church of the minority of the Irish people. This is the first, the greatest of our grievances.

2nd. The omission to give the Irish full corporate reform.

3rd. The omission to give the Irish people the same political franchises which the people of England enjoy.

4th. The omission to give the people of Ireland an adequate share of parliamentary representation.

The association I propose will organise, I hope, the Irish people to insist on the redress, the full redress, of the

grievances from the Imperial Parliament, then from a restored domestic Legislature.

I was to have a provincial meeting in Connaught, to oppose Stanley's Bill and to promote the Association I have above sketched, but I *will* not *invade* your province without your previous sanction, or at least your previous assent.

I hope to find a letter from you on Monday next at Merrion Square.

You were, in your former letters, pleased to labour with me to use my influence with the present Ministry to adopt a more liberal course of legislation in Ireland, or I should say *for* Ireland; and you conveyed the idea to my mind that I ought to obtain from the Government that adoption by menacing to desert them at their need and to allow the Tories to put them out. It was in vain that I assured your Grace that the leading men of the present Ministry, and especially Lord John Russell, desire, and anxiously desire, an honourable opportunity of giving up power.

They do not cling to it, believe me. I do beg of you to believe me, for I know the fact, they do not cling to office with that tenacity that would make such a menace of the slightest avail. Now do, my dear and most revered Lord, *believe me*, that this is the simple fact; nay, they menace me to resign unless I satisfy them in my conduct.

Under these circumstances, is it *too much* for me to ask your Grace to believe me that I am utterly unable to *influence* the Government? I implore of you to have this ingredient in your mind in coming to any determination, that I cannot possibly persuade the Ministry to adopt or reject any particular measure, or take any particular course.

It is true that I have already written to this effect to your Grace; but, alas! you seemed not to credit my assertion, and now I respectfully solicit an answer, if you think fit to write to me at all. Do you believe me when I say I am utterly powerless in respect to influencing,

persuading, or in any way affecting the acts of the Ministry? ⁸

My own private and confidential opinion is, that the Tories will soon, very soon, be in office.⁹

One reason why I wish to organise Ireland is this conviction.

Give me any, even the slightest hint, that you see any inconvenience in my going into Connaught, and I will not approach its borders. One unhappy event,¹ on the other hand, has prevented the Irish people from having the 'power of the West' with them. I blame nobody.

If anybody be to blame, I am probably the man.

I certainly know no person in that province who ought to share any such blame. Nor do I, nor can I possibly, either directly or indirectly, allude to any other circumstance, or to what may have happened in the unquestionably conscientious discharge of my duty.

I do, in conclusion, implore your Grace to forgive me for this intrusion. It is, indeed, dictated by the most sincere respect, the most unqualified veneration, and the *not culpable* anxiety to stand well in your judgment as a public man and as a Christian.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell published at this time an address to the people of Mayo and Kilkenny on the dereliction of duty by Sir William Brabazon and Colonel Butler. Enclosing a part of the MS. to Barrett, he writes on April 8, 1840: 'I

⁸ This attitude was assumed by the Ministry after O'Connell, having given them a fair trial, unfurled the flag of Repeal.

⁹ This is not quite consistent with O'Connell's assurance to Fitz-Patrick a few days before, but probably he deemed it expedient to keep him in good heart. Fitz-Patrick could pull countless wires in the organisation, and much depended on his zealous perseverance. With the Archbishop, O'Connell was as unreserved as in the confessional.

¹ This probably refers to the opposition given by Dr. MacHale to O'Connell's Tithe Bill and to the scheme of National Education. The first provided that the Church surplus should be appropriated to popular instruction. O'Connell had set his heart on these measures, but he reluctantly told Lord John Russell that the appropriation principle must be dropped. (See letter of May 31, 1837, and the explanatory matter that follows.)

have been able to perform only half my afflicting task. It is deplorable that the Irish people should be thus deserted.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Fragment.)

London : 9th April, 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I enclose you a cheque, as you require, for £214. We are, thank God, rid of poor Jerry McCarthy's account. He was an excellent friend and I paid him some thousands. God be merciful to him!²

I am now told that we are to have a majority of from eight to sixteen. It is too bad that two Irish vagabonds should be away. Brabazon is a fool,³ but Col. Butler is a knave.

There is nothing, my dear friend, for it in either country but agitation. I must have a permanent Association in Dublin. There is no possibility of going on without it. The Repeal must mingle in the cry, 'Justice or Repeal.' That is for Ireland. For England, *further and adequate Reform*. I am engaged in a Committee to arrange the plan of such a Society, and am detained here for Saturday *on that account*. My intention is to go to Liverpool in the night train of Sunday, and to Dublin on the day steamer of Monday.

A Repeal Association or any permanent body will injure your operations for me, as the parishes in general will not make double contributions. I, of course, freely submit to the sacrifice.⁴

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London : 23rd May, 1840 [late].

My dear FitzPatrick,—I must on Monday draw a cheque on the Hibernian Bank. I depend on you to take

² See letter of July 5, 1833.

³ Sir Wm. Brabazon, M.P. for Mayo.

⁴ Every man who subscribed £1 per annum became a member of the Association, while for 1s. he was enrolled a Repealer. But the bone and sinew of the organisation was made up of pence. The rank and file of the Repeal army paid each one copper coin per month. Thus

the rent proved no burthen to the people, while the £100,000 levied in one year was a startling proof of the extent of the organisation. It has been said that not Frederick of Prussia in the Seven Years' War, nor Hercules at death grips with the Nemean lion, laboured with fiercer strain than O'Connell in the great cause which he had now taken in hand.

care of it. Pray, pray contrive to do this. It will be for £250.

I told you Stanley's Bill would go into Committee. I thought his majority would be greater, but in the event itself I was right. I now tell you he will succeed in every stage of it. The Tories are determined to carry it, and of course there are loose fists enough amongst the Whigs to assist in the attack against Ireland. The prophecies of its being thrown out are all idle. I tell you Tory power is *consolidated* to carry the Bill. If I could rouse the Repeal cry sufficiently it would be otherwise. If, for example, some of the Catholic Prelates joined the Association it would have a great effect, but there is a weakening in the holding back of the Catholic Clergy generally, and if this Bill was not so pressing and so mischievous I should not be surprised or at all sorry for their not coming forward so soon. I will endeavour to go over next week and make a strenuous effort to procure support.

There is nothing else new. In fact, this Bill absorbs all the public attention. The conduct of Lord Howick and of his comrade is atrocious. His father came to town since the second reading, and has a notion that if matters are sufficiently disturbed he will be called on to form a new Administration—a thing which is just as probable as that they should call on the Lord Mayor of Dublin to be Prime Minister. But the old — is acting on this notion, and it is to the last degree probable that he has driven his son to the wicked course he has taken. I should not care but for the criminal apathy of Ireland.

To Richard Barrett.

London: 25 May, 1840.

My dear Barrett,—I write to caution you against giving credence to those who tell you that the Scorpion Bill⁵ will

⁵ 'Lord Stanley's Disfranchisement Bill,' as the *Liberator* calls it. Lord Campbell says that 'Stanley's

Registration Bill was to cut off the tail of the Liberator.'—*Life of Campbell*, ii. 141.

certainly be thrown out. It is, to say the least of it, exceedingly doubtful. . . .

We are treated as if we were Helots. Where is the Irishman who claims manhood who will stand by in silent apathy at this crisis? Violence, outrage, or turbulence cannot afford us relief. On the contrary, the commission of any one crime would weaken us and strengthen our enemies. Let, then, the Irish rally with me for Repeal. Let that rally err at the side of forbearance and submission, even beyond obedience to the law; but let it be animated, lively, and persevering. . . . I will never crouch in acquiescence. My struggle has begun; I will terminate it only in death or Repeal.—In every event and always,

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 30th May, 1840.

I enclose you the stamp accepted. I ought to have sent it sooner, but everything is growing dark and dismal. My daughter is ill, very ill. . . . We lose a Welch county, and they say the County of Monaghan. Ireland is in foolish apathy. May God help us! His holy will be done! I will not, because I cannot, go to Dublin for some days to come. Of course I feel very unhappy. The first moment I can I will write to Dr. Blake⁶ and Dr. MacHale.

London: 9 June, 1840.

The Ministry are safe, as they had the majority yesterday against Stanley. But no person can tell what will become of the Bill. I am very apprehensive lest it should become law in many of its mischievous provisions. The scale trembles in the balance, and we are not sure of Lord Howick for one hour.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁶ Bishop of Dromore.

On June 10, 1840, a man named Oxford discharged two pistol-shots into the carriage of the Queen as she passed.

Raikes's Journal of June 12 says, 'He is not insane, but thoughtless and indifferent about his crime: he makes no confession, and it seems impossible to unravel his motives.' The following day he was acquitted on the ground of insanity. O'Connell refers to a curious report that Oxford was the instrument of some of the King of Hanover's friends.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 14th June, 1840.

At present they are not traced, but unless the Government be unwilling to *explode* the real conspirators the entire will come out.⁷

There are symptoms of the conspiracy being extensive, and its acting parties intelligent. An attempt has been made to palm a wrong ball on the police. A flattened ball was found on the ground, but it was too large for the pistol. If they had not been compared at once, but the comparison left for the trial, it would have operated favourably for the prisoner, and was probably so intended. The horrible fate of Ireland if the assassin succeeded is too dreadful to be looked at. We should, I do verily believe, have a persecution of blood.

This is really the time when men ought to join the Repealers, so as to be organised legally before there is any change.

Raikes, the Tory friend of Wellington, records with gusto on Saturday, June 13, that Ministers had 'been again beaten by a majority of 11 on Stanley's Registration Bill. 'O'Connell,' he adds, 'is furious at this defeat, which will curtail his influence in Ireland.'

⁷ The life of the young Queen stood between Ernest of Hanover and the English throne. O'Connell felt convinced that the conspiracy of 1837 was not yet dead.

In 1840 the King of Hanover offered an insult to Queen Victoria

by refusing to give up to her an apartment in her own palace which she desired to dispose of. (See Greville's *Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, 1837 to 1852, vol. i. p. 281.)

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : June 14th.

Stanley's Bill comes on again to-morrow. In a daring contest to usurp a Government day any other man but he would shrink from such an unexampled act of audacity. As long as Parliament has sat—at least since the reign of Elizabeth—Monday and Friday belong to the Government. This is the first attempt to take one of them away. I expect that he will be beaten on *this* point, but then he comes on again on Thursday, and that day will decide the disfranchisement of Ireland. I cannot possibly say how that day will *result*, as the Americans say, but it will be decisive.

I am sorry to tell you that I see scarcely a possibility of preserving the Corporate Reform Bill from the fangs of the vile Duke.

There is nothing for it, my dear friend, but Repeal.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 30th June, 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I delayed writing to you until I could give you some authentic information on the subject of *the future*. I did much apprehend that the Ministers would upon our last defeat throw up the game in despair, and this opinion was much fortified by a very influential supporter of theirs, who told me that he and others would advise them to resign. I confess my heart sunk within me at the dismal prospect that resignation would open for Ireland, especially as there are so many base and sluggish amongst our own people, and in particular amongst the wealthy classes, to countenance any Government that condescended to play the hypocrite ever so little. The restoration to power of the Orange faction would be accompanied with such horrible vexation as to render it impossible to calculate how long we should be able to preserve the peace. But I need not for the present dwell on these things, be-

cause one of the men in power told me they were determined that nothing should induce them to resign until after the birth of the Queen's child.^s They deem themselves bound to keep her from the turmoil and uneasiness of a change of Ministry and of a dissolution until after she is a mother and recovered from her confinement. Thus we are sure of remaining in our present position until next February. In the meantime many a card may turn up a trump. It is known that the Tories are much divided amongst themselves, and if any one section of them were to join the Government all would be safe.

I hope you have read the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday. There is a beautiful spirit-stirring article on Agitation in it. The truth is, they ought to feel that if my 'Repeal Society' had increased so as to attract attention here it would create an alarm for the consequences, an alarm salutary for every good purpose. I think you may communicate this hint in the proper quarters, but I leave it altogether to your discretion.

I am deeply grieved to see the prospects of the harvest becoming unfavourable. We have HEAT with a north wind for many days. What do you hear in Ireland as to the coming harvest, especially the potato harvest?

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

You see the Corporation Bill is GONE. It never will *pass* the House of Lords.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

1st July, 1840.

All going on well with the Ministry. The Tories more and more divided. The Duke on the Canada Bill at direct variance with Peel. Lord Brougham seems fearfully gone in health.

To Archbishop MacHale.

(Private.)

Merrion Square: 16th July, 1840.

My dear and venerated Lord,—You have probably been

^s The Princess Royal.

witnessing, at least occasionally, in the newspapers, my progress. If so, you will have seen that I have devoted myself to the restoration of the Irish Parliament—a matter of difficulty, but an impossibility only to those who will not take the proper means to overcome the difficulty.

I have placed, as a master grievance to be redressed by the Repeal of the Union, the payment by the nation of the Church of the minority.

I am convinced that there is no mode of attaining this object but through the Repeal agitation.

Of course your Grace will not mistake me so far as to suppose that I obtrude these opinions as presuming to call for your assent. I simply state them to be understood as to the principles on which I act, being (as I am) convinced that, if there be not a combined effort made by the Irish people, Stanley's Bill will be carried into law in the next Session.

The effect will be to repeal in substance the Reform and the Emancipation Acts.

I propose to contribute to the development of the public sentiment by attending provincial meetings during the vacation. Of course I will not *invade* Connaught without the assent of your Grace, and, indeed, I should say without your co-operation. I propose Tuam as the place; the time I would leave to your Grace, if you shall be so kind as to assist me; and you must perceive that I am incapable of fixing on Tuam without your approbation. My object would be to forward the Repeal if that were practicable, but if not, to confine the object to these four:—

1st. Petitions for the extinction or public appropriation of the tithe rent-charge.

2nd. Petitions for the extension of the elective franchise in Ireland.

3rd. Petitions against any Bill on the principle of Lord Stanley's Bill.

4th. Petitions for full corporate reform.

Those who choose to assist in the Repeal and to declare themselves Repealers, would have an opportunity of doing

so, but I confess I should desire a Repeal resolution of the provincial meeting, if attainable.

An organisation by parishes, for the purpose of carrying the above objects into effect, would be very desirable.

In short, if we had the Repeal—

Religion would be free.

Education would be free.

The press would be free.

No sectarian control over Catholics; no Catholic control over sectarians; that is, no species of political ascendancy. The law would, of course, sanction in the fullest measure the spiritual authority of the episcopal order over religious discipline amongst Catholics, including Catholic education.

These are plans of great importance. I think I could, with support from a chosen few, comparatively speaking, carry them into full effect.

I go specially to Mayo, *I believe*—certainly to Galway.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Castlebar: 23rd July, 1840.

I am greatly pleased at my son Morgan's⁹ match.

In other respects I am very unhappy. But for you, I know not what would become of me. May God bless you!

To Archbishop MacHale.

Castlebar: 25th July, 1840.

My dear and venerated Lord,—I received your admirable letter with the greatest pleasure and gratitude. All is safe now: we will work the great question of questions until it becomes too big for the English opposition. I have the strongest confidence in complete and not remote success. What I propose relative to the provincial meeting is this—that it should be held at Tuam on the 2nd Monday in

⁹ Mr. Morgan O'Connell married Kate, daughter of Michael Balfe, Esq., of South Park, co. Roscommon.

August. The Galway Assizes will be quite over, and the return from the assizes will enable many without inconvenience to come to Tuam. I will prepare a requisition here and get it signed for that day. I will send a copy to your Grace, and if it meets your approval, we will put our shoulders to the wheel for that day.

It is vain to expect any relief from England. All parties there concur in hatred to Ireland and Catholicity; and it is also founded in human nature that they should, for they have injured us too much ever to forgive us.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Merrion Square: 30th July, 1840.

My very dear and respected Lord,—We have launched the Repeal cause well in Connaught, ten thousand thousand thanks to your Grace.

But well begun will not alone do. We must follow it up well for the provincial meeting. More depends on the success of that meeting than I can describe. If we make an impression by the magnitude and respectability of that meeting the result will be most favourable on the other provinces, and having the three provinces with us we shall easily procure a great portion of Ulster, perhaps more than may be imagined by those who look only at the surface. That being the reverse of the case of your Grace, I look with the utmost confidence to your decided and energetic support at the approaching provincial meeting.

The first thing—a most important thing it is—necessary is to have a requisition as numerous and as respectably signed as possible. For this I must depend mainly on your Grace. It will, my Lord, require activity and energy, which you (blessed be God!) possess; but it will require time, which amidst your great and important duties you cannot well spare, and yet I trust that *this* is one of those duties, or at all events that its tendency is to promote the greatest

and best of them. I do, therefore, venture to solicit your active co-operation.

You will at once get Lord Ffrench's signature and that of his son's, perhaps brother's. Blake, the member for Galway, will, I know, be guided by you. He is at times *sturdy*, but he is a truly honest man, honest to the heart's core, and a faithful Catholic. In short, he will, if you deem it right to ask or advise him, give his hearty co-operation.

The Ulster meeting will take place the day after ours.

I should be so proud to beat them in everything.

Copies of the requisition should be sent round the counties to get additional names, and all may be collected at the close of the first week of the assizes of Galway.

Excuse me for being thus tediously particular, but I am most thoroughly convinced that the Repeal alone can keep secure the religion and the liberties of the Irish people.

The insidious machinations of the enemies of both can be counteracted successfully only by an Irish legislation.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To T. M. Ray.

Darrynane Abbey : 23rd September, 1840.

My dear Ray,—

I am sorry that any notice was taken of the presence of the police at the Tallaght meeting; I, for my part, wish they should attend all the Repeal meetings. They are now *really* preservers of the peace, and it seems to me most desirable that we should have the benefit of their attendance whenever there is a large concourse of people assembled. What we should most abhor is any violence or breach of the peace. What I would recommend to such of our friends as think there is anything offensive in the police being at our meetings to reflect upon is this, that some of our enemies—and Ireland has plenty of enemies—may come to those meetings, and either use violent language or create tumult or disturbance. It would, under

such circumstances, be exceedingly useful to have the police at hand that the peaceful—that is, that the real Repealers, may give the disturbers into custody, and then proceed quietly with their business. There can be only one way of stopping the current of Repeal—namely, by involving it in any breach of the peace or violation of the law. Success is inevitable unless our cause becomes tarnished by some offence.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Robert Curtis, Waterford.

Merrion Square: 17th Oct. 1840.

My dear Sir,— . . . I see with bitter regret the continuance of the feuds and wrangles in Waterford. It is most afflicting to find the friends of Ireland torn up by unwise and unhappy personalities. I have observed in these kinds of quarrels that the more anybody at any side is in the wrong, the less willing he is to make any concession for peace' sake. If there be any perfectly in the right, they are the persons with whom concession would begin, both in matter and in manner. Can you, my good friend, help me to put an end to these wranglings? I wish I knew how to do it without discredit to anybody.

Surely some sacrifice ought to be made to the extent at least of extinguishing all anger and resentment when our country demands entire union amongst ourselves.

I beg of you to present to his Lordship the Bishop my most respectful and kindest regards.

I have the honor to be,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To George D. Lynch, Tralee.

Darrynane Abbey: 5th Nov. 1840.

My dear Lynch,—It is useless to tell you how pleased I should be to be of service to *your father's son*, but I am not in a condition to get a situation for anyone. I am indeed surprised that you were not aware that the Lord

Lieut.¹ had taken a public occasion to notify that no Government patronage of any kind would be given to the Repealers. This declaration has been the cause of so much public comment that it seems strange you should not have heard of it. I thought everybody by this time knew that this declaration was principally intended against me; or, at all events, that it directly applied to me. It follows, however, irresistibly, that I cannot possibly comply with your request. I regret this on your account, because to the extent of any patronage in my power you would have a fair and just claim on me, and a claim which, without affectation, I would most cheerfully recognise. You thus will perceive that I want not the inclination, but actually the means, to promise a situation for your brother, which, *indeed*, I would do if in my power.—Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To Thomas Steele.*²

Darrynane Abbey: 18th Nov. 1840.

My dear Steele,—You have done precisely what was right in preventing any show or procession. We have had as much of that as could for the present be necessary or useful. I am happy to tell you that the Repeal cause is prospering. Quiet and timid men are joining us daily. We had before the bone and sinew. What we wanted was to create the conviction that the Repeal can be obtained in as peaceable a manner as we obtained Emancipation. This conviction is becoming general, and this is all that can be required to ensure success.

To John Reilly, B.L.

Darrynane Abbey: 20th Novr. 1840.

My dear Sir,—You do well to encourage by your approbation and favour my beloved son; ³ he has tact, talent and

¹ Lord Ebrington.

² See notice of Steele in connection with letter of September 9, 1842.

³ John O'Connell, died 1858. 'My father thought him a first-class financier, and said to me once playfully: "When we have our Parlia-

ment in College Green, John will make a capital Chancellor of the Exchequer.'" He spoke well, was a good poet, and composed, besides his political writings, some excellent stories.' —*Mrs. E. M. Ffrench to W. J. Fitz-Patrick*, August 7, 1888.

energy to serve his country, and his integrity of purpose and singleness of merit in the sacred cause of the liberty of old Ireland do not require a fond father's evidence to prove their reality.

He has, indeed, a glorious but an arduous career before him. The agitation for Repeal is only just beginning. The various attempts I made to render the Repeal unnecessary—the many threats of calling for Repeal, which I held out and postponed, and continued—gave an air of insincerity to this my final determination. But all doubt of our perseverance in the Repeal agitation has vanished; we have nailed our colours to the mast—Repeal, Repeal is and shall be our only object. We have tried the united parliament to disgust and meanness; we have practically demonstrated that from that parliament the Irish people have not the smallest chance, nor either the slightest possibility of obtaining equal justice. We are now determined to look for all political blessing from a domestic legislature. To that the attention of all honest Irishmen is now exclusively directed, and the heartfelt love of fatherland animates every honest Irishman in the pursuit of the greatest of political blessings—an Irish parliament.

I need not urge your body to activity, to zeal, and to perseverance. The only point on which any advice is necessary is that of difference of religious belief. It is on this point our most strenuous exertions should be turned; it is to obtain this co-operation of all classes of Christians that our best energies should be devoted. Let us have no sectarian differences, no contest of rival creeds; let every man of every persuasion prove his Christianity by his charity and benevolence, by his courtesy and kindness to all men, and let us be rivals only in endeavouring to strive which of us is the best Irishman and the most sincere lover of his native land.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Darrynane Abbey : 30th November, 1840.

My dear and ever respected Lord,—I have felt great anxiety as to the mode in which I should comply with your Grace's command—for your request is justly a command—to address the men of Mayo.

There are so many local interests, prejudices and passions to be consulted and avoided, so much irritation to be soothed, and so much dormant rancour to be allowed to remain in repose, that I have been exceedingly uneasy, lest, while I sought to do good, I might be doing nothing but mischief.

There is that fellow Cavendish; treating him as he ought to be treated might perhaps provoke him to continue, or give him a plausible excuse for continuing, his canvass.

Under these circumstances I have resolved to draw up an address in the form which appears to me at this distance suitable. I make two copies of it; the one I send to your Grace, the other to Barrett of the *Pilot*. I am anxious that your Grace should alter and amend the address in any manner you think fit. I adopt beforehand all your alterations and make them my own. Barrett will not print the copy I send him until he hears from your Grace. You can send him a private letter telling him what to do, but until he gets that letter he will not print the address.

If you alter it, send him a *full copy* of the altered address. This to prevent mistakes in the printing.

If you wished for my presence in Mayo, I would go there at once; or my son John would go *agitating* there, if you thought that advisable. In short, my dear Lord, command us all.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey : 2nd December, 1840.

My dear Barrett,—I send under free covers an address to the Electors of Mayo. Do not print it until you hear

from Dr. MacHale on the subject. I sent him another copy asking him to alter the address in any manner which might seem to him most likely to be useful. Keep what I send you, therefore, until he or some one on his behalf writes to you. It is really too bad that the scoundrel Cavendish should disturb the Liberal party with his absurd and wicked pretensions, but they deserve it all for having given any encouragement to such a fellow.

I am just making my arrangements to return to Dublin.

Further allusion will be made in succeeding letters to the Hon. Frederick Cavendish. Previous to the year 1813 he had rented a handsome residence near Clontarf, which he insured for £16,500 in the 'Globe' and 'Hope' offices. The mansion was burned, but in the course of an action which he brought against the 'Hope' Company it appeared that he himself was privy to the conflagration. Soon after he migrated to Connaught, married the daughter of a local attorney, and became proprietor of the *Castlebar Telegraph*. William H. Maxwell, author of 'Wild Sports of the West,' edited the *Mayo Constitution* at the same time, and between the rival pressmen a fusillade, sharp, brisk, and wounding, constantly went on. One day the *Telegraph* accused the Roman Catholic Bishop of Killala, Dr. O'Finan, with having allowed his cathedral to go to ruin, that he was despotic and overbearing to his clergy, wholly unfit for the office he degraded, and incompetent either to preach or to mingle with his flock. Further, Cavendish called him an Italian monk, whose knowledge of English was miserably defective. In point of fact Dr. O'Finan was a learned Irishman, but, like Dr. Troy, he had been Prior for some years of St. Clements at Rome, where he won good opinions and made troops of friends. In 1837 Dr. O'Finan brought an action against Cavendish for libel, and obtained a verdict for £400. I am informed by Mr. MacIlwee, an old Mayo pressman, that when these damages were given against Cavendish he retired to his house and fortified it so as to withstand a siege. His wife had more common sense, and quietly got Lady Clifford to intercede with Dr. O'Finan to such purpose that he forgave the damages on condition of Cavendish paying the costs. It was part of the alleged libel,

and the only part true, that Dr. O'Finan's tendencies and friendships were strongly aristocratic. He had spent seven years at the Court of Elise Grand Duchess of Lucca, nearly connected with the Emperor of Austria. Of this lady he was the Preceptor and Confessor, and here he enjoyed the society of the most distinguished persons in Europe. Previous to the Mayo Election he incurred popular odium by urging his priests to record silent votes rather than take any active part in the contest.

On the death of Sir Wm. Brabazon a new writ was issued for Mayo, when Mark Blake became the colleague of the sitting member, Dillon Browne. Both men continued to represent Mayo until George Henry Moore and Ousley Higgins came to replace them.⁴

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 8th December, 1840.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I hope, fondly hope, that there is no danger of Mayo. I sent to the Archbishop an address to the electors which he asked me for. I suppose it will appear in the *Pilot* of to-morrow. I offered to go myself to Mayo if necessary. I also tendered my son John if he was desired or wanting. See John as soon as you get this, and if he goes down give him any money he may want. If the letter of to-morrow requires my presence in Mayo I will, please God, be there before Sunday—*relictis omnibus aliis negotiis*. There is no necessity to stimulate the Archbishop. He is heart and soul in this contest. But yet I will write again. If you call on Barrett he will shew you my address.

I should suppose it would be well to assist *privately* the Mayo men with money. If you got any from the friends of the Government you could discreetly transmit it to the Archbishop as collected by me, imposing silence on him, which he would in that case be quite certain to observe, and even if he were willing to make any disclosure he could

⁴ See letter of April 15, 1846.

not go beyond you and me. This will be the more completely secure because I write to him about a part of the Association funds. Any addition discreetly sent would be of course available; the more the better, but even a little would be useful. If you see any of the longheads start this matter do not hesitate to pledge your existence as to the Archbishop's discretion on that point. But send it *in my name alone*, unless that plan be condemned. I do not desire the credit of it, I suggest it for mere caution.

Ever yours sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

John, of course, will not go down unless he is written for.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

8th Dec. 1840.

I have written to Belfast, but I doubt whether my letter will please anybody.

I intend to leave *this district* on Monday next, but as I must visit Cork and give at least half a day to Limerick, I cannot reckon on being in Dublin before the night of Friday, the 18th, late. . . .

The loss of Carlow carries with it a melancholy consolation.⁵ It proves that the Whigs cannot prosper without the Repealers. Think whether you may not, without disparagement, say something kind as from me to Peter Purcell.⁶ Be discreet—I know you will—but I am indebted in kindness to him, and *that* is a debt I can never refuse to repay. Besides, I do really love his dear children and greatly esteem his most amiable wife. I leave you, therefore, to your discretion in gratifying this wish of mine. . . .

Yours most gratefully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁵ A new writ was issued for Carlow on the death of Mr. Vigors,

when Colonel Bruen took his place.

⁶ See p. 158, *ante*.

*To Frederick Lucas.*⁷

Darrynane Abbey : December 8, 1840.

The principle of Catholicity is, that the end can never justify or palliate the means. If the means be bad, no amount of good as the result can mitigate in the slightest degree the bad qualities of those means. St. Augustine has put the doctrine strongly, but the entire Catholic Church has sanctioned and ratified his decision thus:— ‘That no imaginable quantity of good as the result, that no calculable quantity of benefit to the Church, nay, that not even the eternal salvation of all mankind, could justify the commission of any one sin, however slight, the violation of any rule of morality, or the breach of any commandment of God in however inconsiderable a degree.’

I know that Protestant divines have smiled at this decision of St. Augustine as a great exaggeration, and nothing is more familiar among the calumniators of the Catholic Church than to impute to it doctrines directly contrary. But this is only an additional reason why you, being a principal literary organ of the English Catholics, should carefully avoid any reasoning that could derive from the assumption of, or be founded on, the notion that the Catholic Church could justify or palliate the perpetration of any temporal or political injustice, or the omission of any political duty, by reason of the benefit to the Church to be derived therefrom. . . .

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Killarney : Decr. 14th, 1840.

I came from Darrynane this day ; a beautiful day and transcendent scenery. There is a new road⁸ opened through the boldest mountains in Ireland, and *you, you* have never seen one of my mountains !!!

⁷ Mr. Lucas, a member of the Society of Friends, had joined the Roman Catholic Church and established, in its interest, the *Tablet* newspaper, which he continued to conduct most ably until his death in 1855.

⁸ Not Nimmo's Road, as I at first thought. O'Connell refers to the road from Darrynane to Waterville commanding splendid views. It was opened in 1840, Nimmo's in 1832.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 26th January, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I arrived last evening from Leicester, and find public affairs here rather languid. This is probably a good sign, as if there were to be a change made on the Ministerial phalanx it would give an animation participating of coming events. It is believed they will hold out another Session, and if the Repeal agitation becomes imposing in Ireland, and a new Reform agitation take place, as I believe it will in England, the Tories may be kept out for ever. But their exclusion can be effected by nothing else unless the Repeal agitation becomes formidable.

How I wish that our friends in Ireland would all see this matter in its true light by first considering what will become of Ireland if the Repeal be not agitated. It is certain, in that case, that the Tories will come into power. It may be said that the Repeal will not prevent them, but is it not clear that there is nothing else that will? Are they not on the very verge of being in office?

I was detained in Portpatrick, and on the road by accident, and did not reach Leeds until the second day. The papers have told you this. I travelled the entire night, and was in time for the breakfast at the Catholic schoolhouse, where I was very well attended to. But I was never more cheered, or more cordially received, than I was at the great dinner at Leeds. I had also another *gala* day at Leicester. The reports in the *Morning Chronicle* will show all this. I am afraid that Feargus intended me personal mischief; but if he did, he has been signally disappointed.⁹ Leicester was an unmixed triumph.

I got an unintelligible verbal message by Reynolds—as all verbal messages about business must be. I am sure I shall have a letter from you to-morrow. It would be too bad to have me depending on Reynolds's translation of something you told him.

⁹ See note to letter of February 11, 1839.

Did you ever see anything so scoundrelly as the *Monitor*?¹ I will stop it and pay them off.

We shall hear of Stanley's Bill to-night. You see that the Ulster Association have done us mischief. It could not be otherwise. Edge tools should never be handled by the unskilled in work.

Believe me always, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

After some successful divisions on his Irish Registration Bill in 1840, Lord Stanley withdrew it at the end of the Session, on the understanding that he would reintroduce it in 1841. This he did, but O'Connell declared that its effect would be to give a death-blow to Ireland, make the registration of voters more difficult, and arm the judge of assize with a double power to deprive a man of his franchise and give costs against him.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 28th January, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . The political news are not important. There is at present a calm, but a calm such as that which precedes a storm. Stanley has undoubtedly a majority for his Bill. Others doubt this, but I do not. The Ministry bring in an Irish Registry Bill on February 4. Stanley had Sir William Fremantle lurking until the Ministry named the day, and then he named the 2d for Stanley's Bill. This was very unusual, and indeed indecent, but it was only the more like Stanley.

We have been just up with the Address to the Queen. There were very few of the members in attendance. We had therefore a much better view of the dear little lady. She is looking very well, and read the answer most sweetly. Prince Albert is really a handsome young man.

The Opposition have not as yet agreed upon any plan. It is supposed that they rely on Stanley's Bill as being carried in spite of the Ministry, and thereby compelling

¹ Peter Purcell (*vide* pp. 158, 165, *ante*) had now started the *Monitor*, a Dublin Liberal journal, but hostile to Repeal. Its editor was

the subsequently notorious James Birch; Mr. Coffey, afterwards a county court judge, succeeded to the post.

them to resign. There are, you know, three English vacant seats. That for Surrey may possibly be in our favour, but I am convinced it will not. It, however, leaves matters as it found them, the late member having been a Tory. As to Walsall, my *conjecture* is that we shall lose it; and my *belief* is that we shall lose Canterbury. If so, there will be an end of the Ministry. In fact, their only support, though they will not say so, is the Repeal. If I could get the Repeal cry sufficiently loud the Tories would be terrified from attempting the government. But, alas! our own friends countervene me there. I wish the clergy were alive to the real situation of Ireland.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 5th February, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . Politics. Lord Morpeth has brought in an excellent Bill. *It would do—it would do*; but there is no chance of its passing the Lords. It *may* well get through the Commons between the Ministerial strength and some neutrals that it may possibly catch. It would clearly extend the franchise in a right direction. Peel is not able to go down to the House, Lord Henley,² his brother-in-law, being just dead, nor will he be in his place for a few days. We, therefore, shall not know *his* opinion for near a week. But I never saw more rueful countenances than those of the Tories when the Statement was made.

There certainly is a split between the Tories of a high class and Peel. Whether the scoundrels³ will settle their

² Robert Henley, second baron, born 1789; one of the Masters in Chancery; married, 1823, Miss Harriett Peel.

³ It will have been observed that O'Connell constantly applies this strong epithet to Tories. The use of such words, though of course to be deprecated, was influenced very much by a spirit of retaliation. *The Times*, as a strong organ of Toryism,

had for years assailed O'Connell with a violence of invective very unlike the tone of its present leaders. One describes O'Connell as 'an unredeemed and unredeemable scoundrel.' But here is a full boom from 'The Thunderer.' O'Connell was charged with having exercised a terrorism in getting his men returned to Parliament:—'We ask the people of Ireland will they submit

disputes in a common agreement to plunder and persecute remains to be seen. However, a general opinion prevails that the Ministry will labour through the present Session.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 10th February, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . Political affairs look dismal enough. We have lost Monmouthshire without a struggle, though it was believed we were secure. Canterbury was supposed to be certain also, but the bribery was enormous. Walsall also was the scene of the most iniquitous bribery. We have carried St. Albans, they say, by the same means. The three former seats were filled by Whigs, so that the substitution of three Tories makes a difference of six on a division. The only mitigation is that St. Albans returned a Tory, so that the substitution of Lord Listowel makes a difference of two in our favour, reducing the Tory gain to four—a number we can badly afford. The Irish Tories are, of course, exceedingly anxious for office; but there are great difficulties. The Duke of Wellington insists on having the Whigs in the Ministry. There are many reasons assigned for this: his unwillingness to outrage the Queen, who is most heartily with the Whigs; his unwillingness to take up the questions of foreign policy in their present unsettled state—with France

to an inquisitorial and revengeful tyranny like this? If, from the dread of murder or famine, they dare not raise a cry against such brutal degradation—if they will vote thus with the knife at their throats for the Parliamentary tools and lackeys of such a miscreant, we appeal from them to the people of England, and to the Ministers, whether they will suffer their fellow-subjects of the sister island to be tormented by this system of organised ruffianism avowed by an Irish Catholic lawyer, and furtively pro-

moted by confederates in priestly garb. . . . In any case, we hope there will be no truckling to O'Connell or his gang; there will be no bullying by O'Connell; there will be no stupid and puerile attempt to govern Ireland through the co-operation or instrumentality of men who profess the first object of their lives to be the separation of the two countries and the breaking up of the Empire.' In a subsequent leader the priests were styled 'Surpliced Ruffians.'

arming, America threatening, the East unsettled, war in India, war in China, distress and Chartism in England, Repeal and dissatisfaction in Ireland. In short, it is said he is waiting for 'a bed of roses,' and this is not the season for such a couch.

His disorder is epilepsy. Of course, the fit once over, and its debilitating influences, he is nearly as well as before each attack; but, after all, my private opinion is, that it is his illness which prevents the Tories from being in office. He *feels* that he is unfit for business, and a natural jealousy prevents him from the avowal, which must be made if his party came into power without his holding a high station. In short, I believe that the peace of the country—the escape of Ireland from Tory grinding—turns on the personal debility and personal vanity or selfishness of the GREAT Duke.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 19th February, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—. . . Matters begin to have a very unfavourable aspect for the Ministry. I thought we should carry Lord Morpeth's Bill through its second reading, but I have now very considerable doubts. It is, in my opinion, utterly impossible to speak with any confidence. The result will not give above two or three in our favour at the best, and when accidents are taken into consideration, and the gross neglect of the Liberals, you will see at once that my anticipation of defeat is by no means visionary. I think you ought to prepare confidentially as many persons of weight and consideration as you are in correspondence with for the 'coming events.' I fear exceedingly the result of an approaching election. If *all* our clergy aided the Repealers we might make a noble demonstration; but, alas! the Whigs, while in office, will allure many, and even afterwards we will have a *Whig Remnant* to disturb unanimity. For my part, I will have to sustain four elections. Where shall I get money? The Tribute has not been successful this year, and

the second attempt appears more inefficient in its results than the first, although you are unabated in zeal, tact, and friendship. It comes across my mind that my career will terminate just at the moment that Ireland ceases to have friends. I am, you perceive, disposed to be gloomy this day, but it is not the first of my anxious moments, though their gloom, instead of making me undervalue your exertions, only raises them the more high in my affectionate gratitude. I do believe that Ireland is capable of being made once more, and thoroughly, a nation, and that her hour is arriving; but my vanity or self-reliance makes me think that I am wanting for the completion of a bloodless and not illegal change. Pardon me, my good friend.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To his Brother, John O'Connell, of Grena, co. Kerry.*⁴

Merrion Square: 16 April, 1841.

My dearest John,—This letter will be handed to you by Mr. R. E. Cunliffe, of Manchester, who is going to Kerry on a fishing tour. He is a gentleman of the first respectability, and a decided Liberal, consequently a friend to Ireland. We owe to him principally the return to Parliament of one of the very best men in it—my friend Brother-ton. I know I need not ask you to be attentive to such a man, and that you will—*besides*—procure him all the information and assistance which will be necessary to promote the amusement which he seeks in our lakes and rivers.—Ever, dearest John,

Your most affectionate Brother,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To neutralise Mr. Stanley's Bill another was brought in by Lord Morpeth on behalf of the Government. The Tories insisted that, if carried, it would well-nigh amount to universal suffrage. A tempest of angry words was aroused by

⁴ Lockhart mentions his name in connection with a projected stag hunt at Killarney in 1825, which some

friends of Sir W. Scott were anxious that he should see. John O'Connell died at Dinan, Côtes du Nord, in 1853.

these discussions. The introduction of the Bill was long delayed, and in the end it was abandoned, in consequence of an amendment carried by Lord Howick against the Ministry on April 26.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 27th April, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The motion of Lord Howick succeeded by the aid of the Tories; it has, in fact, annihilated Lord Morpeth's Bill. It would not be worth taking with the franchise so enhanced. The consequence will be that the Ministry will, I believe, give up their Bill for the Session; indeed, I think they must. If they do not give it up it will be defeated, as — Lord Howick pledged himself against it last night, and with his assistance the Tories are, of course, able to defeat the measure.

Then comes Stanley's Bill, and I believe we shall be driven to the long game to get rid of that Bill; I mean the battling it from day to day in order to carry out the Session.

The report of a Ministerial resignation I believe to be utterly false. I am assured that they are determined not to resign without trying another Session. All the battles of this Session will be won with the Irish Bills, and upon them the anti-Irish feeling is so strong that the Ministers yield to it so far as it goes, namely, in relation to any improvement in Irish affairs.

I spoke at once to Hume about J. D. Mullen⁵ and told him *his character*. There is a prisoner in correspondence with Hume, but the latter has written to say he must have distinct proofs before he acts, and even then he will—I should say would—first inform me. Of course there can be no such proofs. I told Hume that J. D. Mullen was ready to give him any explanation he may desire. My conviction is that we shall not hear of it again. If we do, you may be sure I will defend my friend Mullen.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁵ Governor of the Debtors' Prison, Dublin, an office which O'Connell obtained for him in acknowledgment of political help.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 4th May, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The crisis is arriving, and the debate to begin on the 7th May⁶ will be decisive of the fate of the present Parliament, and probably of that of the Ministry. The Budget, as far as it relates to the timber and sugar duties, will be contested, apparently on their own account, but really on account of the corn laws. The Ministry have set their existence on the chances of their succeeding, or going before the public on the best case they can possibly make—a determination to extend free trade, to diminish sugar duties and admit good timber on cheaper terms, than admitting foreign corn at a cheap rate and fighting to the last for Ireland. If they are defeated on the Budget—and I believe they shall—they are determined to dissolve. This, under present circumstances, is destructive to me. I know not what I shall do; but of this we will confer. It will be a triumph of the enemies of Ireland if I am driven from the field; so at least I think.

Stanley's Bill is in effect given up for this Session. He reserves it for the next, when he expects to have a parliament that will carry it triumphantly. I fear he is not mistaken. The fate of Ireland is miserable. I should hope that those who have been hitherto on the Ministerial train doing nothing in or for Ireland will see their mistake, but in general men do never admit and seldom correct their errors.

I drew on you at 41 days for £310. I cannot help it.

Yours ever most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Confidential.)

London: 8th May, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I believe you may rely on this:—

⁶ The Budget contained proposals for reduction of the import duties on corn and sugar. On May 7 Lord Sandon moved an amendment opposing the alteration in the sugar

duties. After a long and wrangling debate of eight days the Government were defeated by thirty-six votes.

1st. The Government is resolved to remain in power as long as they can.

2ndly. To dissolve Parliament when they are driven to extremity, and to abide the advent of the new Parliament.

3rdly. Their financial and free trade plan is making a great excitement in their favour in England.

4thly. If Ireland rouses itself properly in their favor *all* will be well.

Ever yours,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Could you privately convey to Catholic dignitaries the propriety of assisting to agitate?

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

House of Commons: 10th May, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The politics of the Government are, *I believe*, altered to this extent, that the moment this debate is over the dissolution will take place. It is coming on us sooner than I expected when I wrote last.

If the Tories carry the representation of Ireland, and in particular of Dublin, they will totally deprive us of the benefit of the Corporate Reform. I should not be surprised if the dissolution took place *this* week.

It is an awful crisis, for which the Irish people are not prepared. How I regret to hear of the cruel coldness and apathy which I collect from your letter exists. If we do not struggle heartily and strongly we will have a Tory reign, to terminate in a revolution. The state of the people of this country is little understood. You would have the manufacturing districts frantic if the Tories were three months in power. What little sympathy your apathetic friends have with the people in remote counties, who will be ground to powder by the restored Orange faction.

The majority against the Ministry will be about twenty-five.

Yours most truly,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Ascertain if you can what good colleague I could get for

Dublin. Mullen or Wm. Murphy might *discreetly* sound George Roe. Indeed *they* should *discreetly* prepare for the contest in the manner they think suitable to the public interests.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

House of Commons: 12th May, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Various rumours afloat. No news. No change in the aspect of politics. It is said the Ministry will resign and leave the dissolution to their successors. The Tories give this out vehemently because they desire it ardently. *But it is not true.* It cannot be true, else I should know it. This is only one of many reasons. It is of the utmost importance to Ireland to have the power of the Crown to preserve, instead of aiding to break, the peace at the elections. I put this point as strongly as I could to the Ministers. I am surprised you do not, *sub rosa*, communicate the idea to the *Post*. Lord Morpeth would take care to have the police and army assist to prevent Orange outbreaks and every kind of outrage at the hustings. If a Tory was at the Castle it would be understood by the officials connected with the police and military force that a riot would be *inoffensive* to their superiors, especially if the people were fired at and human blood shed.

You may rely on it that I was right when I told you the Ministers will try a dissolution *before* they resign.

Do you hear anything about a colleague for me in Dublin? I spoke to Hutton upon the Repeal, and endeavoured to persuade him to consent to a mitigation of his opinions, but quite in vain. I am most sincerely sorry for it. He is a most amiable excellent man; though his opinions do not concur with mine, I respect him much.

Yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 19th May, '41.

My dear Friend,—The division last night was not so great as I had anticipated. I reckoned it at forty-two; it was six

less. There were about sixteen of the constant supporters of Government in the majority, making a difference of 32, and reducing the majority to only 4. No great triumph of Toryism after all, and nothing to dishearten the Ministry or the people, or to enable the Tories to carry on the government.

Lord John ended the debate in a manly way. He has distinctly announced the Cabinet plan. First, they are to divide and debate upon the 'corn duties' and the timber duties separately; secondly, to try a dissolution, they remaining in power. It is only after a defeat by the Tories in the new parliament. This will keep them in power for some time, perhaps for months to come. In the meantime the Corporate Reform Bill will be ripening into maturity.

The fact, however, is, that the Ministry as a Whig party cannot longer subsist; new political combinations must spring up. A new party must be found, more radical than the Whigs, less radical than the Chartists. Out of office, the old tie of union between the Whig nobility as borough proprietors is broken for ever. To have the least chance of regaining office they must *popularise* themselves by adopting more of popular principle and insisting on more popular measures. But keep from the Press every idea of this kind. You may discreetly use the other facts I mention.

I enclose a letter from an old friend of mine, Mr. Arthur McKenna, of Thomas Street. It contained ten pounds. Charge yourself with the receipt and credit the amount by the voucher on the face of the letter. See Mr. McKenna and gratefully thank him *on my account*. Explain to him how impossible it is for me, upon principle, to acknowledge personally anything of this kind, but add that you know I am not the less sensitive to such truly kind demonstrations of feeling and sentiment as his letter displays. May the great God bless him is my fervent prayer! . . .

Ever yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Son.

London : 26th May, 1841.

My dearest John,—There are news of no consequence. The result of the debate on Peel's motion to-morrow is not as yet even guessed at.

It is thought that Lord Worsley and other non-Corn Law men, who voted against us on the last motion, will vote with us upon this. The debate will, I suppose, last several days.

If the Ministers are beaten it will hurry the dissolution of Parliament ; that, however, is the only effect that it will have.

I have written to Kilkenny an answer to some resolutions that have been passed and published there. I concluded my letter with proposing you for their choice. You will, I make no doubt, hear the result from the Secretary. I take it almost for granted that you will be returned. . .

28th May.

I am so torn to pieces that I could not finish my letter to you yesterday, or the day before.

The time is come when the City of Dublin must ascertain who is to be the second candidate at the approaching election. Is it not cruel at such a moment to distract our attention by ——'s personalities and bye-battles ! I am exceedingly displeased at his conduct, and am convinced that he must at any risk be stopped in his reckless career.⁷ Steele, as usual, behaved admirably in the chair, and I must say I am delighted with your conduct and speeches. My beloved John, you do give me —— . You were, from the necessity of your position, obliged to treat [Reynolds] with too much consideration. But he must not meddle any more with [Doheny].

⁷ These blanks were left by John O'Connell himself when transcribing the letters.

The *Dublin Evening Post*, of May 25, 1841, reports a meeting held on the previous day at the Repeal Association, from which it appears that

some altercation took place between John Reynolds and Michael Doheny in consequence of a statement by Reynolds to the effect that Doheny had prevented a Repeal meeting being held in Cashel. A long and clever speech by John O'Connell is given.

It is not serving the country to make wrangles or quarrels. What is desirable to be done can never be accomplished even by a Repeal triumph over dissentients from Repeal in this or that locality. We want to convince, not to insult; and it would be better to do nothing than to excite a strong opposition.⁸

Speak to him calmly *but firmly*, and beg of him, in my name, to give us his best energies in the struggle to save Dublin; to help us to seek out a second Repealer; and if *he* cannot, and *we* cannot get one, then to get us as good a substitute as possible.

I enclose Hutton's letter. I am at liberty to have it published. Read it, therefore, at the Association meeting on Monday, but prepare the speakers to treat him (Hutton) with the consideration that he deserves on every account, public and private. Impress upon them that he has a considerable following, especially of Dissenters. Our cause needs the support of every class, and we should show them that we value their aid as well as that of other Protestants. Nothing, therefore, should be said to give just cause for irritation. Get a veil of oblivion thrown over such parts of his public conduct as have displeased the people. . . .

Of all men living not pledged to Repeal I would desire

⁸ John Reynolds, afterwards M.P. for Dublin, was an able orator, but his appearance and manner recalled Bully Egan. Doheny became the colleague of Smith O'Brien and Meagher, and took the field with them in '48. Reynolds had long denounced Doheny; there was a wild chivalry about the latter which made him popular in Tipperary. Exactly one year previous to the date of O'Connell's letter to his son I find amongst his papers one addressed by Mr. Littleton, of Cashel, to T. M. Ray:—

'I cannot see the policy or propriety of making Mr. Doheny the

victim of Reynolds's private dislike. We have been assailed here by the Tories for our selection of members, and by our friends for the same cause. We never yet elected an M.P. for Cashel without the consent of the Liberator; whom, then, are we to please, Mr. Reynolds or O'Connell? Now I beg to assure you that, so thoroughly convinced are we of Mr. Doheny's honesty, that even the attack of O'Connell, if it were possible, would not lessen him in our estimation, and the indiscreet zeal of Mr. R. has done more to injure the cause here than I am willing to express.'

to see George Roe in Parliament, if he could be got to stand.⁹ But that, I fear, is hopeless.

If John Ennis¹ will declare himself a Repealer he would be a good man.

I wish you to go as soon as possible to —, and set him quite right as to my opinion respecting Lord Kildare.²

Indeed, I wish you to know my exact thoughts on this as on other points. As far as I am personally concerned, I should *wish* to have him as a colleague. It is unnecessary to say, however, that he should be as explicit as possible in political opinion. On the whole, he would make an excellent Government candidate; and I repeat that, as far as I am personally concerned, I would be very glad of his coming forward.

I really have a veneration for his family, notwithstanding the apathy of the present Duke.

But you must distinctly warn — that *I* am not to decide for the popular party in Dublin. They *must* be consulted. I would readily do all I could in favour of Lord Kildare, but I cannot pledge myself for the party which supports me. They certainly would prefer to try the battle with *an out-and-out Repealer*.

But if they cannot get such I should hope, and, indeed, I do believe, they would support the young Marquess.

It will be very difficult to fight Carlow. There must be a protection fund provided, otherwise the destruction of the unfortunate tenantry after the election will be terrible. If they can get no other candidate to stand along with Ashton Yates, I suppose I must give them your brother Daniel, though it will be very hard on me to have to bear the expense of so many elections. I will, of course, go down to Carlow at once when wanted, and go from parish to parish *agitating*.

I will write off for Dan³ at once, and meanwhile hold myself in readiness to go down at call and work for

⁹ An eminent Protestant distiller and popular citizen.

¹ Afterwards a baronet.

² Afterwards Duke of Leinster.

³ My brother was at Florence at this time.—J. O'C.

him. But those who are urging me to this trouble, risk, and expense must recollect that protection for the tenantry by some species of an indemnity fund will be absolutely necessary, as there will assuredly be plenty of evictions after the struggle.

My accounts from Carlow say that under the circumstances I mention we should succeed, viz.—ultimate protection for the tenantry, immediate and extensive agitation, and a son of mine.

I entirely approve of what you have done in the matter of the elections.

Great uncertainty prevails as to what is to be the Ministerial fate on Peel's motion. The majority either way will be very small. Our friends expect to have it. The public mind seems coming round. There never was such a change in their favour as on the Free Trade question.

I will write two letters to-morrow; one to be read at the Association, the other for your discretion.—Ever, darling John,

Your tenderly fond Father,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Son.

London: 29th May, 1841.

My dearest John,—I send to Ray a long letter for the Association, but I want you not to read to that body or to print Hutton's letter. He would be too far committed if that letter were published, and we should leave him a *locus penitentiæ* after he sees my letter to the Repealers. I have, you see, changed my mind since I wrote my last letter.

.
Announce at the Association, as a fact I assure you of, that Ashton Yates stands again for Carlow County with my son Dan. Announce this *after* my letter is read, so as not to spoil the effect of that letter. My great object is to make Carlow the Clare of the Repeal. Urge *this point*.

I will send my address for Dan to-morrow.

Tell Davis,⁴ with my regards, that he is not aware of the great delicacy there is in managing [Doheny], principally because jealousies amongst themselves are easily excited. Tell him the want of funds is a decisive reason for not urging the Repeal as we otherwise would. This is really the secret of our weakness. I will press the appointment of Repeal wardens until every parish is provided with the machinery.

Yours, my beloved John,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Take care that Mr. Hutton's letter does not get into print. I believe he made his peace with the Grocers. They are a most valuable class of men, and deserve his attention.

To Richard Barrett.

London: 7th June, 1841.

My dear Barrett,—I read with great regret in your paper a paragraph in which you, on the authority of the *Mail*, countenance the idea that there will be no contest in Dublin City at the approaching election. It may be a pardonable piece of electioneering dexterity in the *Mail*, to endeavour to throw the popular party off their guard by such an announcement, but it *does* surprise me that *you* should be deluded by any such intimation into a belief that the Irish Tories would lose the opportunity of fomenting or increasing irritation, which a contested election would necessarily afford.

The policy of the Irish Tories is essentially different from that of the Tories of this country. It is the interest, and therefore (I take it) the inclination, of the leading Tories of England to represent Ireland in as tranquil and acquiescent a state as they possibly can.

On the other hand, it is the interest of the Irish Tories to make themselves necessary to their English allies by having Ireland in as irritated and disturbed a state as

⁴ Thomas Davis, the famous poet, essayist, and organiser of Young Ireland.

possible, and therefore they certainly will give us a contest in Dublin, however hopeless and expensive that contest may be.

You should therefore assist me to rouse the people of Dublin to commence and finish their preparations for the coming contest without delay. Let there be an election club formed in and for every street; another club in and for every parish; a club in and for every ward, besides the general committee sitting now at the Corn Exchange, Let every elector look to the immediate payment of his taxes. This should be done at once, and not left till the hurry of the election comes on.

Let the certificates of registry be arranged in alphabetical order and deposited with Mr. Ray, who, under the inspection of the committee, will take care to have them ready at each of the booths. In short, let all the preliminary arrangements be thoroughly complete one full week *before* the election. Let every man act as if nothing could carry it but the most strenuous and unremitting exertion. This will be the best reply we can make to the Tory trick of giving out that there will be no contest!

To be sure there *ought not* to be a contest; they themselves know, and some of them do not hesitate to declare, that a contest will be hopeless, and they also know that, on their part, it will be very expensive. But what do they care? They will get money from the dupes of the Carlton Club, and they will have the advantage of the expenditure. Much good may it do them.

If Toryism in Ireland had one particle of common sense, the Tories in Dublin, at least, would see that every one of them has the strongest interest to join me for the Repeal. There is not a single man in Dublin having property whose property would not be greatly enhanced by the Repeal. There is not a single Freeman, who, even if he had not property, would not have his wages raised and employment made continual, if the Irish Parliament were to assemble in College Green. It is melancholy to think that these men should be ready to sacrifice their interest to their

passions, and should prefer being *ill-tempered* and *poor* as Orangemen, to being *good-humoured* and *wealthy* as Irishmen.

I intend, please God, to be in Dublin on Friday. I hope to find the clubs organised before I arrive and everything ready.

Have a paragraph in every one of your papers, headed 'Taxes ! Taxes !' and urging upon every elector the absolute necessity of paying off the taxes before the confusion and hurry of the election come on. Have another paragraph, headed 'Prepare !' and urging the necessity of having everything fully ready a whole week before the election.

Let there be at once a street, parish, and ward club in communication with each other. The general committee has been sitting for some time. I will increase its number and add, if that be possible, to its efficacy upon Saturday next. This is the way to win !⁵

Ever faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁵ The popular agents strained every nerve, but the seated members, O'Connell and Hutton, were ousted by West and Grogan. Hutton had refused to take the Repeal pledge.

O'Connell polled 3,692 ; Grogan (now Sir E. Grogan, Bart.) 3,839. How the Freeman of Dublin could turn the scale in these days, *vide* letter of August 5, 1839.

CHAPTER XIX.

Breakers Ahead!—His only Stay in the Storm—Electioneering Gossip, Tactics, Contests, and Results—Peel's Cabinet—Political Prospects brighten—Lord St. Germans—'The Queen as firm as a rock'—Walter of *The Times*—John, Earl of Shrewsbury—The Income Tax—'Want is literally killing me'—The Political Horizon again lowers—Despair and Despondency—The Head Pacificator—Tom Steele—O'Connell Lord Mayor—C. G. Duffy—O'Connell's 'Memoir of Ireland, Native and Saxon'—Life at Darrynane—Agricultural Society—Charles Dickens—Bianconi—O'Connell deprived of the Commission of the Peace—Death of a Repeal Martyr—A Mountain Hunt—Debts and Difficulties.

As the Great Agitator now proceeded to unfurl his banner emblazoned with the words 'Repeal of the Union,' men were not slow in taunting him with fell designs.

'There lives not a man,' he emphatically declares, 'less desirous of a separation between the two countries; there lives not a man more deeply convinced that the connection between them, established on the basis of one king and separate Parliaments, would be of the utmost value to the happiness of both countries and the liberties of the civilised world.' Conflicting emotions beset him as he entered on his task.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 9th June, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I keep up my spirits as well as I can, but these are disastrous times to me in my pecuniary prospects. I have been literally afraid to write to you, though you are my only stay in the storm.

I believe, however, that the present state of political affairs is one full of hope as resulting from the present events. The great Whig party are dissolved unless they popularise themselves. They are doing so. The elements

of political combination are let loose, and the new formation of parties adverse to the Tories must rest on the attachment of the people, and the people can only be canvassed for by the agitation of Liberal principles. The struggle at present in England will be close and violent, and the passions of the mercantile classes in this period of the deepest distress will be heated by the additional warmth of the Reformer. There is no calculating the effect.

I am told that the dissolution will be immediate. I heard this from high Tory authority—not as yet confirmed, but certainly too likely to be true. Not one moment should be lost in making arrangements for the Elections.

You see that I have got rid of the expenses of the Athlone Election.¹ Kilkenny costs me or John nothing.² Carlow costs me or Dan nothing.³

Tralee will cost from £100 to £150, not more.⁴ Then I hope that money will not this time be necessary for me for Dublin.

But how ought my heart to sink at these contingencies, coupled with what I fear will be a failing fund! My heart is, indeed, sore, but, I would hope, submissive.

I will, please God, be to dinner on Friday at Merrion Square. Will you come and eat your fish with me on that day? You will be able, from the weather, to calculate my time of arrival.

I have spoken to Sir J. M. Doyle,⁵ and have spoken to him in strong language, but he is a tool in other hands.

¹ The statistics of the Athlone election in 1841 are curious. Captain de la Poer Beresford was declared by the sheriff to have polled 30, and Mr. Daniel Farrell 17. On petition Mr. Farrell was seated, the poll having been altered to 110 for Farrell and 60 for Beresford.

² In 1841 John O'Connell was elected for Kilkenny without opposition.

³ Daniel O'Connell, junior, was

defeated by Colonel Bruen at the election for Carlow County this year. Bruen polled 705, and his opponent 696.

⁴ In 1841 Maurice O'Connell was returned without opposition for Tralee.

⁵ Sir John Milley Doyle had represented Carlow in a former Parliament. (See *Life of Bishop Doyle*, vol. ii. pp. 295, 438.)

We will on Saturday communicate with the Bishop,⁶ with whom I will do all possible for Mr. Carmichael.⁷

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Morgan O'Connell had been member for Meath since 1832. In 1840, on his acceptance of the post of Registrar of Deeds, Elias M. Corbally, a near connection of Lord Fingall's, was elected in his room; but in 1841 the Liberator and Henry Grattan were returned for Meath without opposition. Next year O'Connell, choosing to sit for Cork County, vacated Meath in favour of Corbally.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Carlow; 11th July, 41.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have had a deputation from Cork County offering me the representation. I have more than half consented, as that would enable me to give back to Lord Fingall's brother-in-law his own county. I think that arrangement will be made. I will then have to atone as well as I can to the noble electors of Meath.

Send me back the letter of the Meath deputation which I enclosed to you last night.

See FitzSimon at once, if it be true that Lord Milton⁸ is arrived in Ireland, that he may be written to about his Carlow Protestant tenants. He can *command* them. Of course I would not use that word in speaking to him, but he can *give us* their votes without interfering with his exertions in Wicklow.

Tell FitzSimon also to get Tighe of Woodstock written to again about his vote for this county. He seems hanging back.

We certainly have a MAJORITY here; I say certainly.

I wrote off last night to Limerick, where I was offered

⁶ Right Rev. Dr. Haly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

⁷ Richard Carmichael, an eminent member of the College of

Surgeons and a staunch Liberal, meditated seeking the suffrages of a constituency in the diocese of Dr. Haly.

⁸ Afterwards Lord Fitzwilliam.

a *secure* seat, to suggest their giving it to Lord Morpeth. I hope I should thus satisfy everybody, that is, if I can work out my plans.

Tell FitzSimon I want the commission of the peace for William Finn's ⁹ brother-in-law, James Brennan of Mount-rath. I will write again to-morrow evening, please God, about this matter, and enclose a letter for the Lord Chancellor.¹

If Sir Ralph Howard ² be supported by Lord Milton, he ought in return to GIVE us his votes in this county. Get FitzSimon to look to this.

Believe me, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Carlow: 13th July, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The election is going on smoothly. We are fighting a good fight. I hope we shall succeed, though, you know, I am apt to despond. The majority this day may be either way. It is likely it may be in favour of Bruen, because he has forces in every Barony, whereas our gigantic strength is in one 'Rathbally.' At the close to-morrow the matter will be reduced to a certainty.

You may rely on it that, as long as this election is in doubt, I will remain here. *Certain* success or *certain* defeat can alone take me away.

You said in your letter to John, and you repeated it in your letter to me, that you sent me the Meath letter, which, however, you omitted to do. Having said it *twice* you did not deem it necessary to do it *once*. I would have preferred the latter.

The town and country are perfectly tranquil, just excitement enough for procuring votes, but not too much to be under controul.

⁹ W. F. Finn, the brother-in-law of O'Connell, had represented Kil-kenny County from 1832 to 1837.

¹ Lord Campbell, who had just ousted Lord Plunket from the Irish woolsack.

² Sir Ralph Howard, Bart., was duly returned for Wicklow, defeating by a few votes the Right Hon. James Grattan, of Tinnehinch, and son of the illustrious Grattan of '82.

It has not been sufficiently noticed that there was not the slightest disturbance at the Dublin City Election.

Ever faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Cork : 17th July, 1841.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You perceive that I am in a situation to restore Meath to Mr. Corbally, but it must be done without offence to my friends in that county. This is a matter of some delicacy. Consult and see how you can aid me to conciliate all parties. I wish to have Ford's³ advice and assistance, but discreetly, and without its being known that I consulted him. The truth is, I am afraid of awakening jealousies amongst the members of the Club.⁴ The seeds of jealousy already exist, and therefore it requires more dexterity. I know nothing can be properly done by any hand over head manner; I trust everything to conciliation. Of course it is for this county that I will elect to sit.

I go to-morrow to Trabolgan,⁵ the seat of my colleague's father, and will remain there until Monday, when I am to be entertained at a public dinner in this city. I intend the next day to start for Dublin. I will, however, consume full two days on the road, as I must stay in Carlow to make the 'after-clap arrangements.'

That there must be a combination in Ireland of all the friends of the country is perfectly certain. But, alas! the cruel impolicy of Lord Ebrington's government renders it almost impossible to combine with the class 'Place hunter.' The Repeal is the sole basis which the people will accept; let nobody tell you the contrary. We attempted half measures—registry franchise associations—and failed, although

³ William Ford, of Kilcairn, in the county Meath, the clever attorney already noticed, who often acted for O'Connell professionally and as a friend.

⁴ The Stephen's Green Club,

Dublin.

⁵ O'Connell's colleague in the representation of Cork was Edmund Burke Roche, afterwards Lord Fermoy.

we had the patronage of Government. A cobweb association of that kind may be attempted with a colour of success while the Whigs are in, but it would be at best an abortion, and should be flung away as a delusion, worthless and disagreeable, so soon as the Tory power begins. No, the Repeal, and the Repeal alone, is, and must be, the grand basis of all future operations, hit or miss, win or lose. The people will take nothing short of that, and I bitterly regret to tell you, that the popular excitement is of so exasperated a character that they will rush into insurrection unless my influence checks and controls them, and that cannot exist or operate unless I take the highest tone and make the most constant exertions in favour of Repeal. The country is really in a most unsatisfactory state, and it will require more than human prudence to prevent sanguinary and exceedingly foolish as well as criminal ebullitions. When Conway⁶ in his editorial chair waxes so warm as the last *Post* proves, you have a rough scale to measure the degrees of popular fermentation. I say there can be no other basis of association save the Repeal, the glorious Repeal.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey: 23rd Sept. 1841.

My dear Barrett,—Direct the enclosed for the Rev. Mr. Burke, Drogheda, and get it sent to the Post Office. I have not told him that you sent me his letter. I only said you cited him as authority. I have (since my other letter to you) written to Alderman Smith⁷ and O'Donegan, Secretary to the Trades Association, not giving them authority for the fact of the Primate's dinner, but urging them to postpone

⁶ Editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, a popular journal.

⁷ This Alderman Smith must not be confounded with Alderman Smyth of Dublin, whose name has been already more than once mentioned in these letters. The above allusion is to a member of the old Tory Cor-

poration of Drogheda, who in 1841 wrote: 'I believe that no corporator ever did apply to O'Connell for a public or personal favour that did not find him as willing, as faithful, and as honest as their own representatives.'

the Repeal dinner for a week or a fortnight, and refusing to be any party to a collision. You may, I think, safely but privately send my letter to you to the Rev. Mr. Burke; he may make good use of it, but do not say I permitted it. Take that on yourself.

Always yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

(Signed 'RICHARD BARRETT' in a fit of absence.)

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 3rd February, 1842.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Get FitzSimon to see Robert White again, and to procure him to do something about my *alleged* Bill. Let FitzSimon then see the attorney and have an inspection of the Bill. I do conjecture that it is a forgery. At all events White is very base if he leaves me in for it. It should be looked to at once.

The political horizon bespeaks a coming storm. There is no serving 'the Master' and Mammon. Peel cannot fill the pockets of the landed aristocracy and give cheap corn to the operatives. His fall depends on Wednesday.⁸ The public expectation is raised to the highest pitch. It is, indeed, believed that he will give extensive relief, but the general opinion amongst the thinking part of the community is that his reign will be short. It was much remarked that the Queen, who reads admirably well, and whose natural voice is musical in its tones, slurred over the speech as if she was repeating an unwelcome lesson. I am told she expresses the strongest antipathy to the present Ministers, certainly she does not shew them or their families any attention.

Lord Elliot⁹ is here, and they say very angry. You may have perceived that I addressed my question about the Presbyterian marriages to him, but he declined to answer, and threw the reply on Peel. This is a small circumstance, but may have meaning.

⁸ On February 9 Sir R. Peel brought forward his proposals with regard to the Corn duties.

⁹ The Chief Secretary for Ireland, afterwards Lord St. Germans.

On the whole, there are hopes of a very short duration to Tory power. Before the close of the week I may tell you more.

Very sincerely yours,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

During the previous autumn the Tories had returned to power under the premiership of Peel. They included the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, Sir James Graham, Lord Stanley, Mr. Goulburn, Lord Ellenborough, Sir Henry Hardinge and others, with Earl de Grey as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Among some succeeding changes in the Government were the Duke of Buccleuch, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. W. E. Gladstone. This Administration lasted until the accession of Lord John Russell in July 1846.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 11 February, 42.

My dear Friend,— . . . I have now great pleasure in telling you that the political prospects are beginning to brighten. Peel's Corn Law speech was a miserable failure. He was himself cowed and low-spirited. He never made a worse speech. Of course you have seen that he has thrown himself altogether into the hands of the Landlords. This is just what was to be desired, as it has roused and will rouse popular indignation. I am a judge of agitation, and I do think I perceive a movement in more than embryo which will compel the aristocracy to yield in England and to leave us Ireland to ourselves. The delegates are confidential with me, and it is therefore I *promise* you that there are better times in store for Ireland. The distress is appalling, and the distressed consider themselves insulted. I write strongly, but I do not exaggerate. *This Ministry cannot last.*

Believe me always,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: Feb. 26, 1842.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The state of politics is just this: The landed Tories are quite triumphant, greatly suspicious

of Peel, but perceiving that they cannot do without him. The public mind is in the first stupor of defeat on the Corn Laws, but I am greatly mistaken unless there be a violent reaction in favour of more extended reform. The popular sentiment is not the less strong for the apparently trivial modes of the expression of its strength. For example, Peel is burnt in effigy, but remark—in more places than any one Minister ever was before. For my own part my hopes are high. I cannot believe that the present Ministry will last. I also expect that their expulsion will be followed with the most important changes. *All shall be wanted.*

The Queen is as firm as a rock.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 7th March, '42.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The questions you have asked me respecting the Corn and Provision Laws are just such as cannot be answered. The matters are kept, and properly kept, secret from all until they are officially communicated to all. This communication will be made on Friday next. If they were known to some—if they oozed out to some sooner than to others—an advantage to a fearful extent would be obtained by those who knew the forthcoming facts over those who remain ignorant of them. Thus, therefore, everything is left to conjecture as to the Ministerial plan beyond the already announced fact—the foreign meats, alive and dead, will be admitted at a *duty*, but at what duty will not be known till Friday next.

In all these cases conjectures are, of course, made before the event is known, and amongst the multitude of these conjectures some are right, and it is supposed that the fortunate *guesser* was previously informed of the truth. That was not so, and therefore I cannot tell you anything that can be safely relied on, and will not give you any conjecture of my own, which may fatally deceive those who acted upon it.

The acquittal of McArdle's¹ murderers has made a sensation—a thing unusual enough for anything Irish to create ; but the case was indeed atrocious.

This country is in a strange state, the reaction against the Ministry apparent, but still slow. It will come out in quite a storm somewhat later, and there is certainly nothing like cordiality between the parties to Peel's Cabinet and their supporters ; on this you may rely ; nor is there the smallest appearance of any revival of trade whilst the foreign relations of the country are in a most menacing attitude. I need not add that, under these circumstances, the greatest anxiety prevails about Peel's fiscal and provision plan.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : March 12th, 42.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The political aspect of affairs is quite unsettled. Peel's plan succeeded with many in the House, who mistook his Income Tax for a Property Tax. I have been in the City this day and find that there are elements of the deepest discontent with the plan likely to develop. The distinction between an Income Tax and a Property Tax you, I suppose, understand perfectly, but this illustration will make it familiar to those who have not thought of it before. Suppose a clerk in a merchant's office at a salary of £200 per annum ; this situation would not sell for £100, nor be valued as property at more. Now suppose a man to have a fee simple estate of £200 a year ; that would in this country sell for £6,000. The clerk will have to pay annually in tax say $5/8$, and the fee simple owner will have to pay only the same sum, so that a property worth £100 in gross will have to pay as much as a property worth £6,000 in gross.

¹ McArdle, a Roman Catholic, was shot dead by some Orangemen in Ballyronney, co. Down. The assail-

ants were acquitted, contrary to Judge Crampton's charge.

I believe Peel has given himself a brain blow by this plan of his.

The tax on cattle alone and on provisions of all sorts, such as salt, meat, butter, &c., will be only six per cent. *ad valorem* ; on that payment foreign cattle, alive and dead, will be admitted, to the great discomfiture of our unhappy graziers.

The Irish Distillers are struck at again. It is now admitted that they have been hitherto wronged, and now they are compelled to pay severely for that redress which was hitherto refused to them because they were Irish. I made the best battle I could for the Distillers.

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In 1842, John, Earl of Shrewsbury, the most prominent English Roman Catholic of his time, and long the friend and correspondent of O'Connell, attacked him for accepting the pay of an impoverished people.

To the Earl of Shrewsbury.

My Lord,— . . . I will not consent that my claim to 'the Rent' should be misunderstood. That claim may be rejected, but it is understood in Ireland.

My claim is this. For more than twenty years before Emancipation the burthen of the cause was thrown upon me. I had to arrange the meetings, to prepare the resolutions, to furnish replies to the correspondence, to examine the case of each person complaining of practical grievances, to rouse the torpid, to animate the lukewarm, to control the violent and the inflammatory, to avoid the shoals and breakers of the law, to guard against multiplied treachery, and at all times to oppose, at every peril, the powerful and multitudinous enemies of the cause.

To descend to particulars. At a period when my minutes counted by the guinea ; when my emoluments were limited only by the extent of my physical and waking powers ; when my meals were shortened to the narrowest

space, and my sleep restricted to the earliest hours before dawn ; at that period, and for more than twenty years, there was no day that I did not devote from one to two hours, often much more, to the working out of the Catholic cause, and that without receiving or allowing the offer of any remuneration even for the personal expenditure incurred in the agitation of the cause itself. For four years I bore the entire expenses of Catholic agitation, without receiving the contributions of others to a greater amount than £74 in the whole. Who shall repay me for the years of my buoyant youth and cheerful manhood ? Who shall repay me for the lost opportunities of acquiring professional celebrity, or for the wealth which such distinction would ensure ?

Other honours I could not then enjoy. Emancipation came. You admit that it was I who brought it about. The year before Emancipation, though wearing a stuff gown, and belonging to the outer Bar, my professional emoluments exceeded £8,000, an amount never before realized in Ireland in the same space of time by an outer barrister.

Had I adhered to my profession, I must soon have been called within the Bar, and obtained the precedence of a silk gown. The severity of my labours would have been at once much mitigated, whilst the emoluments would have been considerably increased. I could have done a much greater variety of business with less toil, and my professional income must have necessarily been augmented by probably one half.

If I had abandoned politics, even the honours of my profession and its highest stations lay fairly before me.

But I dreamed a day-dream—was it a dream?—that Ireland still wanted me : that although the Catholic aristocracy and gentry of Ireland had obtained most valuable advantages from Emancipation, yet the benefits of good government had not reached the great mass of the Irish people, and could not reach them unless the Union should be made either a *reality*, or unless that hideous measure should be abrogated.

I did not hesitate as to my course. My former success

gave me personal advantages which no other man could easily procure. I flung away the profession; I gave its emoluments to the winds; I closed the vista of its honours and dignities; I embraced the cause of my country; and, come weal or come woe, I have made a choice at which I have never repined, nor ever shall repent.

I do not believe that I ever had in private life an enemy. I know that I had and have many, very many, warm, cordial, affectionate and attached friends. Yet here I stand, beyond controversy the most and the best abused man in the world! And, to clap the climax of calumny, you come with a lath at your side instead of the sword of a Talbot, and you throw Peel's hostility along with your own into my cup of bitterness!

All this have I done and suffered for Ireland. And let her be grateful or ungrateful, solvent or insolvent, he who insults me for taking her pay wants the vulgar elements of morality which teach that the labourer is worthy of his hire; he wants the higher sensations of the soul, which enable one to perceive that there are services which bear no comparison with money, and can never be recompensed by pecuniary rewards. Yes, I am—I say it proudly—I am the hired servant of Ireland; and I glory in my servitude.²

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 18th March, 1842.

My dear FitzPatrick,—How foolish of our Irish people not to see that they have got only one year's respite from the Income tax. Once it is established in England the process of *assimilation* which has been practised as to all other taxes will easily apply to this.

But what say they to the provision trade? Foreign salt provisions for the use of shipping can be taken out of

² See vol. i. p. 215.

bond without paying *any duty* for consumption in all vessels sailing to foreign ports. In other words, all vessels, except coasters, will have foreign provisions duty free ; the consequence will be the total loss of the *home* market to the Irish provision merchants, for their home market was the provisioning of vessels bound to all the world. The coasters consume very little salt provisions.

The flame is spreading fast against the Income tax. Its inquisitorial nature and palpably unequal leaning are making it most violent enemies in every quarter. I am amused at the rage of many Tories.

Brougham, as usual, made a rascally speech last night.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 21st June, 1842.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I send you the two letters as you desire. Can I do anything else ?

The Belfast Committee is composed of four Liberals and five Tories. This was not done by my assent but because the Tories *dictated* the selection. They insisted that, as one or other party must have the majority, the accused was entitled to it, and they have so decided a majority in the House that it was vain for me to struggle. There is this advantage, that very little is left to the discretion of the committee, as our business, our efficient business, is to take evidence. I presume I am to be chairman. Indeed, of that there can be little, I believe no doubt, so that the Tory majority is not very material. Perhaps it is better it should be so, and I am sure that, even if I had the right and the power to nominate the entire committee, I ought not to give it a partisan color. You can explain *this* to all who inquire, but do not put it into the newspapers, and in every case remember that the Tories *have the power* of dictation.

The Catholics who support Peel are of those who at all times are useless, and, whenever the opportunity offers, mischievous. It was in despite of them we were emanci-

pated, and in despite of them we will, after the present lull, accumulate Repealers.

Always yours gratefully,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 27th June, '42.

My dear Friend,—Again for politics. There is the greatest danger of an outbreak in the manufacturing districts. You can form no idea of the hopeless state of the manufacturing interests, and, to crown all their misery, the Russian tariff threatens to annihilate the Worsted trade, almost the only remaining branch of industry which is in a thriving position. The delegates have been with me just now and their accounts are terrific. People are not awake to the danger which really exists.

Belfast Committee meets to-morrow for business. I believe the case will be fully proved, though it is said that rather a general conspiracy exists in Belfast to prevent its success. But the persons who are engaged in it are very foolish ; everyone of them is liable to be compelled to disclose the entire details of their efforts to nullify the enquiry.

Roebuck's Committee is progressing most successfully. The Harwich case has completely exploded. Only think of £1,000 for 2 votes ! This case is the more curious because the votes were those of the chairman of the Liberal Committee and his son. The Tories offered them £350 each for his vote, and they tendered themselves to their own party for that sum, giving the Liberals till ten o'clock of the polling day to consider whether they would give that price. But the Tories having been apprized of this hesitation, they agreed to raise the bribe to two of £500 each and so get the votes before nine. All this has been proved. The Nottingham case is now on and the case is fully proved. Walter of *The Times* has refused to be examined, and we shall, I do believe, have to send him to Newgate. He will, I believe, be this day ordered into custody.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 11th July, 1842.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The political horizon lours. The distress in the manufacturing districts speaks with a thousand tongues. For my part, my apprehension is that crime and destruction of property and lives are imminent. I sometimes doubt the extent of the distress, otherwise these dreadful consequences would be already produced. This, and this alone, affords hope, yet *everybody* at both sides of the House admits the existence of almost universal misery. What shall be the end? If matters proceed to any extremity, Ireland is my post, to keep the people from any outbreak. It will be enough for the Irish to watch events, and to guard against anarchy or outrage, and to contrast favorably with any violence at this side of the Channel. . . .

Want is literally killing me. I have grown ten years older from my incessant pecuniary anxiety. God bless you, my dear friend!

Ever most sincerely yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 25th July, 1842.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write overwhelmed with affliction. It almost drives me mad. The enclosed, which I send to you in the strictest confidence, will explain that S——'s bill for £420, due on Wednesday week, *comes upon me*. I write again to him to-day in great anxiety.

Would his endorsements to the bills I sent him, and which he has returned to me, be of any use? If so, I would get him to endorse them and send them to you. By bills I mean two notes of mine at three and four months for the amount of the bill due the 3rd of August, payable to *his* order.

London: 26th July, 1842.

I write in great despondency, but catching at a straw. I send you the two notes, payable to S——'s order, so that

if you think you could make anything of them you may send them to him for his endorsement, though indeed I think little of this scheme of mine, but I know of no better.—Ever yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 29th July, 1842.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You have taken a load off my mind. May God bless you! I was actually in despair.

Stanley wants to extinguish the constitution of Newfoundland. I am the sole defender of the Catholics there, and cannot leave this until that Bill is disposed of. It will come on to-morrow, and I will write by that post telling you when I can leave this; but I fear, and indeed believe, I cannot leave before Monday evening, at the very earliest. I will, however, write you a line each day till then, so as to keep you exactly apprised of my position.

Most sincerely yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To T. M. Ray.

London: Aug. 6th, 1842.

My dear Ray,—I am sincerely sorry that it will not be in my power to be in Dublin before Wednesday, but on that day it is my intention to be there, and to proceed at once to the perfect organisation of the Repeal agitation. Have for me an accurate return of the parishes and districts in Dublin, and the rest of Leinster in which any exertions have been made in favor of Repeal since the 25th March last, the date of the renewed exertion for Ireland. The apathy by which the spirit of patriotism is paralysed must soon give way to the conviction that Ireland has nothing to depend on but her own exertions. How foolish it is in the writers of the 'Dublin Magazine' to suggest the formation of a Liberal party in Ireland unconnected with Repeal!—foolish to the last degree. Who, besides the Repealers, are Liberal in Ireland? Some few barristers, who dream of the restoration of Whiggism, of Whiggism that has passed

by never to return. It is true that Lord Cloncurry adheres to his opinions of former days, but we have no right to expect activity from him, benumbed as he must be by the wretched Toryism of his son. The house of Leinster may be called 'The Castle of Indolence,' where the son out-sleeps the father. Alas ! alas ! for poor Ireland, she has indeed no friends.

But shall we despair ? I will try the thrilling trumpet that has often before caused despair to hope and torpor to be roused into energy. I do not despair, nor does the chill of an ungenial legislature diminish the glow of hope which I derive from the subdued but reviving flame of genuine Irish patriotism. The people of Ireland are true to the heart's core ; the clergy of the people are as sincere in their love of fatherland as they are eminent in Christian zeal and fervent piety. I do not despair.

So soon as I arrive in Ireland I will publish my address to my own constituents ; all I desire is to make them, clergy and laity, understand the real position of public affairs. I want every Irishman to be convinced of this truth, that there is nothing worth looking for, save the power of governing ourselves, and of husbanding our national resources by the restoration of our domestic legislature.

Have, I repeat it, prepared a list of all the parishes in Leinster, with the names of the clergy of each parish, and of every layman therein, who shall have taken, at any by-gone time, an active part in the Repeal agitation. It is by detailed and persevering exertions that public opinion will recover its tone and energy in Ireland.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.³

To O'Neill Daunt.

Darrynane Abbey : 9th Sept. 1842.

My dear Daunt,—I hope you are making arrangements for opening the campaign of agitation. It is time it were

³ One hundred other letters of a similar spirit and aim might be supplied from the papers of the late Mr. Ray.

begun. But act cautiously; be sure to have the approval of the Catholic clergy in every place you move to. I intended to have written to you at greater length, but will defer it until Sunday or Monday. Write to me fully all the prospects of the approaching campaign.

Is there anything you wish me to do, or say, or write?

Communicate my *orders* to my dear friend Tom Steele to keep his bed until his physician tells him he may rise.⁴

Most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Thanks to the Municipal Reform Act, which had at last come into force, O'Connell was now Lord Mayor of Dublin. For one hundred and fifty years no Roman Catholic had filled that post, and he entered on its duties simply as a political triumph. Thirteen days' hard work revising the Burgess Roll were among the penalties it brought.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 20th Sept. 1842.

My dear Friend,—You have enclosed the two bills you sent me, *accepted*.

I intend (D.V.) to be in Dublin on the 29th, so as to have the 30th for preparation in my duty to revise the Burgess Roll. It will give me thirteen days' hard work. I hope to be able to carry you an assurance of the renewal of Burke's bill.

You may be sure that all the part I shall take in the College Election will consist in condemnation of both parties.⁵ But I do suppose the death of Martin Curry

⁴ A graduate of Cambridge and at one time the possessor of large landed property in Clare, he seconded O'Connell in the memorable election for that county. A Protestant by birth and belongings, he yet attached himself to the Catholic leader with marvellous enthusiasm and devotion, became his aide-de-camp, and so effectually subdued local disturbances that he acquired the title of 'Head Pacifier.' When O'Connell died, life lost its zest for Steele. Shortly

after that event he threw himself from Waterloo Bridge into the Thames, but was rescued alive and lingered until June 15, 1848.

⁵ In 1842 Mr. Lefroy, member for Dublin University, having been raised to the Bench, he was succeeded in the representation by Joseph Devonshire Jackson. A few months later Jackson was appointed Judge, when George Alexander Hamilton took his place. His colleague at this time was Mr. (afterwards Recorder) Shaw.

gives an opportunity to the Government to escape the difficulty. It matters little after all.

The weather has been very favorable since my arrival here. I have exceedingly enjoyed my hunting scenes, and I really feel a restoration of health and energy even beyond my expectations. I do delight in this retreat; my *pack* is beautiful, and they hunt admirably. They kill with ease full six and even seven hares in a day, and this amidst the finest scenery, the most *majestic* in the world. How I wish you saw this place and saw *my hounds* hunt, because it is not the men but the dogs that hunt with me. It is with bitter regret I tear myself from these mountains, and I would not consent for any offer to forfeit my prospect of being here all October in the ensuing year.

I have given nearly the last fortnight to political idleness, and from this day I *begin again*. I think I feel that the prospects of the people are less clouded than they were. I am sure events are working for the popular cause.

Always yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

Darrynane Abbey: 5th December, 1842.

My dear Barrett,—I will write to you again to-morrow and report progress. I expect to have the draft of the prospectus by Wednesday night.

Have you observed how exactly suited Peter Purcell's Agricultural Society is to enable the landlords to combine together for the exclusion of Catholic tenants? I do not think I have seen this remark before, and it is doubtful whether it should be published now.

All well here. My hounds in great order.⁶ I have had some beautiful hunting.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁶ It was at this time that Leigh Hunt derisively compared the Repeal cry to the cry of the Darrynane beagles. 'Ay,' said O'Connell;

'but the fellow made a better hit than he intended, for my beagles never cease their cry until they catch their game.'

It was not the good fortune of the present writer to have been present at any of the exciting hunts to which O'Connell, in his letters from Darrynane, makes glowing allusion. My publisher has expressed a wish that some account should be given of them ; and, luckily, I find preserved among my notes the impressions of friends who were often on the ground. O'Connell was now an old man. 'Nothing,' said Mr. Ray, 'seemed to annoy him more than when on hunting matches any friend or attendant volunteered to help him over the stiles or boundary walls of loose stones with which the fields were full. Such officiousness was generally repelled by the assurance that, if unable to cross these barriers, he was no longer fit for public life. His son Maurice was a wag, and it afforded him amusement to give hints to the *Liberator's* disciples to tender this critical experiment of assistance.'⁷ Former guests at Darrynane remember O'Connell at the head of his clansmen grasping a leaping-pole and pursuing the chase. Hounds and scouts wildly shared in the excitement. Two hunters, in red coats and caps, threshed every furze bush with staves ; hounds with busy noses sought to discover the game. Then it was that O'Connell would sometimes hold a hasty Court to settle the 'squabbles' of his tenants ; but when suddenly the pack would 'give voice,' and a shout of joy ascend from the sportsmen, the litigants at once found themselves alone. Meanwhile the hare, wildly careering across the valley, and anon wheeling round some lonely hill, and perchance jumping a rivulet, arrested all eyes, until the hounds, at last losing the scent, might be seen following in silence the zigzag course of puzzled pursuit. Again a cry rises on high, the echoes ring, and the eager pack seem close on the flying panting prey, which, scudding from crag to crag, looks more like a shadow than a reality. Thus romantic regions, into which O'Connell would otherwise hardly penetrate, were traversed, and he returned to Darrynane braced for new labour in his country's cause. The house was never without troops of guests ; O'Connell at the head of his dinner-table, and surrounded by loving children, appeared at his best. An English traveller who received shelter here was unprepared to find the Great Agitator so full of religious faith and fervour. 'He kept a domestic chaplain or confessor,' he writes. 'It at first

⁷ Thomas M. Ray to W. J. FitzPatrick, August 5, 1866.

somewhat startled you to hear during the day the sound of children's voices from the drawing-room, and on entering you found, amid all the noise and childish laughter, the holy father walking to and fro as if totally unconscious of the juvenile racket around him, with his breviary in his hand, muttering his prayers. In the observance of his religion O'Connell was seriously zealous and regular. At nine o'clock every morning the bell at Darrynane rang for Mass. From all parts of the house trooped the members of the family, visitors, and servants to the chapel, and for one hour the whole place was as silent as a tomb. At ten breakfast was served, and then commenced the ordinary affairs or amusements of the day. Such was O'Connell at Darrynane.'

Charles Gavan Duffy was delighted with its charming library overlooking the Atlantic. But he thought the kennel even better. 'The dogs are the noblest I ever saw,' he writes. 'Some of the old ones have a dignity that is superhuman. One venerable beagle ought to have been a chief justice, as far as wisdom and authority are concerned, only he looks too honest for the office.' The latter remark was expressed a year or two later, when 'the Repeal Martyrs' smarted under what they considered the partisan spirit of Chief Justice Pennefather, who tried them.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

17th Dec. 1842.

May God bless you!—you are my only hope.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

7th Jan. 1843.

I intend to spend less time in London this Session than ever I did. Events may change this determination, but they must be events which I do not at present anticipate.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

9th Jan. 1843.

May I ask you to call in at Brophy's the dentist and inquire of him what I owe him? It must be a large sum, say thirty guineas or upwards, by reason of the quantity of gold in the plates, besides exquisite workmanship. He has

done ten times as much for my comfort as the London men. Ten times did I say? There is really no calculation of the difference. Pay him for me if you can.

What a glorious thing the deficiency in the Revenue is! What a blow to our scoundrel enemies! I am just finishing my first vol. It will be out of hands to-morrow.⁸

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 13th Jany. 43.

My dear Friend,—I intend, please God, to go to Tralee on Wednesday, on Thursday to Newcastle, and to be in Dublin on the 20th. I will write to have my letters and newspapers directed to meet me. For the present, matters will remain as they now are, nor will any alteration be necessary before Tuesday next. The weather is the most stormy I can remember, great devastation of property in houses, corn, &c. through the district, but we are in shelter here and have sustained, thank God, no injury, though the tempest of thunder, hail, rain, and wind raged around us. You cannot conceive anything so magnificent as the ocean. I have never seen it so wild.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

Merrion Square: 23rd March, 1843.

My dear Barrett,—I saw with great surprise in the last *Pilot* a paragraph which you certainly took from some other newspaper, headed 'O'Connell and Dickens,' and purporting to be a quotation from an alleged letter of mine to the editor of a Maryland newspaper, published at Baltimore, and called the *Hibernian Advocate*. The thing is

⁸ *A Memoir of Ireland, Native and Saxon*. This must be the same book the draft of which O'Connell sent to London five years before. (See letter of September 18, 1837.) In now submitting it to the Queen, he said that he had little hope of being able to produce any work of

sufficient interest to occupy the royal mind, but it was desirable that the Sovereign should be aware of how much the Irish had suffered from English misrule and comprehend the secret springs of Irish discontent.

from beginning to end a gross lie. I never wrote a letter to that newspaper, nor am I in the habit of corresponding with the editors of American papers.

I am surprised that you did not take notice that this forgery was published in a slave-holding state—a state in which there is that moral contamination about the press which, I think you ought to know, would preclude me from having any communication with it.

Hibernian Advocate! Oh, miserable wretch, you are, indeed, fit to circulate fictitious documents, for even your very name must be a forgery.

Few people admire more the writings of Dickens, or read them with deeper interest, than I do. I am greatly pleased with his ‘American Notes.’ They give me, I think, a clearer idea of every-day life in America than I ever entertained before. And his chapter containing the advertisement respecting negro slavery is more calculated to augment the fixed detestation of slavery than the most brilliant declamation or the most splendid eloquence. That chapter shews out the hideous features of the system far better than any dissertation on its evil could possibly produce them, odious and disgusting to the public eye.

But I cannot help deploring one paragraph in the work. It is one full of the ignorant and insolent spirit of infidelity respecting the rigid Order of Benedictine Monks—I say, *of infidelity*, because surely no *Christian* man could place upon an equality the duellist murderer with the ascetic servant of the Cross of Christ!

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O’CONNELL.

To Charles Bianconi, Mayor of Clonmel.

Merrion Square: 24 March, 1843.

My dear Friend,—What the deuce is Tipperary doing? What the double deuce is Clonmel doing? And especially what is its valiant Corporation doing? Sligo, Drogheda, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, Dublin—all the Liberal Corporations except Clonmel—have either given proofs of

Irish patriotism or else have shewn themselves alive to it. What is Charles Bianconi doing? A vivacious animal in himself, but now, seemingly, as torpid as a flea in a wet blanket. So much for scolding you all. And now, my good friend, is it not a crying shame that your noble county should remain in such apathy when all the rest of Ireland is rousing itself into a combined effort for the Repeal? I want a Repeal meeting either at Clonmel or Cashel or Thurles. I want to see from 60,000 to 100,000 Tipperary men meeting peacefully and returning home quietly, to adopt the petition and to organise the Repeal rent. Now you know you must get into motion, there's no use at all in hanging back any longer when you set about it. I know you will do the thing right well.

I am to be at Rathkeale on Tuesday, the 18th of April, and I could be at either of the three towns I have mentioned upon Thursday, the 20th April; so now put these things together and set about working. Do nothing without the co-operation of the clergy. I need give you no further advice or instructions.

Though you are a foreigner, you have brains in your noddle, and are able to perceive, even amidst the levity of my phrases, the intensity of my anxiety to bring forward Tipperary, speedily and energetically, but peaceably. What will you do for the cause? You should answer me that. With sincerest regards to your family,

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Robert Curtis.

Corn Exchange Rooms: 7th April, 1843.

My dear Friend,—It is my duty, as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Repeal Association, to address you in reply to the documents sent from Waterford and alluded to at the meeting of Repeal wardens and collectors at which you presided.

Let me first call your attention to the now terminative working of the system adopted in Waterford; you will find

it stated in the enclosure No. 1. I would call your attention to the fact that in the first period—that is, up to the close of 1841—we received from the county of Waterford the very liberal sum of no less than £403 18s. 6d., clear of all expenses—the expenses being only in most cases no more than a few shillings, which were stopped by the persons sending the remittances. In many cases there was no charge whatsoever, and thus we received the neat sum I have mentioned, viz. £403 18s. 6d. In the same period we received from the city of Waterford :

	£	s.	d.
Gross	259	13	0
Expenses	39	17	6
Nett receipts from the city of Waterford to the close of 1841 . . .	219	15	6

In the second period, for the year 1842, we received from the county and city :

	£	s.	d.
Gross	295	0	1
Expenses	185	5	6
Nett	109	14	7

I bring these figures before you to shew the exact result of the system adopted in Waterford in 1842. Now do not, my good friend, mistake me so far as to suppose that I say or insinuate or think there was any part of these expenses either before or since the close of 1841 unnecessarily or improperly incurred. I neither say nor think any such thing. I do believe the system adopted in Waterford required every shilling of the expenditure charged against us. I am sure it did, or the money would not have been expended by the honourable and patriotic men who expended it, and I would especially say by a man so deservedly esteemed by us all as my friend Alderman Delahunty.⁹

But I do submit this to your good sense and to that of the Repeal wardens of Waterford, namely, that a system of

⁹ Afterwards M.P. for Waterford, and cleverly caricatured in one of the cartoons of *Vanity Fair*.

collection cannot be a good one that exhausts nearly two-thirds of the gross amount collected in the expenses of collection. I again repeat that I would be most painfully treated by the Waterford Repealers if they thought that I meant any reproach to anybody by this simple statement of facts. *Indeed, indeed*, I do not.

My next object is, if possible (which from a certain angry tone in the letters and resolutions coming from Waterford I fear it is not)—I say my object is to reconcile the Repeal wardens of Waterford with the Repeal Association. I know by sad experience that when heat and anger get once a footing in a public body it is all but impossible to mitigate these passions into a temper for conciliation, but I will not despair until after I have made the trial.

All the Repeal Association requires—all I require for it—is that it should be the central power, to regulate with authority the Repeal wardens in each locality. Without this central power I should abandon the struggle for the Repeal and retire to solitude and silence. There is no danger of the abuse of this power, because it can be flung off at once by any locality dissatisfied with its operation.

I am sorry to think that my friend Alderman Delahunty differs with me in this respect. He seems to think that each locality should regulate its own management and thus have only a nominal connection with the Repeal Association.

I cannot go on with any *such* connection; I have difficulties enough in the way of attaining the Repeal not to render it impossible by the laxity of the machinery. You must decide this point. The Repeal wardens of Waterford must in their own wisdom and patriotism decide the point, which is, will they go on with my central power or adopt any other course for themselves? If they determine to go on with me, not merely by the words of a flattering resolution but in their own manly sincerity, why, then, all differences are closed, and they will with me put their shoulders to the wheel and press on the majestic machine of Repeal to its glorious destination.

Recollect always that all we seek, all we desire, is that

the Repeal wardens of Waterford should work with us and we with them in precisely the same way that the Repeal wardens of every other locality do. We require no more, and I for one deem this absolutely necessary for the union and centralisation of action. I repeat, I cannot get on without it.

I now ask you, my dear friend, to assist me in the restoration of cordiality. I am desirous, deeply desirous of restoring that spirit of action. I cannot consent to any arrangement inconsistent with the independent action of the Repeal Association.

I have, at all events, done my duty. If the Repeal wardens of Waterford really place that confidence in me which their last resolution intimates, they will be convinced that I seek nothing of triumph or victory—God forbid!—and that *my only desire is to preserve that central authority which in my conscience I believe to be essentially necessary for the peaceful carrying of the majestic measure of Repeal.*

Believe me to be, with kind regards to your family, my dear friend,

Very faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Capt. Seaver, J.P.¹

Merrion Square : April 14, 1843.

My dear Sir,—Allow me, I pray you, to use the familiarity of a brother-Repealer in addressing you as if we were long acquainted, for, indeed, who ever joins in the struggle to make our beloved fatherland a nation again is dear to me ; and when he who joins that sacred cause is a gentleman of your station and character, I know not how to cherish him suitably to his deserts.

I, of course, will have you presented to the Association

¹ Captain Seaver, J.P., of Heath Hall, co. Down, belonged to an Oxfordshire family, of which a branch came to Ireland with Oliver Cromwell. Captain Seaver was closely connected with several influential septs in Armagh and Monaghan, and

exercised considerable territorial prestige. He was, of course, a Protestant, and O'Connell hailed with joy his accession to the Repeal cause. Captain Seaver died December 31, 1848.

in my name, as I shall be in Rathkeale on the day of the meeting.

I will be exceedingly happy to meet you at Carrickmacross to make your personal acquaintance, and to consult with you as to the best mode of conciliating to the Repeal cause the Protestant and Presbyterian population. My own desire is very much to have as many of the gentry of these persuasions on the general Committee of Management as possible. I am anxious to regulate the progress of Repeal by their counsel and assistance. I most ardently desire to prevent the hurrying of the Repeal agitation so fast as not to give time for all classes and persuasions of Irishmen to join us. All that is wanting is time.

So soon as Protestants of all sects combine to obtain our legislative independence the utmost cordiality will prevail, as in 1732, between all Irishmen, and we will be able to make the mighty change with perfect safety to person and property, and to the continuance of the connection between the two countries.

Pray excuse the exuberance of satisfaction at obtaining your public adhesion to Ireland which causes me to trespass thus long on your attention.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It was at this time that Mr. Lane Fox, an English member of fanatical views, addressed a letter to O'Connell challenging him to appear in his place in Parliament and listen to his predictions of the downfall of Popery and triumph of Scripture truth. He concluded by threatening to move for the Repeal of the Emancipation Act.

Merrion Square : 12th May, 1843.

Mr. O'Connell has read in *The Times* a letter addressed to him by Mr. Lane Fox, a copy of which that unhappy gentleman has taken the trouble of sending to Mr. O'Connell in manuscript after he had printed the original in the newspapers. Of course it will not be expected that Mr. O'Connell should say one word in reply to that strange

epistle; but he feels that, as a gentleman and a Christian, he is bound earnestly to implore the friends of Mr. Lane Fox to obtain for him the protection which the Court, in matters of lunacy, is enabled to give to persons who, like Mr. Lane Fox, are manifestly incompetent to manage their own affairs, either public or private.²

To Daniel O'Connell, M.P.

Sec.'s Office, Four Courts, Dublin: 23rd May, 1843.

Sir,—I am directed by the Lord Chancellor³ to inform you that it is with regret he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a Magistrate for the County of Kerry. I beg to enclose a copy of a letter, written by the Lord Chancellor's direction to Lord Ffrench, which will explain to you the grounds upon which this step has been taken.

I have, &c.,

HENRY SUGDEN.

The Chancellor dismissed from the Commission of the Peace Lord Ffrench and other magistrates who had attended meetings convened to petition for Repeal. The letter concluded with these words: 'To allow any longer such persons to continue in the Commission would be to afford the power of the Crown to the carrying of a measure which her Majesty has, like her predecessor, expressed her determination to prevent. This view of the case, which the step taken by your lordship has forced upon the attention of the Lord Chancellor, will compel him at once to supersede any other magistrates who, since the declarations in Parliament, have attended like Repeal meetings. He thinks that such a measure is not at variance with the resolution of the Government, whilst they watch over public tranquillity and oppose the Repeal movement, still to act with forbearance and conciliation, and to devote their best energies to improve the institutions and promote the prosperity of Ireland.'

² The letter of Mr. Lane Fox concluded by asking the editor of *The Times* to insert it in 'your much circulated paper. It will comfort many an honest meaning heart.

Fools may stumble at it; and let them stumble and be damned.'

³ This was Lord St. Leonard's. Born 1781, died 1875.

To Henry Sugden.

30 Merriion Square : 27th May, 1843.

Sir,—On my return to town from attending four meetings—peaceable and perfectly legal meetings—to petition Parliament for the repeal of the Act entitled ‘The Act for the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland,’ I found before me your letter of the 23rd inst. For the terms of civility in which that letter is couched I owe you, sir, and I hereby offer you, my best thanks.

I would not willingly be exceeded by you in courtesy, and I beg of you to believe that if, in the performance of a sacred duty, I should use any expression of a harsh nature, which I shall studiously endeavour to avoid, it is not my intention to say anything personally offensive. But that duty obliges me to declare that, as the restoration of the Irish Parliament is an event, in my judgment, not remote, I will avail myself of the opportunity afforded by a seat in the Irish House of Commons to move for the impeachment of the present Lord Chancellor for presuming to interfere with the subjects’ dearest and most precious right—the right of petitioning Parliament; a right expressly declared to belong to the people as one of ‘the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this realm.’

I use the words of the Statute, which, it should be remembered, settles the succession of the crown upon the basis of those rights and liberties of the subject. Her Majesty’s title, therefore, to the throne is based upon the right of petition, and the Statute expressly declares, ‘That all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.’ The deprivation of the commission of the peace may not be technically a prosecution, but it is intended as a *punishment*; and punishment without prosecution would make the act of the Lord Chancellor only the more criminal. I mean to insist—and I think the argument will have weight with an Irish Parliament, freely and fairly elected—that the act of the Chancellor necessarily endangers the stability of the throne and the security of the connexion between both countries.

The commission of the peace is of very small importance to *me*, who never acted more than once under that commission, but the *principle* upon which the Chancellor acts I utterly protest against, as being in its essential nature disloyal and dangerous alike to the throne and the people.

That the Repeal meetings to petition Parliament are not illegal is a proposition admitted in your letter to Lord Ffrench ; and really, you must permit me to say, that it is in no slight degree absurd to allege that these meetings ‘have an inevitable tendency to outrage!!!’ Why, meetings have been held, as everybody in Ireland knows, or ought to know, as numerous, aye, and as peaceably, before the passing of the Emancipation Act as during the present Repeal agitation. There have been, within the last three months, more than twenty of these multitudinous meetings to petition without having caused a single offence. How, then, they can have ‘An Inevitable Tendency’ to outrage, without ever having produced a single outrage, is not within the comprehension of a mere Irish lawyer, although it may be within the sagacity of an English Chancellor !

How CAN the Chancellor be of opinion that meetings to petition are not within the spirit of the Constitution, when the Constitution itself recognises, sanctions, aye, and enforces the right so to petition ? And as to the notion of their becoming dangerous to the safety of the State, the danger to the State would, in *reality*, consist in suppressing the groans of the people ; in compelling them to brood in silence over their wrongs and their sufferings ; and a more wronged and suffering people exist not under the face of heaven than the Irish people. The danger to the State would consist in suppressing the expression of popular opinion, in damming up the constitutional channels of relief, and in thereby driving the people to the wild and hideous ‘justice of revenge,’ instead of leaving them to the fair hopes of relief from the Houses of Parliament and from the throne.

As to the argument used in your letter to Lord Ffrench

with respect to the *inability* of the magistrates attending meetings to repress violence, it bears diametrically the opposite way, for no individual could possibly have so direct and personal an interest in preventing violence and suppressing outrage as magistrates who are parties to, and responsible for, the calling together of such meetings.

With respect to your assertion that Her Majesty has, like her predecessor, expressed her determination to prevent the carrying of the Repeal of the Union, it has filled me with the most utter and inexpressible astonishment. You *must* know—and, indeed, I much fear you must have known when you made that assertion—that it was utterly unfounded; in fact, Sir Robert Peel has himself admitted the falsity of that statement. Her Majesty, whom the people of Ireland affectionately revere, has made no such declaration; and, indeed, I must say it enhances the criminality of the Lord Chancellor that he has permitted the putting forward (under the sanction of his high name) of a statement so injurious to Her Majesty, and one so strongly tending in itself to expose her to the odium and hatred (if that were possible) of her brave, loyal, and attached people of Ireland.

As to the concluding paragraph of your letter, which talks of the forbearance and conciliation of the present Government, and of their desire to improve the institutions and promote the prosperity of Ireland, it is calculated only to move the risible faculties of every light-hearted man, and to excite the indignation and sorrow of every thinking being, that you should venture to treat the people of Ireland to such a specimen of ludicrous hypocrisy.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.⁴

⁴ A good story was once told by O'Connell concerning Lord Chancellor Sugden, who was fond of investigating the management of lunatic asylums. He made an arrangement with Sir Philip Cramp-ton, the Surgeon-General, to visit without any previous intimation Dr.

Duncan's mad-house at Finglas. Some wag wrote word to the asylum that a patient would be sent there in a carriage that day—'a smart little man, who thought himself one of the judges, or some great person of that sort, and he was to be detained by them.' The doctor was

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Limerick : 13th June, 1843.

The moment I got your letter I waited on your sister. She had, fortunately, no occasion for my advice, and returns to Dublin this evening quite well and merry.

The Times you sent me made me think they were going to cut our throats, but it was only a *brutum fulmen*. I now see we shall carry the Repeal without one drop of blood.

To the Archbishop of Tuam.

Merrion Square : August, 1843.

I think I may venture to wish you joy of what is called the Queen's Speech. It has already made a most favourable sensation here, and is, I think, calculated to enliven the Repeal zeal all over Ireland.

I have, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Lord Campbell enclosed the following letter to his brother, telling him to preserve it, 'as it may one day have an historical interest. If there is to be separation, or civil war, it should be stated that at one time Dan, in the midst of apparent fury, was very peaceably inclined, and would have been glad of a pretext for relaxing from Repeal agitation.'

out when the Lord Chancellor arrived. He was very talkative, but the keepers humoured him and answered all his questions. He inquired if the Surgeon-General had come; the keeper replied, 'No, but he is expected immediately.' 'Then I shall inspect some of the rooms until he arrives.' 'Oh, sir,' said the man, 'we could not permit that at all.' 'Well, then, I will walk for a while in the garden,' said his lordship. 'We cannot let you go there either,' said the keeper. 'What!' said he, 'don't you know I am the Lord Chancellor?' 'We have four

more chancellors here already!' was the reply. He got enraged, and they were thinking of a strait-waistcoat for him, when luckily Sir Philip Crampton arrived. 'Has the Lord Chancellor come yet?' said he. The man burst out laughing and said, 'Yes, sir, we have him safe, but he is by far the most violent patient in the house.' 'I really believe the Chancellor caught the fury of superseding the magistrates while he was in Dr. Duncan's asylum,' added O'Connell, 'and it would be fortunate if all the rest of the Ministry were there with him.'

To Lord Campbell.

Merrion Square, Dublin : September 9th, 1843.

My Lord,—I beg you will accept my best thanks for your kindness in sending me the opinion you pronounced in the case of the *Queen against Mills*. I read it with sincere admiration. Nay, I am *tradesman* enough to have read it with great delight. It is really a model for a law argument. I remember Curran said of an eminent Irish lawyer that ‘his mind floated in a legal atmosphere.’ The figure may not be a very brilliant one, but it conveys, I think, an accurate idea of the impression that your argument has made upon me, as to your power of *thinking* law. Your judgment is certainly quite conclusive against the totally untenable opinions huddled together by the twelve judges.

I avail myself of this occasion to return to you, my Lord, my most sincere and cordial thanks for the friendly, and at the same time manly, part which you have taken during the last session of Parliament on all subjects connected with Ireland. You really are the only efficient friend the Irish have had in the House of Lords during that session.

You, of course, blame my *prejudice* in wishing never to see a *Saxon* Lord Chancellor in Ireland; yet I do not hesitate to say that the opinion is universal amongst the popular party here; and if we are to have a British Chancellor, your appointment would be more satisfactory than that of any other stranger; and you have certainly deserved this sentiment.

Allow me to say (*par parenthèse*)—and I *consent* that you shall totally forget what I say in that parenthesis—that the Whig leaders do not behave well towards their supporters. Our Irish movement has at least this merit, that it has roused the English nation from slumber. There can be no more dreams about Ireland. Our grievances are beginning to be admitted by all parties, and by the press of all political opinions, to be afflicting and not easily

endured. I ask—of course without expecting an answer—why the Whig leaders are not up to the level of the times they live in; why do they not propose a definite plan for redressing these grievances? Peel, while in opposition, used to enliven the recess by his State epistles, declaratory of his opinions and determination.

Why does not Lord John treat us to a magniloquent epistle declaratory of his determination to abate the Church nuisance in Ireland, to augment our popular franchise, to vivify our new Corporations, to mitigate the statute law as between landlord and tenant, to strike off a few more rotten boroughs in England, and to give the representatives to our great counties? In short, why does he not prove himself a high-minded, high-gifted statesman, capable of leading his friends into all the advantages to be derived from conciliating the Irish nation and strengthening the British Empire?

It will be quite plain to your Lordship that I do not expect any manner of reply to this letter. I merely seek the gratification of being permitted to think aloud in your presence. And if there be anything displeasing to you in this indulgence, I entreat your forgiveness upon this score—of its being the farthest thing in the world from my intention to say anything which I thought should displease you.

Your faithful Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

On this point we hear no more from Lord Campbell, but a very curious memorandum is contributed by the late Isaac Butt, M.P., to Miss Cusack's 'Life and Times of the Liberator.' He describes, apparently on high authority (pp. 701-2), how in 1844 the Whig leaders, then in opposition, were ready to form an alliance with O'Connell as representing the Irish people, conceding a federal Parliament as one of its terms. Another remarkable statement appears in Sir Gavan Duffy's 'Four Years of Irish History' (p. 214): 'A manifesto of the English Whigs appeared in the "Edinburgh Review," and in this article—of which Lord

John Russell corrected the proof-sheets—it was proposed that the Imperial Parliament should meet in Dublin once in three years.'

Lord Campbell had a great liking for O'Connell, and no doubt interpreted his wishes to Lord John Russell. Campbell had met O'Connell at the table of FitzSimon, his son-in-law. 'We were very cordial,' writes Campbell. 'I must say he behaved exceedingly well to me. Although the Orangemen often taunted him with my appointment, and inveighed against it as a mark of Irish degradation—and in his contest for the City of Dublin, West, his opponent, accused him of supporting a Government which had conferred a pension of £4,000 a year on Sir John Campbell for doing nothing—he never joined in the popular cry, nor, either publicly or privately, did anything to annoy me.'⁵

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 9th December, 1843.

My dear FitzPatrick,—We had a delightful journey down. I have already been out hunting two days, and am glad to tell you that, although the distemper killed some noble dogs of mine, yet I have a very fair pack remaining.

I already feel the immense benefit of my native air and my delightful exercise. I am regaining strength and vigour to endure whatever my sentence may be. You will believe that I shall endure it without shrinking or compromise, come what may.

All is peace and quiet in this county,⁶ although the people are as ardent Repealers as any in the entire kingdom, it is understood to the most remote of the glens that there must be peace in order to succeed. I never met with more enthusiasm than I did on my journey hither from Dublin.

The death of the Rev. Mr. Tyrrell⁷ has made what the

⁵ *Autobiography*, ii. 148.

⁶ Kerry has been recently the most disturbed county in Ireland. O'Connell in his harangues constantly impressed upon the people

that the man who commits a crime gives strength to the enemy.

⁷ One of the traversers in the State prosecutions, or 'Repeal Martyrs,' as they were popularly called.

French call a *great sensation*. May the Great God be merciful to him!

Most gratefully,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 13 December, 1843.

My dear Friend,—I gladly accept your suggestions respecting the commission.⁸ They are full of good sense. The commission, formed as it is, can be nothing but a bubble. It is perfectly one-sided—all landlords and no tenants. I do not think it should have the confidence of the people. I will, however, sound through my own esteemed friend, Dr. Yore,⁹ an influential quarter. Much will also depend on the question of time, to know how far back they will go.

A report—a foolish and idle report I should fondly hope—of a serious illness of the Queen has got abroad. I implore of you to inquire, but most cautiously, into its truth.—Believe me to be

Most sincerely yours,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Pierce Mahony.

Darrynane Abbey : 17th Decr. 1843.

My dear Mahony,—What a tasteless fellow that Attorney-General was not to allow me another fortnight in these mountains! I forgive him everything but *that*. Why yesterday I had a most delightful day's hunting. I saw almost the entire of it—hare and hounds. We killed five hares. The day's run, without intermission, five hours and three quarters. In three minutes after each hare was killed we had another on foot, and the cry was incessant. They were never at more than a momentary check, and the cry, with the echoes, was splendid. I was not in such wind for walking these five years, and you will laugh at me when I tell you the fact that I was much less wearie

⁸ The Devon Commission. (See letter of April 26, 1844.)

⁹ A Roman Catholic Vicar-General of the Diocese of Dublin.

than several of the young men ; and we had a good three miles to walk home after the last hare was killed, just at the close of the day. I was not prepared for such good hunting, as the plague among the dogs has thinned my pack. It killed six couple of beautiful beagles of mine. I could almost weep for them. Yet the survivors seemed determined to indemnify me. If to-morrow be dry, I hope to have another good day's hunt.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 17 Dec. 1843.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Do you calculate exactly the time it takes to get an answer in Dublin from this ? It is right you should know it. If you write on a Monday your letter reaches Tralee by the mail-coach the afternoon, say 4 o'clock, on Tuesday. It leaves Tralee by a post-office car (Bianconi) immediately after, and reaches Cahirciveen at one in the morning of Wednesday, and it arrives here at about ten the same morning (Wednesday). I write the answer that day, but the post does not start until six the next morning (Thursday) ; that day it reaches Tralee long after the Dublin mail has started ; it therefore remains that night in Tralee, leaves Tralee next morning (Friday), and reaches Dublin on Saturday.

A letter from Dublin to London with two sea-voyages is answered the fourth day ; a letter to Darrynane all by land is answered the sixth day at the soonest. It may be useful to you to understand this difference when you are writing to me.

I have just written to Pierce Mahony¹ and given an

¹ 'His voice, singularly mellifluous, was also most powerful. I remember him once addressing the people from the balcony of his house in Merrion Square, and every word he uttered was heard with ease by a party congregated in the windows of

Pierce Mahony's house on the opposite side of that square — the largest in Europe.'—*T. M. Ray to W. J. FitzPatrick*, September 5, 1865.

But at times he would drop his voice to tones of softest pathos.

account of my hunting. . . . However, there is one comfort: I have not been in better wind and spirits for hunting these many a day.

Most faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Cork: 3rd January, 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I enclose you an order for £21 some shillings from the Rev. Mr. O'Connor. Acknowledge the receipt of it to him, and let him know that this is a subject on which I am forbid to correspond. You will, of course, do this in the smoothest manner.

You will be glad to hear that I have broken up the establishment at Darrynane. The saving will be greater than you could calculate. I ought to have done it sooner. I have also made a general clearance of my debts, current and ancient, save what I owe the bank. I will, please God, reduce that to a manageable shape when I arrive in Dublin. There is not one single debt unpaid, nor a single bill out, or indeed capable of being out—that is, to represent any debt, for there is none due, save one for some shillings less than £150, which will be due here in Cork on the 22nd, and for which we must send provision to Tom Fitzgerald's.

This is a pleasing prospect, but to make matters square I must have resort to the tribute.

Ever yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

CHAPTER XX.

Monster Meetings at Tara, Mullaghmast, &c.—Trial and Conviction of O'Connell—Appeal to the Bishops to help in preserving the Peace—English Sympathy—'The '82 Club'—'Don Magnifico'—A Severe Sentence—O'Connell 'kneels in Fetters before the Altar he had freed'—Appeal to Sheil—The Writ of Error argued by the Lords—The Liberator liberated—Mr. Whiteside—Scheme of a Federal Parliament—Lord Lyndhurst—A Startling Disclosure—English Intrigue with Rome—O'Connell's Health irretrievably broken—Sharman Crawford—Thomas Davis—Arbitration Courts—Catholic Bequests Act—T. B. Smith—The Devon Commission—The Maynooth Grant.

ON August 15, 1843, there took place at Tara the memorable mass meeting in favour of Repeal of the Union. Here the ancient kings of Ireland had once sat in council. Moore invested the spot with glowing interest by his lyric, 'The harp that once through Tara's halls,' and in 1798 a battle had been fought on this hill between the King's troops and the rebels, when Lord Fingall, a Roman Catholic peer, helped to rout the latter at the head of his cavalry.¹ Vast assemblages had taken place this year at Athlone, Dundalk, and Enniscorthy; and now, in obedience to O'Connell's summons, 750,000 souls—'aye, and bodies too,' as he himself said when correcting the statement—marched to Tara. *The Times* estimated the number present as a million. Not only the hill, but miles of surrounding lowlands were covered with men. Sir C. Gavan Duffy says that more men were present than possessed Scotland when Wallace raised the standard of independence, or Athens in the days of her world renown. Remembering how Peel and Wellington succumbed before a less formidable organisation, O'Connell, in the excitement of his speech, rashly pledged himself that within twelve months an Irish Parliament would be established on College Green. The Tara meeting was followed by another at Mullaghmast, when 400,000 assembled; but a great meeting which had been convened at

¹ Lord Fingall is frequently mentioned in the earlier letters of this collection.

Clontarf on October 8 was prohibited by a proclamation issued late in the afternoon of the previous day. Troops occupied the ground with several pieces of cannon,² and O'Connell and his colleagues received notice of prosecution.³

On January 16, 1844, they were put upon their trial, charged with conspiracy. He declared that there was nothing in the case to stain him with that charge; he had acted in the open day, in presence of the Government and the magistracy; nothing was secret, hidden, or concealed. Nevertheless a verdict of guilty was returned. Able men argued a writ of error before his judges, but the verdict stood. Popular excitement increased during the progress of these events, and O'Connell was filled with alarm lest the people should burst through his hands. Moral force prevailed, and the excitement of the country took a safe direction. For the fourteen weeks succeeding the prosecution the Repeal rent amounted to £25,712.

During the progress of the trial O'Connell's pen might have been observed busy, and people assumed that he was taking copious notes; but what he wrote did not always touch the case. Here is one of the documents that fell from his hand, showing, as usual, that broad rather than selfish interests were uppermost.

To the Rev. Dr. Maginn.

Court of Queen's Bench: 19th January, 1844.

Rev. and dear Sir,—Notwithstanding the pressure of other matters on my attention, I feel so anxiously the importance of the subject on which I now address you, that I give it a preference to everything else. I refer to the 'Dublin Review.'

I believe that publication to be of the utmost value to the cause of Catholicity and genuine liberality. It is the only quarterly that vindicates the character of the Irish and the interests of their religion.

² Commanding Clontarf, and nearly surrounded by water, is the well-known Pigeon House Fort, the guns of which ominously pointed to 'Conquer Hill,' the site of the advertised meeting. Lord Cloncurry

published a letter in which he denounced the action of the Government as 'a projected massacre.'

³ He owed this to his old foe, Blackburne. (See note to letter of November 17, 1834.)

It is, especially, the only such publication that has full access to the various clubs, as well as to the public reading-rooms. It also circulates extensively amongst the clergy and in the colleges of the Established Church in England, and it is of incalculable value to preserve an organ of religious and liberal sentiment whose voice is heard in places and by persons whose attention has hitherto been closely confined to the misrepresentations and calumnies of the enemies of the Catholic religion and of the Irish nation.

It is of the utmost importance that we should have *our case fairly stated*. All we desire is to be known as we really and in truth are, that our tenets should be freed from misrepresentation, and our religious practices rescued from false glosses and calumnious imputations.

It is impossible to place all these vital interests in better hands than in the 'Dublin Review.' We owe to ourselves and to our religion to sustain that journal. We owe it in Christian charity to our Protestant fellow-countrymen to clear away the mist so foully raised around our creed, and to show forth to them our Apostolic faith in its genuine brightness and simple truth.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Two days previous to his conviction O'Connell addressed the following letter to the most influential of the bishops:—

Merrion Square, Dublin : 10th February, 1844.

Most reverend and venerated Lords,—It is with some difficulty, and after much consideration, that I take the liberty of addressing you, with a respectful confidence that, although you may not approve of my doing so, you will attach a kind estimate to the motives which prompt me to trespass on your attention.

You may deem my anxiety excessive, but you will readily forgive that excess which arises from my extreme desire to prevent the slightest violence or breach of the peace in any part of the country.

I have not the presumption to think that anything emanating from me would be needed to stimulate the zeal of your Lordships, or the revered clergy at large, for the preservation of the most perfect public peace and tranquillity. Those who know you best are familiar with the fact that the quiet of the country is principally attributable to your unbought, successful, and most pious exertions to cause all the population of most districts, and as many of the people as possible in every district, to be obedient to the law and dutifully submissive to temporal authority.

What I respectfully submit to your Lordships is merely this—that perhaps it may be useful to take measures for allaying any tendency to excitement that might be produced by the result of the Crown Prosecutions, and for securing on the part of the people a continuance of the same profound tranquillity that has prevailed since the trials commenced. You agree with me, my Lords, that it is of the most emphatic importance that there should not, at the conclusion of the trials, be the smallest outbreak or violence of any kind whatsoever. I know that every exertion for maintaining the public peace will have your Lordships' sanction and active assistance. But, perhaps, that assistance is the more necessary now, inasmuch as the prosecution has had a sectarian color given to it by the conduct of the prosecutors in striking out all the Catholics from the jury list, in addition to the fact of the 'dropping out' from the jury panel of no less than thirty-five Catholics!

It is to prevent any irritation springing from this violation of their religious feelings that I, with profound humility, suggest to your Lordships the propriety of directing the clergy of every parish—and no directions were ever obeyed with greater alacrity than yours would be by the universal clergy of the second order—to take care that not the least particle of anger or irritation should exhibit itself among the Catholic people; to stifle every expression of sorrow or of wrong in the recollection that *prudence* as well as duty—personal safety as well as religion—imperatively require that every part of Ireland should remain in the

most perfect order and tranquillity, and in the most profound and undisturbed quiet.

If there be presumption in this Address it is concealed from my own view, and I express my sincere sorrow if it should be so. My object is to have an additional opportunity of enforcing on the public mind the fact that, if this crisis passes over—as pass over I am sure it will—without riot, violence, tumult, or outrage of any kind, the success of our efforts for the Repeal will be rendered certain, and the attainment of our Domestic Legislature will be secured.—I have the honor to be, with profound respect, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The verdict on O'Connell's case was given on Feb. 12, but sentence was not delivered till May. A motion for inquiry into the state of Ireland was made in the House of Commons, but was rejected on Feb. 23.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 16th Feb. 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You read the debates in the Houses; they are interesting, but, of course, favourable to anti-Irish power. On the other hand, the popular sentiment is strongly with us—more strongly than I would have imagined. I was admirably received in the House and outside the House, and my name was cheered to the echo at the Corn Law League meeting.

The debate will last this night and Monday night, and I will then return to Ireland to assist in preserving the public peace, which, indeed, I now am sure will not be violated.

Ever faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 17th Feb. 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,—. . . Now as to present politics. I am glad I came over, not so much on account of the

Parliament as of the English people. I have certainly met with a kindness and a sympathy which I did not expect, but which I will cheerfully cultivate. As to the Houses of Parliament, you will read with astonishment the recklessness of assertion which pervades them, and you will see with regret the absurd credulity of our friends. The Ministers will, of course, have an overwhelming majority; but, after all, the minority of the Lords had something consolatory about it. Upon the whole, we must trust to God, and in his protection of the religion and liberty of the Irish people. It is utterly insignificant what becomes of me if the Irish public, clergy and laity, continue true to their principles. It is impossible that England should not soon want *our* support, and when she does she shall have it on our own just terms. You perceive how directly Lord Howick has attacked the Protestant establishment. The fact is, that the grasp of the English which that Church has so long firmly held is much relaxed; and, really, these trials appear destined to sever *that* connexion for ever.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 20th February, 1844.

My dear Friend,—The debate is going on very favorably. You will be glad to hear that my beloved John made an excellent speech. Tone, temper, manner, matter, all were truly good. Do not think that this is paternal delusion. The fact bears me fully out.

The popular sentiment out of the House declares itself strongly in favor of Ireland. I am delighted, more than I am surprised, at such a demonstration. I certainly did not expect anything half so generous or so kind.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Throughout the long dark night of Saturday, February 24, Lord Melbourne hardly closed his eyes. Suppose he

were sent for to Windsor, what advice should he give the Queen? 'I determined that I would advise her not to let Mr. O'Connell be brought up for judgment.' This he told Lord Palmerston, Greville, and others.⁴

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Trafalgar Hotel, Spring Gardens: 4th March, '44.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I enclose halves of two notes for £100 each. You see by the letter that accompanied them that I am not called on for any further acknowledgment. However, I think you had better make that acknowledgment in the newspapers, taking care to mention that it comes from a Protestant.

Everything is going on well here. Public sympathy is as lively as ever. I go down to-morrow evening to Birmingham, where there is to be a great meeting the next day. I send you the invitation I got for going down there, which I think might as well appear in the Dublin papers.

I have an invitation from the Mayor of Cork for a provincial dinner in Easter week. I have a notion of accepting of it; what think you?

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 25th March, 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Call upon my friend the Lord Mayor and ask him in my name to propose me as a member of the new club,⁵ or, if it be not as yet necessary to propose, then beg of him to put down my name and give him the entrance money. Tell him I know he will kindly excuse my not writing to him on the subject sooner, as he is aware of the pressure upon my time. Do this for me discreetly.

The plan of my returning here before the 15th April is utterly impracticable. I believe the adjournment will be to

⁴ Greville's *Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, ii. 233.

⁵ 'The '82 Club.' The members wore a uniform, and their object was

to commemorate the legislative independence of Ireland, won by Grattan in 1782.

that day. Friday is always a Government business day, so that there would be no chance of my offering my Bill, even if I were here; besides, it is utterly out of the question that I could have preparations made for offering my Conspiracy Bill at so early a period. I need not dwell upon this subject, but I could give you twenty reasons all resulting in this, that your plan is *utterly impracticable*.

I may be mistaken, but it strikes me that nothing could be of half the importance as the appointment of the day of '*humiliation and prayer*.' If universally adopted, it would have a magnificent effect upon the enemy, besides being in its own nature most desirable. The only danger in a public point of view would be its being only partial. What, for example, could we expect from that most excellent man and exemplary clergyman, our archbishop?⁶ The numbing effect of any kind of connexion with the Government operates upon the best minds without their perceiving it. My most affectionate friend Dr. Yore would be a fit man to be sounded on this subject. Consider it and consult with others until my arrival in Dublin, which, weather permitting, I am now able to fix for *Friday, the 29th*, as the Liverpool meeting will take place the preceding day.

Get FitzSimon to put a total stop to the Dublin dinner. I write to him this evening to set aside the dinner there. The Cork dinner will suffice for our popular movement previous to the sentence, which I entertain no doubt will be much more severe than is generally expected. You perceive I have set them at complete defiance. I had no other alternative than the impossible one of submission.

Ever yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The kindness and sympathy which touched the Tribune increased as days passed on. Kind words now came from a source the least expected. The denunciations with which he loved to load Lord Anglesey will be remembered. Pierce Mahony writes on April 22, 1844: 'I have just

⁶ The Most Rev. Dr. Murray.

come from a dinner-party at Lord Anglesey's, where he and all his circle expressed the greatest possible anxiety for your success, and delight at the prospect of it. His parting words were: "I greatly regret any differences between me and O'Connell, and let him know that I sincerely wish him success, and if I had power I would exert it on his behalf." Mr. Blake and Lord Cloncurry were of the party.'⁷

Contrary to the forecasts of the shrewd attorney, Pierce Mahony, O'Connell feared a heavy sentence, and he got it. On May 30, 1844, judgment was delivered. He was ordered to pay a fine of £2,000, to be imprisoned for a year, and to give bail to keep the peace for seven years, himself in £5,000, and two sureties in £2,500 each.

To Richmond Bridewell he was now removed. His faithful friend, the Rev. Dr. Miley, whose letters later on describe his last illness and death, now sought to allay the irksomeness of a prison by administering the consolations of religion. In a letter dated 'Second day of the captivity,' i.e. May 31, 1844, he writes: 'I have just returned from celebrating the divine mysteries for O'Connell in his cell. My heart is overflowing with emotion—with emotion in which there is not blended the slightest tincture of sadness or despondency. Never have I beheld the Liberator in sublimer attitude than this morning as he knelt, I may say in fetters, before the altar he himself had freed. It was a spectacle of much grander import than even that of a "just man contending with adversity," and I wish those who have been labouring so long, *per fas aut nefas*, to afflict his spirit, to embitter and degrade his declining years, could have beheld his joyous serenity when receiving the divine communion.'

To the Right Hon. Richard Lalor Sheil.

Richmond Bridewell: 19th June, 1844.

My dear Sheil,—I do not care a twopenny ticket for Wyse's motion.⁸ The Irish people do not care a rush for it.

⁷ Pierce Mahony was an influential solicitor, whom O'Connell called 'Don Magnifico,' and sometimes 'Don Pomposo.' He had a partner who did the work—Pierce did the talk.

⁸ For a select committee of inquiry into the formation of the jury in the Case of the Queen at the Prosecution of Daniel O'Connell and others.

They expect nothing from the English Parliament, and have a vivid contempt for its proceedings; but, besides this hatred of England, ought not common sense be looked to? What, in point of common sense, *can* possibly be the result of a night or two nights' talk on such a motion? Certainly the Whigs this time are right. All Wyse will accomplish will be a knitting together once more the *disjecta membra* of the present party in power. Mind, I do not advise the motion to be given up, because I do not advise at all on the subject. It is to me one of perfect indifference.

You express surprise and regret that the Irish members are not in London, and yet you yourself, the long-admired 'pillar and glory' of Irish agitation, are absent from Dublin, where Ireland is 'mewing her young strength.' You are absent in person and in *deed*!

I, your once co-leader, am in gaol, by a packed jury and most partial judge; and, instead of at least enrolling *your name* amongst the Irish, you are calculating what you owe to the Whigs for having given you a place, and forgetting the ten hundred thousand claims Ireland has upon you. Sheil! Sheil! this will never do. I say it in the bitterness of sorrow, but in the absence of disrespect. It will never do. The man who does not rally *with us* against the Attorney-General and the Trial is really *against us*. Now, what have the Irish section of the Whigs done under such unparalleled circumstances, with the people boiling up at every side, but still obedient, as if they were under military command? Not the least shadow of danger of an outbreak, or of any violence—tranquillity the most perfect. What is the Irish section of the Whigs doing? Nothing. Yet those of Belfast—the Whigs of Belfast—have set them an example. Could not your other Irish Whigs follow even that example? But no! Oh! plague take the shabby set! The Duke of Leinster—his name operates like a vomit—is getting up with Peter Purcell dinners for pig feeders and calf fatteners!! Lord Miltown sent me a salmon—good for Friday—and Lord Cloncurry sent me his card. I am amused at condescending to have even the appearance of being angry with

such beings. The Irish Orangemen are more friendly to Ireland than the Irish Whigs. But I have cheerfully done with them.

I am bound to say, and I say it readily and gratefully, that Lord John Russell has behaved exceedingly well respecting these trials.

I certainly will not advise Smith O'Brien to go over. He is doing infinitely better where he is. He has as little taste for the Whigs as I have after the *exclusion* of Repealers. It would have been wiser not to insult us. You, however, may be assured that the Irish people will, in future, look to nothing but themselves. They will not revolt nor rebel, but they are and will be in an attitude to avail themselves of the first day of peril to England to require conciliation. Adam appears in a Dutch play in boots and spurs, fully equipped at all points, coming on — *to be created*. The Irish are peaceably waiting — *to be conciliated*.

This plan, you may say, will not succeed. Be it so, for argument's sake. But there is no other that has any chance of success. I, however, must say that this plan, if persevered in, must be successful. The continued *pain* arising from such a state of things will overcome the strongest resistance. The Irish people are conscious of their strength, and that safety, as well as strength, consists in continued pacific exertion; and they know that success must result from both strength and safety.

You see we have opened the door to admit Federalists amongst us, and I never knew any man in private who was not a Federalist at the least. I no longer presume to advise you to join, though surely the Whigs might permit you to go so far.

Adieu, my dear Sheil. God bless you! Be assured of my friendship and personal regard. I am sorry, sincerely sorry, we part in politics; but I am ever alive to the many claims you have on my gratitude as a private friend and a public man.—Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell heaps hard words on the Whigs but spares Lord John Russell. Throughout the protracted debates on the State Prosecutions this statesman's attitude towards the Great Agitator was just and generous.

'I must,' he says, 'reassert my own opinion, more than once expressed, that the trial of Mr. O'Connell and the other traversers was not such a trial as could give an impression of the fairness and justice of the Government. . . . The trial was not a trial by a fair jury, but one elaborately put together for the purpose of conviction, and charged by a judge who did not allow any evidence or consideration in favour of the traversers to come fairly before his mind. . . . I trust the effect of these proceedings will be that no example of such a trial will again occur.'¹

'The following notice,' writes P. V. FitzPatrick, 'was written by O'Connell on the 29th of June, 1844, as a paragraph for a newspaper. He was then a prisoner at Richmond Penitentiary. I think the paragraph was not published:—

“A CATHOLIC CHURCH AND STATE BILL.

“We beg our readers' patience until our next publication for our opposition to this Bill. All that we need say for the present is that it is the first essay of Her Majesty's Ministers

¹ In reading the mass of letters from which the foregoing have been selected, I was struck by some remarks which perhaps may be fitly transcribed here. Mr. Tighe, a county court judge, writing in 1859, says: 'I regret Dan more and more every day, and feel fully convinced that, if he had lived on, Lord John's "Durham letter" would never have been written, and we would not be now in the pretty political, theological, and educational crisis in which we are embroiled for our sins and in consequence of his loss.

"Where, where was Roderick then? One blast upon his bugle horn were worth a thousand men."

Or, "Heu! quanto minus est cum reliquis versari quam illius meminisse;" but it is our fate, and we must be content with the pleasures of memory in place of those of hope.'

Another letter, from Carew O'Dwyer, written at the Reform Club, and of course also long after the death of O'Connell, deploras the violent speech of Lord John Russell on a motion made by G. H. Moore and Frederick Lucas (of the *Tablet*), and announces that the Catholic members of the Government have offered their resignation. 'If Lord John choose to maintain his position as a Minister and place himself at the head of the fanatical party he will carry the country with him, and then Protestant ascendancy will be more triumphant than before Emancipation. Men who were once attached to the Catholics are now to be counted amongst their enemies, and the repeal of the Emancipation Act would secure a host of advocates even from those who were formerly for us, so decided has been the reaction, and so divested are we now of sympathy in this country.'

to place the Catholic clergy under the control of the State and to bring the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church within the jurisdiction of our courts of law.

“We may add this passing remark, that if this Bill becomes law no bequest will be available under it to a Catholic charity, save one contained in a will executed full *three months* before the death of a testator, and also that no such gift can be made to a Catholic charity by *deed*, unless that deed be executed three months prior to death, and unless the property be conveyed in *present* possession to the Commissioners, so that no gift can be made by deed to operate after the death of the donor. It must pass at once, on the execution of the deed, to the Commissioners.

“Every existing inconvenience might be obviated at once by adopting the Bill brought in by Mr. O'Connell, but that would not answer the object of the Ministry, to injure the best interest of the Catholic Church in Ireland.”

The writ of error, which had been already argued in the Upper House, was brought forward for decision on September 4. All the Peers unless the Law Lords withdrew. Four Irish judges had held certain points to be good, and now nine English judges affirmed them to be bad. Lord Denman declared that if such practices continued as those which marked the prosecution of O'Connell, ‘trial by jury would become a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.’ In the Lords the sentence was reversed. No electric telegraph worked in these days, and Mr. Ford² hurried from London with the news. A special engine sped from Kingstown to Dublin, displaying a flag inscribed, ‘O'Connell is free.’ ‘The hand of man is not in this!’ exclaimed the Liberator when the news reached him in his cell. ‘It is the response given by Providence to the prayers of the steadfast, faithful people of Ireland.’³ The following letter is from a sub-

² See vol. i. p. 528; vol. ii. p. 278.

³ While these sheets were passing through the press I have been interested to receive from Mrs. Ffrench, the daughter of O'Connell, now in her 80th year, the following prayer, composed by the Bishops of Ireland at their General Meeting in 1844:—‘O Almighty and Eternal God, King of Kings, and supreme Lord of all earthly powers, be pleased to look down with com-

passion upon the people of this country, and mercifully put an end to their sufferings. Give them patience to endure their great privations, and fill their rulers with the spirit of truth, humanity, and justice. Unite all classes in a persevering love of country, cordial allegiance to our beloved Sovereign, and charity towards each other. Direct our legislators to enact laws founded upon Thy holy commandments, and make Ireland prosperous, contented,

sequent Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland :—

The Granby, Harrogate : Sep. 5th, 1844.

My dear Sir,—Let me congratulate you on the result of the appeal to the Lords. It has ere now released you in time to enjoy a stag hunt on the mountains. I hope the confinement has not impaired in the least your health. You had in your favour Baron Parke, equal to any gown of the English Bench ; Lord Denman, the head of the Bench, whose integrity nobody can question ; and Lord Cottenham, the best Chancellor since Lord Eldon.

I consider Lord Denman's judgment in the challenge to the jury panel as the most important of the whole. Your case will have the effect of reforming our existing system of criminal law as to appeals.

It appears to have been borrowed from Rhadamanthus, who punished first and enquired afterwards.

Ever yours faithfully,

JAMES WHITESIDE.⁴

To Dr. Maunsell.

Merrion Square : 21st September, 1844.

My dear Sir,—I am ashamed of, and ask your pardon, for leaving your important letter so long unanswered ; but its importance is the cause of my delay. I waited for a leisure moment to reply ; but, as that leisure never comes, I must give the best answer I can.

I wish—I most heartily wish—I *could* support your plan. It really would be an important day for Ireland when a resolution respecting the state of legislation in Ireland could be proposed by *you* and seconded by me. But I cannot accede to your resolutions. You intend them, or at least they are calculated, as a substitute for Repeal,

and happy ; and as Thy servant, *Daniel O'Connell*, who has laboured with so much zeal and perseverance to promote these sacred objects, is now detained in captivity, give him grace to bear his trials with resig-

nation, and in Thy mercy vouchsafe to restore him to liberty, for the guidance and protection of Thy people, through our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.'

⁴ Died November 25, 1876, aged 72.

and therefore cannot be adopted. That should be no reason why *you* should not bring them forward.

You may be quite certain of a full, a fair, a most respectable hearing, and a candid and most courteous reply. I have seen the Lord Mayor, and if you could bring forward a discussion on your motion on Wednesday I should be there to procure the waiver of any technical objection, and to ensure that you and your friends should be fully heard. I confess I am anxious for a discussion before I leave town. I think we should, on all sides, express sentiments which it would be valuable to have circulated at the present moment. I think it would be better you should bring on the Motion without any previous personal interview with me, but command me if you think otherwise.

If there is anything else I could do to facilitate the coming on of the discussion on Wednesday, I say again, command me.

What a country would ours be if '*idle jealousies and fears*' did not prevent our universal combination for her restoration to self-government! I know those jealousies and fears *are* idle. Oh, how anxious I am to demonstrate that fact!

Truly and sincerely grateful to you for the spirit in which your note is written,—I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The gentleman to whom this letter was addressed succeeded Remigius Sheehan as editor and proprietor of the *Mail*, the leading Tory organ of Ireland. He is described by Sir Gavan Duffy as having been an Orangeman, but was at bottom a Whig of the Revolution of 1688. Many months later, Maunsell records in his diary 'a most important demonstration' in Dublin, attended by 18 Peers, 37 M.P.s, and 700 of the magistracy, when thirty-six distinct propositions for the good of Ireland were agreed to without division or discussion. 'Oh may God grant,' he writes 'that this blessed union shall endure even to the close of the coming session of Parliament.' O'Connell, whose antagonism he feared, seconded the first resolution: in less than three months he was no more.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 3rd Oct. 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . I found everything in the best order here. I am, in truth, a great farmer, and have certainly the best crop of hay in proportion to extent of ground or beyond it of any farmer in the province. The potato crop in this vicinage is excellent, considerably beyond the consumption of the growers, and on that account a very probable source of wealth, as the inhabitants of other districts are deficient in that necessary article of Irish food.

I found my pack in the high pride of beauty. It would delight any strong being capable of delight to see them and hear them *trail*. I had a splendid hunt yesterday.

All here are in perfect health and spirits. I am deeply indebted to my merciful God for my health and strength.

I am becoming very impatient to hear *authentically* from 'the Federalists.' Are they at work?

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

They *were* at work. I find among the papers of P. V. FitzPatrick the following:—

'Basis of an arrangement entered into by several leading Liberals of all denominations and different shades of political opinion, after confidential conferences held subsequently to the liberation of O'Connell and other State prisoners in the autumn of 1844.

'As friends to the permanent connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, we feel it to be our duty, in the present position of public affairs, to declare the causes that have hitherto, in our opinion, rendered that connexion of doubtful benefit to the English people, and which have given to the people of Ireland just grounds of discontent.

'We cannot but ascribe the prevention of those measures of amelioration and utility which the necessities of this country demand to the undue preponderance, in the Imperial Legislature, of members unacquainted with the wants and irresponsible to the public opinion of Ireland. Experience proves that while measures of coercion and repression have at all times been passed into laws with great facility,

measures of conciliation and improvement have been either denied altogether, or so much restricted as to cause great and general discontent, and we entertain no hope that, while the present Legislative system is adhered to, any permanent or substantial improvement can take place in its result as regards this country.

‘The multiplicity of other business which constantly presses on the Imperial Legislature inevitably prevents it from bestowing on the local affairs of Ireland that care and attention which the peculiar circumstances of the country imperatively demand.

‘We are convinced that the only adequate remedy for existing evils will be found in an increased proportion of representatives for Ireland, and in delegating, at the same time, a considerable portion of the powers now exercised by Parliament to a representative Assembly, duly constituted, and exercising its functions in Ireland.

‘While all matters of Foreign, Commercial, and Ecclesiastical policy, as well as the general taxation and expenditure of the United Kingdom, would by such an arrangement remain as now, such matters as the regulation and disposition of local taxation, the relief of the poor, and the development of the natural resources of this country would be provided for by the local Assembly, which must necessarily be better qualified to discharge such functions.

‘It does not fall within our province to specify the extent to which the number of Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament should be increased, or to define the constitution or the powers of the body which we desire to see called into existence. Such limits must of necessity form the subject of future deliberation; but we cannot refrain from expressing the strongest conviction that, unless such a reform of the Legislative system as that which we have indicated be adopted in proper time, consequences the most injurious to both countries are likely to ensue.

‘We utterly disclaim any intention of rendering the proposed measures, in any degree, subservient to the severance of the Legislative connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, which, thus reformed, we shall deem it our duty, as we believe it to be our interest, by every means in our power to maintain.

‘We therefore most respectfully, but earnestly, press the consideration of these subjects upon the Friends of Ireland,

throughout the United Kingdom, reiterating our conviction that a change of the nature now suggested is indispensable to the permanent union, strength, and prosperity of the Empire.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 8th October 1844.

My dear Friend,—I have had great hunting; my pack is splendid, they killed six hares yesterday.

I do not agree with you as to a flippant designation of federation. The longer such a question is kept open the better. When you enter into details you give *handles* to your enemies to trace out difficulties and start objections. Instead of discussing whether there should or not be a federal connexion, quarrels would arise and parties would be formed and inflamed on the fitness of each minuter branch of the plan. Besides the objectors to the principle, men would start angry bye-battles on the *machinery*. We shall *first* ascertain that we have sufficient support to carry the principle. You think you will conciliate many by beginning your plan. I am sure you will create additional opposition and enmity. O'Hagan will do well to ascertain, *and in writing*, the views of as many as possible, but he ought to be cautious as to publication.

I am writing a letter⁴ that will contain the *principles* of federation, leaving the details for future consideration.

Most sincerely yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A great change was observed in O'Connell not long after he left prison. The handwriting is tremulous: a difficulty is often experienced in connecting the letters of simple words. Petty vexations worried him, and the death of a grandchild all but crushed him. His vigorous philosophy, however, stood to him quite as much as the Christian resignation which had characterised him through life. Knowing that cheerfulness is the daughter of employment,

⁴ This long letter, which was published at the time, contains so important a statement of O'Connell's

views that it is given as an appendix to this volume.

he sought relief in labour and political conflict. Nor could he forget the fact recorded by Tacitus, that when Agricola lost his son he resorted to war as a remedy against grief.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 12th October, 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The fatal news has reached me of the loss of my sweet boy,⁵ one of the noblest creatures that ever lived. May the good God mitigate the sorrows of his dear wretched mother! My heart is heavy and sore.

My resource is to labour for Ireland. I had finished a long letter for the Association on Monday and sent it off last night.

I mean *to work* the rest of this day. My letter calls on the federals to come forward now and gives them every encouragement. I hope O'Hagan will *act* on that letter. Shall I write to him? I most anxiously wish that *anybody* could get 'honest Tom Hutton' to take the matter up zealously. It ought to be the rallying point of *all* the Irish Liberals. Do *all* you can to rouse this spirit. The truth is, that a strong federal display made by and with men hitherto non-Repealers would induce the Ministry to strike and to canvass the terms on which the Irish legislature should be re-established. You know the Iron Duke already assented to alter the basis of the connexion between the two countries. Lord Cloncurry's letter is decisive of the fact.

But for my family affliction *all* would be well. This place is delightful. John, who alone suffered from imprisonment, has got *stout*.

What a cruel blow to that best of men, poor FitzSimon!

Ever yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I can not *volunteer* on the Charities Bill circumstanced as matters are. Pray cut out and send me O'Malley's *first* letter.

⁵ O'Connell FitzSimon, son of Christopher FitzSimon, his son-in-law.

It is not unlikely that the project of a Federal Parliament which O'Connell was now willing to substitute for the more sweeping demand of Repeal of the Union received some stimulus from a startling hint which reached him at this time. The following letter cautiously withholds a signature, but it is in the same handwriting as a number of others carefully preserved.

The late Andrew O'Reilly, nephew to Count O'Reilly, an Austrian Field-Marshal, was the Paris correspondent of *The Times*, and the author of a remarkable book, 'The Reminiscences of an Emigrant Milesian.' From his position and connections there is every reason to suppose that the information he gives is authentic. Writing to Fitz-Patrick from No. 1 Rue Lepelletier, Paris, he goes on to say:—

I commence by marking this letter *confidential*, and shall at once say why. I suppose that you have few secrets in your intercourse with your illustrious friend, nor do I intend that you should keep secret from him anything I may say (if worth mentioning). That which I mean by '*confidential*' is that you do not *name* your authority, for as *he is said to keep no secrets* a very old friend of yours might be seriously compromised if he were declared the author.

I believe every word of that I am about to say, for it comes to me from a near connexion of one of the parties.

When a year ago the Repeal agitation was about becoming formidable, the Cabinet held a council to decide upon the course to be followed in respect of it. *Lyndhurst*—do not start—*Lyndhurst*, Stanley, and Wellington⁶ were for stopping it *in limine*. The others (backed by Sugden, I think) said, '*No, let it go on until they commit themselves in High Treason.*'

You know the rest, and will concur with me in thinking that the proposition of Lord *Lyndhurst*, if, as I believe, he made it, was in every respect the preferable one. (I

⁶ O'Connell is the more likely to have been alarmed by the news, because so far back as February 1827 (i. 140, *ante*) he expresses 'great

affright' at the idea of Wellington being in power. 'If so, all the horrors of actual massacre threaten us.'

know more of him than you imagine, and have always regretted the expression that fell from him, which produced—naturally—so much hostility towards him,⁷ but let this pass.)

I have reason to suspect that the course he originally recommended is about to be followed, and it is to caution you, to prepare you for a sudden check, that I now write. On your proceedings I do not mean to offer opinion, nor am I sufficiently informed to obtrude advice respecting them, but I would most strenuously recommend that all precautions be adopted to prevent calamity should my surmise prove correct. 'Forewarned,' you know, is 'forearmed.' I am convinced that nothing but Peace is contemplated *chez vous*, but I know also the gunpowder susceptibilities of your population.

After all, perhaps, my dear friend, this which I write is not new and is perfectly superfluous. I am not able to follow the proceedings in Ireland, and cannot therefore presume to do more than convey a caution, if one be required, and in any case to beg that *to no one whatever* will you mention *my name*. You will easily conceive why I trouble you with this request.

My principal aid here, whom you know (I believe), Mr. Barker, leaves for Dublin for a short visit about the 1st October. He will convey to you another caution, and I would have reserved myself for that opportunity of conveying all, but that time presses.

While in prison O'Connell seems to have lost his nerve. He left Richmond Bridewell with failing gait and sunken eye. He somewhat rallied in the free air of his native mountains, but again relapsed. A whisper, like O'Reilly's, is likely to have startled, though had it reached him in earlier days it would doubtless have been met with defiance. Forthwith O'Connell is found unfolding his views for a Federal Parliament. All the formidable features of his agitation were relinquished. He made no reference to the Council of Three Hundred, and he declared that it would be

⁷ That the Irish people were aliens in kindred and religion.

vain braggadocio to revive the monster meetings. Mr. (now Sir) Gavan Duffy resisted Federalism at the time, and has since devoted a long chapter of 'Young Ireland' to this puzzling change of policy.

A second letter from O'Reilly finds him in London, and there following up his inquiries, favoured by facilities which the correspondent of *The Times* was always fortunate in possessing. The violent course, which seemingly had been contemplated, fell into abeyance; and he announces, evidently on high authority, that the affair would be suffered to expend and exhaust itself. The Cabinet pursued a wiser course than violence, and it cannot be doubted that the Rescript from Rome at this time, counselling the Irish priests to abstain from politics, was the direct fruit of an intrigue with the Papal Court. A letter addressed to Bishop Cantwell got into print, in which O'Connell warned the prelates of Ireland that Mr. Petre, an English Catholic, had been employed by Peel to effect diplomatic arrangements with Rome. O'Connell said that he was ready to take any amount of theology from Rome, but not politics.

To W. Smith O'Brien, M.P.

Darrynane Abbey: 21st Oct. 1844.

My dear O'Brien,—It was only yesterday I received the paper of which you enclosed a copy. It is the 'first project' of the Federalists; its history or its contents are not to reach the press *from us*, nor is there to be any commentary in the papers until it has appeared authentically, as the act of subscribing Federalists. Subject to this caution I submit it with the least possible delay to you for consideration. The principal actor in Dublin in the arrangement is William Murphy, called of 'Smithfield.' He is a man who has acquired enormous wealth and has long been a principal 'brains-carrier' of the Irish Whigs. A most shrewd, sensible man, Thomas Hutton, the very wealthy coachmaker, has assisted and is still assisting. I could mention other influential, highly influential men. There is to be a Federalist meeting at Belfast on the 26th. Caulfield, brother of Lord Charlemont, leads or presides. Sharman Crawford, Ross, the member for Belfast, and other nota-

bilities attend. Hutton, who is a Presbyterian, goes there and passes through Armagh to muster as many important Presbyterians as he can, or at least to procure their signatures. O'Hagan^s the barrister attends the registry, and will be at the meeting on the 26th. I do not know whether it will be a public meeting, but a publication will emanate from it. In short, the movement is on foot. The effect must in any case, as it strikes me, be useful. It annihilates mere Whiggery.

I had nothing whatever to do, directly or indirectly, with the composition or the material of this document. I was merely sent a copy of it by a third person as soon as it was put into publication, and to you alone do I send a copy of it. I do not further adjudge its contents than considering them as a mere sketch. But this I say to you, that your accession to the Repeal cause has been the efficient cause of this advance, and I do not hesitate to say further, and to *pledge* myself, not to assent to any plan that meets with your disapprobation. *We* go together; that is, you go with me because I certainly will not go a single step without you. No man living has been more fortunate than you in the opportunity of shewing personal independence. Whatever you do will be the result of your own judgment, and differ with me who may, I will not differ with you. If you were in my opinion so wrong as to violate principle I would *retire*; I would cease to act, and would do so rather than join in any course I deemed unjust or injurious. But while I do act I will act with you. I am thoroughly convinced that, without your accession to the Repeal cause, years upon years would elapse before we made any impression upon the general Protestant mind. Ireland owes you an unlimited debt of gratitude, and the popular confidence in you can never be shaken. Consider then the document I send you attentively. Be prepared for its authentic publication. You probably will not commit yourself respecting its contents without *conference* as well as mature consideration. It is but a skeleton, and wants nerve and

^s Afterwards Lord O'Hagan.

sinew and flesh. There is enough for conference, and there are some promising limbs, but there must be more before we can consent to give it vitality.

I will not take one single step about it without giving you previous intimation and consulting with you fully and deliberately.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To James Haughton.*⁹

Darrynane Abbey: 26 Oct. 1844.

My dear Friend,—Father Mathew¹ must be relieved from all his difficulties—difficulties brought on in the performance of that astonishing moral miracle of which he has been, under Providence, the instrument. It would be the basest ingratitude in the world not to make him perfectly independent in pecuniary circumstances. It must not be.

The moment I arrive in Dublin I will join you actively in every arrangement for collecting the contributions. If, in the interim, any committee be appointed, pray do me the favour of putting my name upon it. I will assist you as much as I can from this place and will join you heartily the moment I arrive, for the thing must be done. If Mr. Purcell's² health permits him to join he will be of great use, for we must have no division or jealousy. The thing, I repeat, must be done. I need not add that I will contribute again in addition to my former donation.

Ever, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁹ An Irish philanthropist, born 1795, died 1873. O'Connell, in a subsequent letter, encloses £10 10s. from the National Bank, 'for the most useful man Ireland ever produced—our revered friend Father

Mathew.'

¹ 'The Apostle of Temperance.'

² Peter Purcell. (See letters of Oct. 28, 1838, Jan. 7, 1839, Jan. 26, 1841.)

*To Thomas Davis.*³

Darrynane: Octr. 30th, 1844.

My dear Davis,—My son John has given me to read your Protestant philippic from Belfast. I have undertaken to answer it, because your writing to my son seems to bespeak a foregone conclusion in your mind that we were in some way connected with the attacks upon the *Nation*. Now I most solemnly declare that you are most entirely mistaken; none of us has the slightest inclination to do anything that could in anywise injure that paper or its estimable proprietor, and certainly we are not directly or indirectly implicated in the attacks upon it.

With respect to the 'Italian Censorship' the *Nation* ought to be at the fullest liberty to abuse it; and as regards 'the State Trial miracle,' the *Nation* should be at liberty to abuse not only that, but every other miracle from the days of the Apostles to the present.

But we Catholics, on the other hand, may be permitted to believe as many of these miracles as we may adopt either from credulity or convincing proofs; at the same time, that I see no objection to a Catholic priest arguing any of those points, or censuring, in suitable and civil terms, opinions contrary to his own.

As to the Cork attack upon a Protestant proselyte, you know that I publicly and most emphatically condemned it, as did the Catholic press of Cork.

With respect to the 'Dublin Review,' the word 'insolence' appears to me to be totally inapplicable. All the 'Review' did (and I have examined it deliberately) was to insist that a man, who from being a Catholic became a Protestant, was not a fair or worthy witness in his attacks upon the Catholic clergy. Now, independent of that man's religion, of which

³ Thomas Osborne Davis, the chief of the party known as 'Young Ireland,' died the following year, aged thirty. As a poet, essayist, and organiser he is entitled to the highest rank. His enthusiastic industry and endless labour wore out his fragile

frame. Among the virtues of his nature were a complete unselfishness, earnestness, and love of truth. A fine marble statue by Hogan, wrapped in half shroud half toga, rises over his grave at Mount Jerome.

I care nothing, there never lived a more odious and disgusting public writer; with one single exception, and that is the passage in which he praises you.⁴

The 'insolence' of the 'Dublin Review' consisted, as I have said, of merely stating that a pervert from Catholicity, who abused the Catholic clergy, was a suspicious witness in declaring their guilt. Would you not have a right, if a person who from being a Protestant became a Catholic and abused the Protestant clergy, to state that his evidence against them ought to be considered as suspicious, or even unworthy of belief? Yet for no greater offence than that the 'Review' is attacked, and a high and a haughty tone of threatening assumed in speaking of it.

I really think you might have spared the insinuation that you and other Protestants were 'pioneering the way to power' for men who would establish any sort of Catholic ascendancy. I know this, and I declare it most solemnly, that in the forty years I have been laboring for the public, I never heard one bigoted expression, not only in our public meetings, but in our committees and private discussions; from a Catholic, but I have often felt amongst *some* of the Liberal Protestants I have met with that there was not the same soundness of generous liberality amongst them as amongst the Catholics.

I hate bigotry of every kind, Catholic, Protestant, or Dissenter, but I do not think there is any room for my interference by any public declaration at present. I cannot join in the exaltation of Presbyterian purity or brightness of faith; at the same time, I assert for everybody a perfect right to praise both the one and the other, liable to be assailed in argument by those who choose to enter into the controversy at the other side. But, with respect to the 'Dublin Review,' I am perfectly convinced the *Nation* was in the wrong. However, I take no part, either one

⁴ The writer alluded to is Daniel Owen Madden, author of *Ireland and Its Rulers, Revelations of Ireland, Age of Pitt and Fox*, &c. He died in 1859. Davis and Madden

were both Mallow men, and through life continued warmly attached. The writings of Madden were a continuous attack on O'Connell.

way or the other, in the subject. As to my using my influence to prevent this newspaper war, I have no such influence that I could bring to bear ; you really can much better influence the continuance or termination of this by battle than I can. All I am anxious about is the property in the *Nation*. I am most anxious that it should be a lucrative and profitable concern. My desire is to promote its prosperity in every way I could. I am, besides, proud as an Irishman of the talent displayed in it, and by no one more than yourself. It is really an honour to the country ; and if you would lessen a little of your Protestant zeal, and not be angry when you 'play at bowls in meeting rubbers,' I should hope that this skirmish, being at an end, the writers for the *Nation* will continue their soul-stirring, spirit-enlivening strains, and will continue to 'pioneer the way' to genuine Liberty, to perfect liberality, and entire political equality for all religious persuasions.

If I did not believe that the Catholic religion *could* compete upon equal and free terms with any other religion, I would not continue a Catholic for one hour.

You have vexed me a little by the insinuations which your letter necessarily contains, but I heartily forgive you ; you are really an exceedingly clever fellow, and I should most bitterly regret that we lost you by reason of any Protestant monomania.

We Papists *require* co-operation, support, combination, but we do not *want* protection or patronage.

I beg of you, my dear Davis, to believe, as you may do in the fullest confidence, that I am most sincerely

Your attached Friend,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 31st October, 1844

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am most impatient to have *some* conclusion to the Belfast Conference. Of course, had O'Hagan written to you again, you would have let me know

the details. I did, indeed, feel mortified this morning at finding that neither you nor the *Evening Post* gave me one word of intelligence of the Belfast meeting. I suppose it has gone off upon some crotchet of Sharman Crawford. Perhaps I wrong him, but I am afraid of his pertinacious attachment to his own opinion.

I am impatient to put an end to all *chaffing* about Federalism. It is surprising how stupidly the greater part of public talkers and writers take up a cry even when set on foot by the enemy, as in the present case. My *explanatory* letter will be ready for Monday. I do not say my *exculpatory*, because I have no apology to make, and I remember always the French proverb, '*Qui s'excuse s'accuse.*' On the contrary, I intend to boast of what I have offered and done, and in this instance I am convinced I was perfectly right.

See Quinlan⁵ and find out for me what is to be done relative to the full statement of *my case*, which was to have been drawn up by Mr. Peacock. Mr. Leahy's book,⁶ though HIGHLY, HIGHLY useful as far as it goes, is no adequate substitute for the full legal account of the entire case which Peacock was, I thought, to draw. I am the more uneasy respecting this statement because I myself wrote to Sir Thomas Wilde⁷ on the subject, urging the drawing of it, and telling him that I would readily send a fee of from one to two hundred pounds to induce so able a man as Mr. Peacock to draw the case in the most careful manner. I have had no reply from Sir Thomas Wilde, which, I own, surprises me. I beg of Quinlan to write to his correspondent and urge him to put me in the way of having the matter achieved in the manner most delicate to the professional feelings of

⁵ John Quinlan, afterwards editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, and previously for a short time Dublin correspondent of *The Times*. Quinlan told me that he once received a letter from O'Connell on a matter now forgotten, in which he said: 'I mean to refer to you in my speech to-morrow, but I shall not be half as angry with you as I will pretend to be.'

The old saying, 'A wolf in sheep's clothing,' might be often reversed in the case of this naturally soft-hearted man.

⁶ *Lord Denman's Judgment in the Case of O'Connell and Others*, edited, with notes, by Mr. David Leahy, of the English Bar.

⁷ Lord Truro.

Mr. Peacock. I will be impatient to have a reply from London.

Yours most sincerely,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 2nd Novr. 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I cannot well describe the anxiety I feel to hear from you. You broke off by telling me that O'Hagan was busied at Belfast arranging some federal demonstration. There the intelligence stands still; off and on I ought to be apprised before *now* of *the fact*. I suppose, indeed, that the movement for federalism has been quashed by the Whigs in the Murphy line,⁸ and by the Tories and CROTCHETS in the Protestant and Radical sections. Be it so. But I should know *the fact*. I do indeed collect that fact from your and Conway's emphatic silence. But I ought to be informed of the details, as it is my duty to address the 'hereditary bondsmen' as speedily as I possibly can.

Do you know that I have feelings of despondency creeping over me on the subject of this year's tribute? It seems to have dropped almost stillborn from the press. In former years, when the announcement appeared, it was immediately followed by crowded advertisements in the Dublin papers to meet and arrange the collection. The Cork, Waterford, Limerick, &c., newspapers followed, but there is not one *spark* alight.

Can you help to dissipate these gloomy apprehensions? At all events,

Believe me always, &c.,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

3rd Novr. 1844.

It has just struck me that you must be ill, else I should have heard something from you. Pray let me hear from

⁸ Billy Murphy. (See O'Connell's letter of Oct. 21, 1844, and Davis's letter to O'Brien in Sir Gavan Duffy's *Young Ireland*.)

somebody of you, and let me implore of you to take care of yourself. You are not at all sufficiently careful of yourself. Perhaps I may be said to be selfish in my anxiety for your health, but I am sure you believe that I am, very sincerely,

Your grateful Friend,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane: 6th Novr. 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I clearly see now that the fault was mine, else I should sooner have heard from you. For my part, the illness of the FitzSimons necessarily interfered with me, and since the expectation that I was to hear from you. Excuse me, you know I meant no disregard . . .

I remain in this country near a fortnight longer. I intend to go to Tralee on the 18th, to Newcastle the next day, to Limerick the day following. I believe I must travel slowly from that to Dublin, if the people recollect that on my way down I promised to go up slowly. But these things are easily forgotten, and I may be in Dublin on the 23rd early, if not the evening before.

All well here. I had some delightful hunting yesterday, one of the finest day's sport I ever saw.

To Archdeacon Maue.

Darrynane Abbey: Novr. 6th, 1844.

My beloved Friend,—I received with pride and pleasure the address and invitation with which you have honored me. I cannot forego accepting the honor of that invitation.

You have, as usual, bestowed upon me merits which I do not possess. The only praise I think myself entitled to is for the anxious desire, and the unremitting exertions of my life, to combine all classes and persuasions of my countrymen in the peaceful but determined struggle to establish civil and religious liberty in our hitherto ill-fated, but not less loved, fatherland; and I have at present the

pleasing prospect of seeing several who have hitherto been estranged from us shew a manifest intention of giving up apathy, and relinquishing vain fears and idle jealousies, in order to co-operate either separately by themselves, or conjointly with us, in the restoration of Irish nationality.

I am sorry that you should have condescended to speak with any degree of reproach of those in Kerry who may happen to differ from us at present on the Repeal question. They are entitled to our full pity and forgiveness, and to our regret, that they should deprive themselves of the pleasure and satisfaction that, even in case of failure, are felt by men who use their best endeavours in the cause of patriotism and liberty.

Let us hope that the day is not remote when all Kerry will rally round the standard of Irish legislative independence. Our duty, at all events, is conciliation and persuasion.

There never was, perhaps, a more auspicious occasion than the present for the combination of Irishmen of all classes; the inestimable moderation and good temper which we Repealers have shewn in the midst of our greatest triumphs invite to our ranks all those who are dissatisfied with the present legislative connection between the two countries—a connexion degrading to Irishmen and destructive of the best interests of Ireland, but which can last only to that period when the anti-Irish party shall be reduced to such small dimensions as to leave the Irish nation comparatively unanimous.

For my part, I need not pledge myself to my friends in Kerry, that in struggling for the Repeal of the Union I never will be a party to any arrangement, whatever name it may bear, save one that shall give to the Irish Parliament all the power which it had before the Union, and shall also give to the Irish nation as many more advantages as can possibly result from the best possible definitive arrangement between the two countries.

I believe the time is come when, if *all* the Repealers shall adopt the Christian spirit of conciliation, Irishmen have it in their power to obtain a local and independent legislature

for Irish affairs exclusively, and such an arrangement as would give to Ireland all the benefits of perfect equality with Great Britain in all imperial concerns.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To W. J. O'Neill Daunt.

I am exceedingly anxious that the subject of Federalism should not be introduced into the Association until I arrive. Do not enter into any vindication of me. Leave every misconception now afloat to continue to float until I reach the Association. We are on the very eve of knowing whether or not the Federalists will make a public display. If they do not do so *within a week*, I will again address the people; not to vindicate or excuse, but to *boast* of the offer I have made and the spirit of conciliation we have evinced.

If, on the other hand, Ross, Crawford, Caulfield, and Grey Porter prepare a Federal plan, what a step will not that be in the Repeal cause, even if *we* continue *our* efforts without being actually joined by them! Let me, then, implore 'the charity of silence' until my experiment is worked out and that I take the lead in the field again. Silence, then, I *entreat*, for the present.

To T. M. Ray.

Darrynane Abbey: Nov. 7, 1844.

My dear Ray,—I send you a letter from New York, and an address to me from the Repealers of that city, together with a draft on Baring Brothers for £500. I wish I could be personally present to reply to the address, and to speak of the splendid support we receive from the true-hearted friends of old Ireland in New York.

Pray get Maurice to make commemoration of the generous liberality of our American friends.

It will delight them to hear of the bright prospects that open before us of restoring the nationality of our beloved fatherland by a combination of Irishmen of every sect and persuasion in the cause of Irish legislative independence.

Pay all honour to our friends in New York.

I intend, please God, to be in the Association on Monday, the 25th, in full health and renewed anxiety to forward the cause of old Ireland.

We had glorious hunting on Tuesday, 5th, and to-day nothing could be more splendid.

The weather fine, the scent lying, and cry magnificent, and continued from the start to the death—near two hours.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Gray.

Darrynane Abbey: 10th Novr. 1844.

My dear Gray,—There is a subject of the greatest importance to which I think it is now time to call your attention—that of forming tribunals for arbitration in as many places in Ireland as may seem desirable.

I call *your* attention particularly to this subject for two reasons: first, because you are no longer a member of the Association,⁹ and cannot, therefore, be indicted by the noble pair of friends, Brewster and Smith, for a 'foul conspiracy' to enable the people of Ireland to obtain justice without any expense.

Secondly, because no man is better acquainted with the details for working out efficiently the plan of such tribunals.

Will you then, my good friend, join with me in setting the Crown lawyers and their *prompter* at defiance, and helping me to bring home cheap justice to all the Irish people who are anxious for (as who are not?) that inestimable article?

For my part, I have made up my mind, no matter at what risk, to assist the Irish people in the establishment of an universal system of arbitration.

There will be three great advantages derived from that system:

First. It will enable the Irish to have their controversies

⁹ The Repeal Association.

decided by judges of their own choosing, and in whom, therefore, they have confidence.

Secondly. It will enable them to have their controversies carried on and terminated without any expense whatever.

Thirdly. It will greatly diminish the awful flippancy of oath-taking; and will, therefore, diminish considerably the horrid crime of perjury.

If I were able, by wasting all the exertions of the remainder of my life on the subject, to prevent only one perjury, I would deem my labor most amply rewarded. Will you then, my excellent friend, assist me? Will you, in fact, become my secretary, to carry out my plan for the working of arbitration tribunals upon as extensive a scale as possible? If you do—and I have no doubt that you will—agree to assist me, I beg of you to arrange all the materials for such a plan in the interval that will elapse between this and my return to Dublin.

Our plan must have no connexion whatsoever with the Association, so as in any way to involve that body in our acts. But I trust our plan will not be the less efficacious on that account, as we will, I hope, compensate by energy and activity for the loss of the influence which the Association so legitimately possesses.

I propose that, immediately on my arrival in Dublin, we should send a circular to some person, clergyman or layman, in each locality, requiring to know whether an arbitration tribunal be requisite or desirable. We shall then proceed to procure persons suited to be arbitrators, and willing to undertake that most useful duty. Of these a sufficient number for each district shall be named; and in each case two or more of them will sit, at stated periods, to hear such cases as shall be submitted to their award.

The submission in each case must be the voluntary act of the parties litigant, without dictation or control of any other person.

We shall keep within the strictest letter of the law. But, doing so, we shall procure for the people of Ireland

cheap justice, speedy justice, and justice untainted by any suspicion of partiality or corruption.¹

Your fellow-martyr,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane: 10th Novr. 1844.

Ten thousand thanks for your most cheering intelligence. I will make my triumphant entry into Limerick on the 20th.

To Richard Barrett.

Darrynane Abbey: Feast of St. John the Evangelist
(27th Decr.), 1844.

My dear Barrett,—Announce for your *next* publication a letter of mine respectfully addressed to the Right Rev. the Bishop of Meath on the subject of the lately published opinions of Messrs. Smith and Green.² They are strange and fantastic opinions! Yet what is still more strange, and probably more fantastic still, is that these worthy gentlemen should be presents by Government as assistant counsel to the Catholic prelates of Ireland.

But, on the other hand, how exquisite are the tone and temper of the pastoral of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, and how suited to the meekness and piety of the venerable writer, the most Rev. Dr. Murray! What a pity it is that there should be found any persons, and in particular any barristers, to deceive and delude in matters of law or of fact so estimable a character as his Grace!

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 29th Decr. 1844.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have received the letter of our reverend friend, and will pay it the strictest attention. I

¹ O'Connell does not say what Sir John Gray informed me had been his main object, namely, to make the arbitration courts substitutes for such local tribunals as had been deprived of popular confidence by the dismissal of all magistrates

who were Repealers.

² T. B. C. Smith, Attorney-General, and Richard W. Green, afterwards Baron of the Exchequer. The allusion is to the Catholic Bequests Act and the proposed Board for supervising Irish matters.

love and revere him. I will implicitly obey his wishes. There is a person in Paris³ to whom I will send my letters to the Pope, to be posted in that city.

I enclose a letter from Pierce Mahony respecting a trial in London.

Could you get the report taken from *The Times* and inserted in the *Post*? Conway would, I think, gratify me by giving it full space in his paper.

I will return to Dublin sooner than I wish,⁴ and in the meantime work here as much as I can.

I had a glorious hunt yesterday. The ground was wet, yet nothing could baffle the skill of my beautiful pack; they hunted and killed in the finest style.

Yours ever,

DANL. O'CONNELL.

To James Haughton.

Merrion Square: 4th February, 1845.

My dear Friend,—I beg your pardon for not having sooner acknowledged your kindness in sending me Charles Spear's admirable work on the Abolition of the Punishment of Death. May I beg of you, when you write to that gentleman, to present him my respects, and to assure him of my gratitude for his kind present of that work, which I admire very much. There may be some shades of difference between him and me on certain principles enunciated in his book, none at all upon the practical abolition of the punishment of death, totally and without reserve. With respect to the principles of President Tyler on the subject of negro slavery, I am as abhorrent of them as ever I was;

³ Andrew O'Reilly, correspondent to *The Times*.

⁴ O'Connell came to Dublin sooner than he could wish in order to attend the inaugural banquet of his old friend Staunton, the journalist, who had now become Lord Mayor. Staunton, addressing the present writer, observed: 'O'Connell, dressed in a fur cap, and wrapped in a cloak, attended my banquet at the Mansion

House in January 1845. He and T. B. Smith, who, as Attorney-General, had bitterly prosecuted him, and whom O'Connell nicknamed "The Vinegar Cruet," shook hands warmly, and, as a wag said, all but embraced. The *empressment* of the Master of the Rolls in tendering his salutations contrasted curiously with his habitual reserve and hauteur.'

indeed, if it was possible to increase my contempt of slave-owners and the advocates of slavery, my sentiments are more intense now than ever they were, and I will avail myself of the first practical opportunity of giving utterance to them, especially in connection with the horrible project of annexing Texas to the United States. But at the present moment the public mind is so engrossed by other topics of local interest, that an Anti-slavery speech would excite no such attention as it ought. I will, however, avail myself of the first favorable opportunity to express my indignation on the subject, so as to give my sentiments circulation in America.

Very faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Archbishop of Tuam.

(Most confidential.)

Merrion Square : 19th February, 1845.

My revered Lord,—I am exceedingly alarmed at the coming prospect. I am truly afraid that the Ministerial plans are about to throw more power into the hands of the supporters of the Bequests Bill.⁵ A fatal liberalism is but too prevalent, and these pseudo-Liberals are extremely anxious to have an opportunity of assailing the party of the sincere and practical Catholics as being supporters of narrow and bigoted doctrines. I should not take the liberty of troubling your Grace with a letter if I were not deeply alarmed lest the friends of truly Catholic education should be outmanœuvred by their enemies. What those enemies most desire is, that a premature movement should be made on our part. They say—and I fear the public would, and perhaps ought to, go with them—that to attack Peel's plan before that plan was announced and developed would be to show a disposition inimical to education, and a determination not to be satisfied with any concession. I do not wish to give our enemies any pretext for avoiding the real question that may, and perhaps must, arise, by any by-battle as to the time of commencing our attack; that is to say, if

⁵ See letter of June 21 and sequel.

we find it necessary to attack at all. I say this because, however strongly I believe that we shall have occasion to attack, yet that occasion cannot arise legitimately until the plan is known in all its details. It is possible, though not very probable, that the appointment of professors to instruct the Catholic youth may be given to the Catholic prelates; and in that case, though the principle of exclusive Catholic education may not apply, yet I should think there could be no objection to Protestants attending the classes, if all the professors were nominated by the canonical authorities of the Catholic Church.

Besides, by waiting until the plan is out and known in its details, we shall have an opportunity of attacking its defects without leaving any room for a charge of hostility to education generally. I do, therefore, most respectfully and with perfect humility suggest to your Grace, whether it be not the wisest course not to make any attack upon academical institutions until we know what those institutions are going to be. I need not inform your Grace that my opinion is decidedly favourable to the education of Catholics being exclusively committed to Catholic authority.

I hope your Grace will have the goodness to excuse this intrusion. What I am anxious about is to prevent our antagonists having any advantage as to the *period* of the discussion, or to any collateral circumstances extrinsic of the real merits.—I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Pierce Mahony.

Dublin: 26th April, 1845.

My dear Mahony,—I am very impatient and uneasy about Lord Devon's Bills. I shall be most unhappy if nothing should be done for the tenantry. I implore you to remind Lord Devon⁶ that agrarian murders have

⁶ Lord Devon, an Irish absentee landlord, got a commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the Irish peasantry. The first volume of the *Report* appeared some months

later, and has since been constantly appealed to as affording the most reliable data in regard to the relations of landlord and tenant.

increased year after year. There were nineteen murders of this class between Tipperary and King's County last year. The most recent case was, as you know, in the county Fermanagh.

Besides these assassinations, the wholesale slaughter of the clearance system precedes in every case the individual murder. Impress upon Lord Devon that these things *cannot* last. He probably would laugh if he thought that I was convinced (which I am) that it is the Repeal Association, and the hopes it excites, which prevents rebellion. But no matter for that, the mischief is most pressing, and a powerful remedy is alone applicable to the case.

Recollect also the hideous picture given in Lord Devon's Report of the state of the greater part of the agricultural population. In comparing that state with the crimes on both sides connected with the clearance system, ask yourself whether it is possible that things can remain as they are. The more I think on the Bills in preparation, the more am I convinced that they will rather irritate than allay. At best they are but homœopathic remedies for the national disease. Do not expect the least reduction of popular discontent from them. Nothing will do but giving some kind or other of fixity of tenure to the occupiers, and especially an absolute right of recompense for all substantial improvements. I am ready to take, as to fixity of tenure, as moderate a measure as is consistent with the principle. I cannot conclude without once more reiterating the necessity of doing something substantial for the occupying tenants.

I know well how unpalatable such a system would be to the landlords, especially the absentees. But, in truth, unless something be done, the people will slip out of my hands and the hands of those who, like me, are for peaceful amelioration, and they will operate a fixity of tenure for themselves with a vengeance.⁷

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ The late P. V. FitzPatrick has exemplification of the sagacity and endorsed this letter as 'a striking foresight of O'Connell.'

Collegiate education and its endowment formed a bold Ministerial feature this Session. Peel proposed to increase the grant to Maynooth from £9,000 to £30,000 a year. A fierce opposition was raised, which led Macaulay to say that when he remembered what England had taken from the Catholics, King's College, Christ Church, and his own Trinity, and looked at the wretched 'Dothelroys Hall' which it gave in return, he blushed for the Protestant religion.

Letters from Pierce Mahony, Anthony Blake and others urged O'Connell to come to London or the Bill would be lost. He came, and its prospects brightened.

Henry Warburton, the English member, was only anxious that O'Connell should not endanger the Bill by injudicious words. A letter dated 'Reform Club, 2 o'clock in the morning, April 8, 1843,' says :—

'I think I see that the ex-Ministers and their immediate adherents, while they apparently give support to Sir Robert Peel's Maynooth measure, have agencies at work to render that support precarious and equivocal. As they want to make use of the Catholics of Ireland as an engine for restoring themselves to power, they do not like that justice should be done the Catholics by any other party than their own.

'If you can come into the House on Friday, and there meet with perfect calmness and indifference those noisy expressions of dislike which are sure to come from some quarters, and to speak in commendation of the measure, I think your presence will do good; and though you are excitable, I think you have that command over yourself not to lose your temper under any provocation, when by remaining calm you can effect a great good.'

O'Connell spoke, and with effect. 'Let Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, pray in gratitude for Dan,' writes Pierce Mahony. 'This has given me new life,' writes the aged Anthony Blake.

The measure having been carried, a plan was submitted, on May 9, for establishing certain provincial colleges known as the 'Queen's.' It is generally believed that O'Connell was the first who applied the phrase 'godless' to these institutions for mixed education; and that Archbishop MacHale, in his attacks, had borrowed it from him. But it was first used by Sir Robert H. Inglis, who

stigmatised the project 'as a gigantic scheme of Godless Education.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 21st June, 1845.

My dear Friend,—Take care that Doctor MacHale has the enclosed letter as soon after you receive it as possible.

The Ministry are ready to submit if Ireland holds out firm. The change, even as to Repeal, in the minds of very many is to me astonishing. As to the Bishops, they have the ball at their foot, literally at their foot. If they hold out firmly on the truest Catholic principles, believe me, everything will be conceded. I had no notion of the ripeness of things here. How I wish I could venture to write to Dr. Murray! I wish he knew of what pliable materials the present Government are made. They would *for him* remodel the Bequests Act. I have reason to believe that they *will* allow the 'Regulars'* to be emancipated. Certainly they would yield it to Dr. Murray. In short, if the value of this moment were duly appreciated, great good might be achieved. But I sigh in vain for that which I cannot control, but which others *might* manage.

We shall be detained here ten or twelve days longer. Stanley's Bill is laughed at. No other efficient measure this Session, simply because they think they have established a feud in our camp. They shall find themselves mistaken.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell *did* 'venture to write to Archbishop Murray,' and put his views in the form of a deliberate professional opinion.

To Archbishop Murray.

I am sincerely sorry to be obliged to say that the situation of the secular clergy is rendered by the Charitable Donations Bill in many respects worse, and in all more precarious, than it was under the Emancipation Act.

* The Friars.

The result of the Emancipation statute rendered by necessary implication a charitable donation in favour of any religious community of men in its nature void in point of law, but a donation for charitable purposes vested in a single regular was, before the statute of the last Session, in my opinion valid. The question is one of some doubt, but my opinion is favourable to the capability of a single regular to take a donation in land or money for charitable purposes before the Act of the 7th and 8th Victoria, chap. 97. I may be mistaken in this view of the law pre-existing that statute, but I am not mistaken in saying that since that statute, that is, at present, not only no community of regulars, but no single regular can take or enjoy any species of property for the support of the Order or of any portion of the Order.

It is quite true that the concluding sentence of the 15th section is not a direct or positive enactment; it is in its nature a mere proviso, but that proviso contains a distinct legislative declaration or definition, and all our courts of law and equity would consider themselves bound to act upon that declaration, and to carry it out into effect by judgment or decree ruinous to the regular clergy. It really would be less mischievous to the regular clergy that the concluding part of the 15th section was a direct and original enactment, rendering in express words their property liable to confiscation, because in that case they would have a protection for their present property in the 22nd clause, whereas at present that clause is no protection at all; and all property of the regulars in Ireland is liable under the former Act, coupled with this, to confiscation or to be applied to charities in which no regular could have any interest. Perhaps the very worst feature in this last statute—I, of course, mean the Charitable Donations Act—is that it places the Catholic Commissioners (if any Catholic accepts the office) in direct antagonism with the regular clergy. It makes it the duty of every Catholic Commissioner to sue for the recovery and application to other purposes of all charitable property withheld or mis-

applied. Now the charitable property of the regulars is, in point of law, misapplied, and every Catholic Commissioner is, in discharge of his duty under this new Act, bound to take away from the regulars their property and apply it to other purposes. There is this additional disadvantage under the new Act, that prior to that Act the Protestant Commissioners had no means of knowing, or at least of proving, who was or who was not a regular ; whereas, should there be a Catholic bishop amongst the new commissioners, that Catholic bishop will, of course, know every regular in his diocese, and it will be his duty under the Act to get into possession of the funds of every kind of such regulars, and to apply the same to other charitable purposes, that is, to charitable purposes recognised by our law. This is a fearful state of things to contemplate, and it strikes me that the prelates, clergy, and people should combine to repudiate the new Act, and to join in one universal and manly call on the Government to repeal the recent statute, and to recognise in law and in fact that most useful and exemplary body, the regular clergy of Ireland.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

CHAPTER XXI.

A Heavy Heart—Powerless under Peel—The Queen's Colleges—Massacre by the Police—Death of Thomas Davis—*The Times* assails O'Connell as a Landlord—His Vindication—Anecdotes of Dillon Browne and Joseph Miles Macdonnell—A Despot Dictator—A Nation starving—Secession of Young Ireland from O'Connell's Standard—Proffered Mediation—O'Hagan—Famine and Fever—The Exodus—O'Connell's Last Appeal—Departure for Rome—Rev. Dr. Miley—'Liberavi animam meam'—Sufferings and Anguish—His Final Directions—Closing Scenes—Death at Genoa.

To the Archbishop of Tuam.

(Private.)

London: 21st June, 1845.

My ever revered Lord,—My heart is heavy and my fears are great lest seduction should accomplish what force and fraud have failed to achieve. But my confidence is unshaken in the wisdom and virtue of our prelates. Why, then, do I write? Because I wish to disburthen myself of *two facts*. The *first*, that Sir James Graham's amendments¹ will make the Bill worse, simply by increasing and extending the power and dominion of the Government, or of persons appointed by and also removable *at will* by that Government, over a wider space, and over more important and more delicate matters, including perhaps *all* religious details. The *second* fact is, that if the prelates take and continue in a high, firm, and unanimous tone, the *Ministry will yield*. Believe me that they are ready to yield. You have everything in your own power. By *your*, of course I mean the prelates, or the majority of them.

You have from the Ministry abundance of words, sweet words and solemn promises. If, however, then, by just caution on the part of the prelates, *they can dictate their own terms*, the danger is that the prelates, judging of

¹ To the Irish Colleges Bill.

others by themselves, will disbelieve in designed deceit, and so yield to empty promises that which could ensure, if withheld for a while, substantial performance.

My object is that your Grace should know to a certainty that the game is in *our* hands if the prelates stand firm, as I most respectfully believe they will, to all the Church sanctions relative to Catholic education.

I mark this letter 'Private,' merely because I do not wish to have it appear in the newspapers. If the facts I mention are of use, you can use them.

Pray pardon my intrusion.

I have the honor, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Your last was very sad in its tone; it cannot be remedied, it must therefore be endured.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: June 27th, 1845.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I send as a parcel by this conveyance 25 copies of the Irish Colleges Bill as altered, for I don't think it amended by Sir James Graham. It gives all dominion over every branch and detail of the Colleges to the Ministry for the time being. It is true it permits, subject to the 'visitation of Government,' the erection of separate Halls, by subscription or donation, for separate religious instruction. See what an advantage this gives to the Protestants, who are rich, over the Catholics, who are poor! You will, of course, have Protestant Halls rapidly, and with difficulty will there be found money to erect even one Catholic Hall. Perhaps I am mistaken in my opinion of Catholic zeal, but nothing can be more clear than this, that the Protestants are much richer, and at present are very much disposed to use their wealth for the purposes of perversion.

Sir James Graham has intimated that the visitatorial power—that is to say, the absolute dominion over Colleges,

Halls, and all—is to be vested in three visitors, one a Catholic Archbishop or Bishop; secondly, a Protestant Archbishop or Bishop; and thirdly, a confidential Office Bearer, probably the Moderator, of the Presbyterian Church. This avowed scheme will always give two Protestant voices, among the visitors, to one Catholic voice. If our venerated prelates omit this opportunity of insisting on fair play for the Catholics, or a due control over Catholic education, it is impossible but that the consequences should be, to say the least, highly injurious to Catholicity.

You will, as speedily as possible after receipt of this parcel, present, with my profound respects, a copy of the Bill to each of the Archbishops and Bishops, also a copy to the Very Revd. Dr. Hamilton, and another to my beloved friend the Rev. Dr. Miley.

My son and I will remain here for the discussion on Monday, and unless in the interval we receive (which is not likely) some *orders* from any of our prelates, we will leave this on Tuesday. *There is not the least use* in our staying here, and we would incur some responsibility for the details, if we were to remain uselessly to battle upon the subject. The Ministry have a most overwhelming majority, especially in favor of any measure opposed by the *old Irish*. In fact, though you may think it vanity, I cannot but assert that the Ministry *seem pleased* to have me so completely in their power, as I necessarily am in the present House of Commons.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Resolutions, together with a memorial of the Catholic bishops in regard to the Colleges Bill, appeared in the journals of the day. It set forth that they were disposed to co-operate on fair and reasonable terms with the Government and the Legislature in establishing a system for the extension of academic education in Ireland. The document was signed on behalf of the meeting by Archbishop Murray.

To the Archbishop of Tuam.

Darrynane Abbey : 12th August, 1845.

My revered and loved Lord,—Many and many hearty thanks for your kind letter, and the suggestions it contains. I am preparing my answer to the Most Rev. Dr. Murray. It ought to be considerate and most courteous, without betraying any want of proper firmness. I do not know whether I shall succeed in writing such a letter, and I anxiously hope that, at all events, you will not be displeased at what I write. It would be to me a cruel punishment to merit your disapprobation.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Lord Dalling, in his 'Life of Palmerston,' states that later on a new Administration consulted the Catholic Primate, Dr. Crolly, as well as Archbishop Murray, of Dublin, and attended scrupulously to every suggestion made for securing the religious instruction and moral conduct of Catholic students. Cardinal Wiseman also approved the amended statutes of the Queen's University; but, for the most part, episcopal feeling has been hostile.

On June 30 the police had interfered to put a stop to a violent faction fight at Ballinhassig fair. They were, however, so severely attacked that they had recourse to firearms in self-defence. Six persons were killed on the spot and many wounded.

To Philip O'Connell.²

Darrynane Abbey : 1 Sept. 1845.

My dear Philip,—I enclose you the sum of twenty guineas, my individual subscription to the 'Ballinhassig Sufferers' Fund.'

I have considered with the deepest attention the case of the unhappy sufferers in the Ballinhassig affair, and I deeply deplore the very preposterous and, I would add,

² Philip O'Connell possessed a vein of humour which sustained him in the discharge of often depressing tasks. A friend of his with military tastes was betrothed to the third

daughter of Dr. Foot. 'Is he thinking of joining the army?' inquired Judge Berwick. 'He is already attached to the 3rd Foot,' replied Phil.

cruel verdict given by the majority of the jurors at the coroner's inquest. How they could have arrived at the conclusion of 'justifiable homicide' exceeds my power of belief. It is really revolting to think of the flippancy with which they brought themselves to consider that so much human blood was innocently shed, and so many human lives innocently sacrificed. If the opinion of the minority of the jury had been adopted, the only consequence would be that the matter would thus be placed in a train for further investigation, and no man would have been punished (for what I think were complicated murders) unless found guilty before a judge of the land, and by an undoubtedly impartial jury. The verdict, as it stands, potentially prevents any further judicial inquiry. It is not a positive estoppel, but it practically terminates any hope of inflicting just punishment, or of obtaining any kind of redress.

The Government will, of course, continue to decline any further examination into the matter; they are not likely to be discontented with the escape of the instruments of their power.

What, then, is to be done? You ask what I advise? Alas! after the fullest consideration I have arrived at the result that nothing effectual can be suggested. There is not the least prospect of our procuring a bill of indictment to be found for murder, or even for manslaughter; not the least; and it is difficult to say that any other course could be open save that of presenting to the Grand Jury an indictment. At present, therefore, I have no advice to give, and I say it with bitter affliction of heart. I will, however, give you intimation of the time when I can be in Cork on my way to Dublin, so that we may arrange a consultation between me and the gentlemen who so ably conducted the enquiry, in order to see whether we could strike any plan to satisfy the demands of justice and humanity.

It is really shocking to think that the police should be employed, with deadly weapons in their hands, to decide upon the necessity of arresting persons not guilty of felonious or capital offences. It is a bad system that

sanctions the use of murderous weapons upon occasions where, even if the imputed crime of the slain were really proved, the utmost punishment could not exceed a small fine or a short imprisonment. The origin of the Ballinhassig slaughter is to be traced to so silly and trivial a cause as that of a man beating his own horse on the head with his own hat!!!

And yet, originating in so trifling a matter, the death-dealing weapons were handled, and the corpses of the husband, the father, the brother—aye, and of the wife, strewn the ground, and their blood flowed; but the earth has not covered it, it remains crying to Heaven for vengeance, and to the all-merciful but all-just Providence we leave the vindication of the crime committed in the face of Heaven. ‘Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will repay.’

This most melancholy slaughter reminds us, alas! of many other scenes of massacre from Castlepollard to Skibbereen, all distinctly traceable to the fatal policy of, I will say, unnecessarily arming the police with murderous weapons. Whenever it is necessary to use instruments of immediate death, the military should be called out. The soldiers, under the command of their officers, always in Ireland act with humanity to the people. If there had been soldiers at Ballinhassig instead of police, not a single life would have been lost, and peace would have been preserved.

I entertain no present hope (as you perceive) of any redress, yet we will consider of it more attentively with this melancholy pressure on our minds, that the massacre at Ballinhassig is already fading from recollection, although as many human beings were slain, and as much human blood shed, as in the recent insurrectionary movement at Leipsic, which convulses Central Europe, and threatens overthrow and extinction to thrones and principalities.

Dear Philip, most faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The following letter refers to the death of Thomas Osborne Davis, who is mentioned *supra*, p. 338.

To T. M. Ray.

Darrynane Abbey: Sept. 17th, 1845.

My dear Ray,—I do not know what to write. My mind is bewildered and my heart afflicted. The loss of my beloved friend, my noble-minded friend, is a source of the deepest sorrow to my mind. What a blow—what a cruel blow to the cause of Irish nationality! He was a creature of transcendent qualities of mind and heart; his learning was universal, his knowledge was as minute as it was general. And then he was a being of such incessant energy and continuous exertion. I, of course, in the few years—if years they be—still left to me, cannot expect to look upon his like again, or to see the place he has left vacant adequately filled up; and I solemnly declare that I never knew any man who could be so useful to Ireland in the present stage of her struggles. His loss is indeed irreparable. What an example he was to the Protestant youths of Ireland! What a noble emulation of his virtues ought to be excited in the Catholic young men of Ireland! And his heart, too! it was as gentle, as kind, as loving as a woman's. Yes, it was as tenderly kind as his judgment was comprehensive and his genius magnificent. We shall long deplore his loss. As I stand alone in the solitude of my mountains, many a tear shall I shed in the memory of the noble youth. Oh! how vain are words or tears when such a national calamity afflicts the country. Put me down among the foremost contributors to whatever monument or tribute to his memory shall be voted by the National Association. Never did they perform a more imperative or, alas! so sad a duty. I can write no more. *Fungar inani munere.*

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In 1835 and 1836, when party spirit ran unpleasantly high, some bitter encounters took place in Parliament between O'Connell and John Walter, of *The Times*, then member for Berkshire. The former regarded Lord Lyndhurst as Ireland's greatest foe, and in one of his attacks on him he used some ambiguous words which were construed

as conveying a threat to intrude upon the ex-Chancellor's private life. Thereupon the 'Thunderer' asked, 'How long shall such a wretch as this be tolerated among civilised men? But let him mark us well: as surely as he dare to invade the privacy of the life of Lord Lyndhurst, or of any other man, woman, or child that may happen by themselves or their relations to be opposed to him in politics, so surely shall we carry the war into his own domiciles at Darrynane and Dublin, and show up the whole brood of O'Connells, young and old.' O'Connell retorted in a letter full of fierce invective, addressed 'To Barnes and Bacon, editors of *The Times*,' and dated September 15, 1836:—

'In my own name,' he said, 'and in the names of those who inhabit the domiciles of Darrynane and Dublin, and also of the whole brood of O'Connells, young and old, I hurl at you—foul miscreants as you are!—the most contemptuous and emphatic defiance.'

Nine years after—and I do not say that the incident had connection with the old feud—Mr. Walter despatched a commissioner to report upon the state of Ireland generally, but particularly as regarded O'Connell's relations with his tenants. It was a daring act to beard O'Connell in his own mountain fastnesses. Hard blows were interchanged, especially when *The Times* announced that the Liberator had exercised great severity as a landlord, and described certain windows of 'dirty, unpaved Cahirciveen,' as mended with old hats.³ *The Times* and other journals which had been long opposed to O'Connell turned to powerful account the material for attack now supplied. The old Tribune gave back with vigour the blows dealt by *The Times*, but his retorts are to be found rather in speeches than in letters. No journal had heretofore assailed him more fiercely than an Orange print called the *Packet*, but its proprietor now showed a magnanimity which quite touched the old man.

*To Nicholas Murray Mansfield.*⁴

Merrion Square, Dublin: November 26th, 1845.

Sir,—I love in my heart an affectionate friend: the same principle makes me respect a generous enemy, such as I

³ O'Connell, in addressing the people, treated the charge contemptuously, and expressed a wicked wish that the commissioner had as many *pains* in his stomach as there

were panes in Cahirciveen.

⁴ In November 1843, when Peel's Government had decided on prosecuting O'Connell, the *Packet* published a pretentious poem urging

avow that I have found you on the occasion of the attack made upon me by *The Times* 'Commissioner.' I am, therefore, sure you will do me the further justice of publishing my respectful protest against the conclusion you have drawn, namely, that I had admitted having evicted some of my tenantry; the obvious inference being, that I was a guilty participator in the clearance system. I certainly intended no such admission, for I could not make it consistently with the fact.

The clearance system consists in putting out tenants without substituting others in their places, thus clearing the land of the people. I never did any such thing, nor did I intend to convey the idea that I had done so. Whenever I have been under the necessity of putting out one tenant I immediately substituted another for him, giving to the outgoing tenant, in all recent instances, the fine paid me by the incoming tenant. I had thus introduced the principle and practice of tenant right on my property.

Again acknowledging the generosity of your conduct, I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Cloncurry.

Merrion Square: 27 Dec. 1845.⁵

My Lord,—You have encouraged me to make a suggestion, which I do with great diffidence and with the hope that, if you do not concur with me, you will not think it necessary, as it certainly is not, to tell me why we now differ.

that the Repealers should be dealt with as Lords Camden and Castle-reagh dealt with the rebels of '98. One verse will serve to show the angry spirit of the hour:—

'These, these are the secrets
Of peace in our land—
The scourge for the back,
For the forehead the brand;
The chain for the neck,
And the gyves for the heel;
Till the SCAFFOLD lets loose
The base blood of Repeal!'

⁵ A study very unusual with O'Connell—meteorology—now engaged his attention, partly, no doubt, to relieve his mind from worry. He observed the temperature daily at Darrynane for 106 days during the winter of 1845-46, and was of opinion that abnormally cold or warm winters are due to changes in the condition of the comparatively tepid currents bathing our shores. Prof. Hennessy, F.R.S., used his notes in a paper issued in 1885.

The suggestion is, that you will be so good as to write a letter to the Knight of Kerry, inquiring of him, 1st, whether to his knowledge I am a good landlord; 2ndly, whether I treat my tenants with kindness and care; 3rdly, whether my tenants are not as well off and as comfortable as the tenants of any other landlord in that county.

What I could wish would be that you, my Lord, should take the additional trouble of informing the Knight of Kerry that it was intended to publish his letter, and when you receive it I should be greatly gratified were you to enclose it to me in a letter stating your own impressions of my conduct as a landlord derived from your visits to that county.

I enclose the Knight of Kerry's letter, which I return to you with my most cordial thanks. I am greatly indebted to the Knight for his very handsome *conduct* to me on this occasion.⁶

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Knight and O'Connell, though cordial correspondents in early life, had been more or less estranged since 1829, when the Tribune opposed his re-election for Kerry on the Knight accepting office from Wellington. I cannot find that in 1845 he acted on O'Connell's suggestion by publishing any letter expressive of the view that he seems to have taken. But the newspapers are full of letters from other sources, including one from James Butler, Esq., J.P., a Protestant and a Conservative, residing within three miles of Darrynane. He mentioned that the Commissioner had called upon him, and had been informed of the want of truth of certain stories he heard and afterwards printed.

⁶ In point of fact O'Connell had created Cahirciveen and expended £4,000 upon it. A book, called *The Sportsman in Ireland*, written by a candid Englishman a short time before, declares that Cahirciveen 'bears all the marks of rapid improvement—the houses new and of handsome structure.' O'Connell defended him-

self from *The Times*, and Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*—published eight years previously—bore him out. Journals which had long been his most bitter assailants were satisfied with his vindication. 'The management of O'Connell's property is excellent,' declared the *Mail*, 'and his tenants are comfortable and happy.'

The reporter in pursuing this course may have exceeded his instructions. The newspapers of the day record with what interest the battle between *The Times* and the Tribune was watched. The *Morning Herald*, an influential Conservative ally, protested against what it regarded as 'hitting below the belt,' and complains that the Commissioner did not hesitate 'to collect the rancorous drivel of discontented tenants and servants and disappointed beggars. Turkish tyranny,' it added, 'would be more tolerable than this.' The remark of the *Herald* was partly provoked by threat from the Commissioner, that he held in his sling certain further revelations. This inquisition—held almost at his gate—gave O'Connell infinite annoyance. Hostilities raged to the end, and, like Mamilius and Herminius, the 'Great Agitator' and the 'Thunderer' both fell at the same time. In the early summer of 1847, when all nature was expanding in rejuvenescent vigour, Walter⁷ and O'Connell died.

Sad examples of what Peel styled 'the wild justice of revenge' were frequent in Ireland this year, and a Coercion Bill was introduced which O'Connell resisted with all the strength of his earlier manhood.

Long before the tug of war came he wrote to arouse the men on whose co-operation he relied.

To Martin Crecan.

London : February 13, 1846.

My dear Sir,—We are menaced with a Coercion Bill. The English Parliament does not dream of converting the Parchment Union into the semblance of a real union by giving to the Irish nation equal franchises, equal representation, equal rights, equal religious freedom—in short, equal laws with those enjoyed by the people of England. A union, if it means anything distinct, must mean perfect equality between the inhabitants of the united countries; ours is a servitude, and not a union; yet there is not the least chance of the British Parliament placing us on a footing of equality with the English and Scotch nations, but they will have

⁷ In 1841 Walter was elected for Nottingham, where a fountain now plays in his memory, not far from the statue of Feargus O'Connor, the

man he had often denounced, but who, by an irony of fate, succeeded him in the representation.

little hesitation in depriving Ireland even of the legal and constitutional rights she at present possesses.

You will have seen by the papers the line of conduct attributed to Earl Grey; you will have seen it without any surprise. He naturally vindicates his hereditary right to hold in contempt and hatred the people of Ireland; he cheerily rejoices at the very mention of a Coercion Bill, and he offers the Government his ready services in promoting that measure. To be sure he accompanies that offer with the expression of a demand for some measures of legislative relief to follow the Coercion Act, but all that is mere verbiage and trash; the Government will readily give the Coercion Bill, but no identification of political rights; and that Government will plead his father's example for treating the people of Ireland as an inferior race, unworthy of political equalisation with the people of England.

It is perfectly true that frightful murders are committed in Ireland—murders by the people, and upon the people—murders which, of course, cannot be justified, and which it is utterly impossible to palliate; murders that deserve the utmost penalty man can inflict, and murders which justly raise the red arm of God's vengeance upon the perpetrators.

There is no law to punish the murders inflicted by the clearance system; the landlords legally claim the right to do what they please with their own, regardless of the moral duties which ought necessarily to attach to the rights of property. As to the just punishment of those who commit assassination, there is no legal power wanting to work out that punishment.

What should be sought for, and desired most anxiously by everybody, is to discover and firmly to obviate the causes which produce these frightful crimes. What we are most anxious for is totally to remove those causes; to prevent the crimes by taking away the temptation to commit them. We desire to suppress assassination by suppressing every motive that may instigate to such a diabolical crime.

The law should protect the people, and the people will then obey the law.

Coercion has been tried often enough and long enough ; it may occasionally create a temporary lull, but by tracing the history of Coercion Acts since the Union you will find that the temporary suspension of Whiteboy outrages has been always followed by a recurrence of crimes of a deeper dye than those previously perpetrated.

Let coercion give way to conciliation, let not Parliament attempt to re-enact coercive laws without first doing all that legislation can do to remove the causes of Irish discontent by Relief Bills ; not mere temporary shifts and expedients, but political and permanent Relief Bills, what should be called Equalisation Bills. Let such Bills precede, if it were only as an experiment, the enactment of any unconstitutional or coercive law. I say to the Legislature, first try justice, equality, assimilation of political rights, and repeal all the formidable powers given by the British Parliament to Irish landlords by several statutes passed since the Act of Union ; take the relations of landlords and tenants into immediate consideration ; above all, give to the occupier some security of tenure, by at least allowing the tenant the full benefit of all the capital and labour expended by him in the improvement of the lands, and preventing his being dispossessed until he is recompensed in full for all valuable improvements.

Take up the principle of Lord Stanley's Bill in the last session, disembarassed from its vexatious restrictions and foolish details ; let the Parliament, I say, legislate in this spirit for Ireland, let it give a sacredness to the tenant right before it dares to touch any of the constitutional rights which the people of Ireland now possess. Those rights are not many, but they are valuable and protective. Let no Ministry dare to think of infringing them by a Coercion Bill until they have first tried the experiment of justice, equalisation of civil rights, and protection to the honest and improving tenant.

All the Irish Repeal members should attend in their places to meet the Coercion Bill as it comes from the Lords,

and to meet it with the most decided and unequivocal hostility. There must be no compromise, no bartering of present rights, either for the promises or for the reality of future political liberties. Let us, if we can, drive the Ministry to try the only certain or rational preventive of crime, namely, concession of conciliation, to be limited only by an equalisation with England or Scotland. Let us see the practical effect of such a plan before we give the slightest assent to any coercive measures. Ours is the effective plan : try justice before you enact despotism ; above all, I repeat, let there be nothing in the shape of compromise.

What a melancholy exhibition of political depravity it is that men should be found ready to make any experiment of coercion and most reluctant to try conciliation, to arise from the concession of the equality of civil and religious rights.

I have been under the necessity of postponing my statement respecting the famine and pestilence which menace Ireland until Tuesday next. On that day I think I may promise to bring the case of Ireland fully before Parliament and the public. We shall, no doubt, get abundance of kind words and warm expressions of solicitude for the people of Ireland. Such shall be the words, what shall be the deeds ? I augur unfavourably. I think the measures necessary to preserve Ireland from the horrors of famine and pestilence are too bold for the timidity of the Ministry and the inclination of the House.

One thing alone is certain : that there is no substantial remedy for Ireland except in the restoration of her domestic parliament.—Believe me to be yours truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To James Dwyer, Q.C.

British Hotel, Jermyn St., London : 26th Feby. 1846.

My dear Sir,^s—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

^s This is the 'My dear Dwyer' of former days. (See letter of May 17, 1832.)

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.

Again thanking you for the kindly spirit of your letter, and participating fully in the same sentiment towards you,
I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Archbishop MacHale.

30 Merrion Square, Dublin : 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.

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 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 since the Clare election.⁹

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.

⁹ On Mark Blake accepting the Chiltern Hundreds, Joseph Miles MacDonnell became M.P. for Mayo. He was a man of imposing physique, but with scant gifts as a public speaker. However, he defeated George Henry Moore, who was a born orator, because he took the Repeal pledge, which Moore declined to do. MacDonnell lived in Doo Castle, which he rarely ventured to leave, owing to chronic dread of arrest for debt. Once in Parliament, of course he was safe. MacDonnell eventually came before the court as an insolvent. His debts were enormous, but his entire assets were sworn to consist of a flute, a bagpipes, and a setter dog. He felt so ashamed of this miserable schedule that he appealed to a brother Mayo man, named MacIlwee, then attached to a leading journal, to exclude from the paper the report of his case. A common friend invited both to dinner in Great George's Street, and the evening passed merrily, whilst MacDonnell played with marvellous beauty jig after jig on the Irish pipes. He enjoyed for only one year the triumph to which O'Connell refers. A General Election took place in 1847, when Moore, who had now accepted the Repeal pledge, got 504 votes, while MacDonnell polled only 53. The senior member for Mayo, Dillon Browne, held his seat. He was a brilliant speaker, and on one of the last occasions when his help was needed in the House it became necessary to send him clothes in which to deliver an

oration, which was a masterpiece in its way. To keep the wolf from the door O'Connell had previously allowed him £25 a month as inspector of Repeal wardens for Connaught. He continued the traditional Western gentleman to the end, and one of his last acts was to write a challenge to Mr. Joseph Henry Dunne, B.L., in which he said, 'We shall now see whether your courage is commensurate with your insolence.' For several years before his death, in 1850, frequent draughts of sherry became a necessity with Browne. Owing to poverty, however, he was ill able to provide it. Attracted by the announcement 'Funerals supplied,' Browne one day, when fatigued in his rambles, waited upon an undertaker, his face buried in a handkerchief, his voice inaudible from emotion. The man ran for a decanter of wine; Browne drank and was relieved. He asked several questions about scarves and hat-bands, coffins, hearses, mutes and coaches. The undertaker assured him that he would provide all. Browne at last stood up to leave. 'But you have not told me where I am to find the remains,' remarked the undertaker. 'You said you would find everything; find the body,' exclaimed Browne as he left the house and rapidly turned the corner.

These stories of Browne and MacDonnell would not be told here, but that neither have left representatives. (*Vide* note to letter of July 8, 1834.)

With respect to the balance, you may rely on its being paid in three weeks. I hope the short delay will not prove inconvenient.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Don Juan de Rosas, whose name figures in the following letter, became governor of the Argentine Confederation in 1829, and Dictator and Captain-General of Buenos Ayres on March 7, 1835. Sad complaints of his despotic rule had been made from time to time. In 1847, after O'Connell died, the blockade of Buenos Ayres was begun, but not until 1852 was the tyrant's power crushed and his army routed. The people, who had long groaned beneath that iron rule, manifested unbounded joy. Rosas escaped from the battle-field in disguise, and found an asylum in a British ship, which carried him in safety to London. Here he vegetated until his death in 1877. Father Fahy was an influential priest in Buenos Ayres.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London : 12th May, 1846.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I shall not make any public use of the Rev. Mr. Fahy's letter *affirmatively*, but its effect will be, as much silence on my part as the exigencies of public affairs will permit; for, believe me, Rosas is a tyrant of a hideous description. I have not the least sympathy, however, for the Unitarian party. I never said one word directly or indirectly in their behalf, and, as a party, I should not care if they were annihilated to-morrow.

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 speeches *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 Reverend 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 Reverend 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 reurging 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 authorize you to pledge yourself that I will leave no stone unturned, nor 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.¹ 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. What a

¹ A fine portrait of O'Connell was painted by Mr. Haverty, R.H.A., at this time. The Liberator, wearing

a hat of vast brim, is accompanied in the picture by his faithful friend FitzPatrick.

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's 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*.

Ever yours gratefully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A long debate on the Coercion Bill for Ireland took place during this session. As remedies for evils which the Queen's Speech deplored, O'Connell suggested a modification of the Ejectment Bill, so as to check wholesale clearance, the extension of the Ulster tenant right, a more adequate number of representatives in Parliament, and a better distribution of the Church temporalities. He moved as an amendment that, instead of an unconstitutional Coercion Bill, measures be adopted to eradicate the causes which produce crime.

Owing to the opposition of Disraeli and his followers the Coercion Bill was thrown out and Peel and Wellington resigned. In July, Lord John Russell formed a Government, and O'Connell's friend Duncannon, now Earl of Bessborough, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Greville, in his Diary, praises O'Connell for going to Lord Bessborough and telling him that 'after defeating the Coercion Bill, he felt bound to give the Government any assistance he could in repressing outrage and restoring peace.' Greville adds, 'He carries the priests entirely with him, who appear to have all determined against the violent party,' meaning Young Ireland.

There seems to be no doubt that O'Connell, for the second time in his career, resolved to give the Whigs a trial at this juncture, and thereupon an alliance was effected on their guaranteeing to do justice to Ireland. In May 1846 he

attended, with other friends of Lord John Russell, a meeting at that statesman's private house. Lord Jeffrey, writing to Macvey Napier in August 1846 regarding a paper in the 'Edinburgh Review,' speaks of the Government 'professing to pacify Ireland by conciliation, and is actually in concert with O'Connell.'² Soon after O'Connell laid before the Repeal Association eleven measures, every one of which he declared the Whigs had promised to carry into effect.

In the new alliance there was, however, no blind adhesion, as is shown in his support of that of his sons to Lord George Bentinck's motion by his letter of February 13, 1847.

Pigot, whose 'very great legal knowledge' O'Connell pressed on the attention of Lord Duncannon in September 1834, became at last Attorney-General, but was displaced by the change of Government in 1841. On the return of the Whigs to power, five years later, Pigot's claims were overlooked in favour of Richard Moore and J. H. Monahan, the first as Attorney, the second as Solicitor General, but, thanks to O'Connell, Pigot soon after was appointed Chief Baron on Maziere Brady vacating the Exchequer for the Woolsack.

The first glimpse of the new Whig alliance, though a hazy one, is obtained from a note of John O'Connell to Pigot, dated June 29, 1846. In this letter the imposingly draped figure of an approaching Lord Chief Baron is foreshadowed.

'My father is very anxious to see you in order to tell you something that may, possibly, be of importance. Will you be at the House at four o'clock, or, at all events, immediately after Peel has made his statement?' The letter playfully concludes: '*With much respect, my L.C.B., ever faithfully yours, JOHN O'CONNELL.*'

The original of the following letter was probably sent to Downing Street, for a copy of it, entirely in Pigot's autograph, is preserved among the papers of the latter. Appended

² An influential popular leader, the late Isaac Butt, mentions that John Hatchel, who soon after became Attorney-General, was deputed by the Whigs in 1846 to sound the opinions of some of the leading members of the Repeal Association as regards a Federal Parlia-

ment which the Whigs were willing to concede. 'Whether any negotiations were opened with Mr. O'Connell,' adds Butt, 'or if so, how or in what manner they were met, no information yet before the public tells us.' (See Cusack's *O'Connell*, p. 702.)

to it is a memorandum by Pigot regarding O'Connell's allusion to the appointment of Redington as Under Secretary for Ireland. Pigot says that O'Connell assumes it was entirely his (Pigot's) doing. 'I merely stated,' writes Pigot, 'that I looked with deep anxiety for the manner in which Redington's appointment would be received, as I took my share of responsibility towards its accomplishment. I stated that it must, however, be done, for that he never solicited it, and that the Government acted principally on the public grounds on which the matter was brought under their consideration.'

To the Right Hon. D. R. Pigot, M.P.

Merrion Square, Dublin: 8th July, 1846.

My dear Pigot,—I do not know when I have been so delighted as at receiving the intelligence of the O'Conor Don's being one of the Lords of the Treasury.³ He is a most able, intelligent, and in every respect estimable man. I have the sincerest regard and respect for him.

With respect to Redington⁴ 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

³ It will be remembered that O'Conor Don and O'Connell worked shoulder to shoulder in the earlier struggle for Emancipation.

⁴ Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Nicholas Redington had become member for Dundalk in 1837, and continued to represent the borough until his appointment to Dublin Castle in 1846. The Under Secretary is practically the Government of Ireland, and Redington was the first Catholic entrusted with its duties. Redington had been long regarded as an O'Connellite; and the Dublin newspapers of October 16, 1838, contain a letter from him enclosing,

with complimentary remarks, £10 for O'Connell's 'Precursor Society.' The arrest of Smith O'Brien in 1848, with the seizure and examination of his valise and the use of private letters compromising Gavan Duffy and others in the State prosecutions that followed, exposed Sir T. Redington to much unpopularity, and caused him to be styled by national orators 'The Knight of the Carpet Bag.' He was also criticised for continuing to hold office under Lord John Russell after the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill had been brought forward by his chief.

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,⁵ aided, to be sure, against my son,⁶ by the great patronage of his office.

With respect to Clonmel,⁷ it is utterly impossible to do anything for Moore. It is true I have been working in an under channel for Monahan, 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

⁵ Dr. Kennedy, Bishop of Killaloe, was the ablest man in this 'party,' which included also the Primate, Dr. Crolly. They strongly supported Peel on the Queen's Colleges and the Endowment of Maynooth questions. Dr. Kennedy, in a private letter to Smith O'Brien at this time, complains that O'Connell had formed an alliance with the Whigs. Dr. Crolly died, and was succeeded as Primate by Dr. Paul Cullen, who, in 1850, presided at the Synod of Thurles, held for discussing and deciding various points of local discipline. Dr. Kennedy was a powerful orator, and when speaking in support of the Queen's Colleges Dr. Cullen requested him to resume his seat. 'By what right does your Grace tell me to sit down?' demanded the Bishop. 'By authority of the Holy See, of which I am the apostolic delegate,' replied Dr. Cullen. Dr. Kennedy seemed transfixed. 'I bow to that,' he said, 'but not to you.'

The Most Rev. W. Crolly, R. C. Archbishop of Armagh, was raised

to that see in the year 1835. Partly educated in a Unitarian school, the archbishop ever proved himself most tolerant, and was a warm supporter of National Education and of the Queen's Colleges. He died April 6, 1849.

⁶ Redington was succeeded by Daniel O'Connell, jun., who held the seat until the General Election of 1847, when W. Torrens MacCullagh took his place.

⁷ Right Hon. D. R. Pigot represented Clonmel from 1839 until his appointment at this time as Chief Baron. Pigot was succeeded by the Hon. Cecil Lawless, son of Lord Cloncurry. In the following year Lawless was re-elected, defeating James Henry Monahan. Monahan became Attorney-General, prosecuted Smith O'Brien and his colleagues to conviction, and was appointed Chief Justice on the death of Doherty in 1850. For some amusing incidents connected with one of Monahan's elections, see *Life of Father Tom Burke*, i. p. 73.

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.⁸ 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. He is personally popular, while O'Ferrall⁹ 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 Orangists than that miserable Lord Heytesbury.¹

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.—Believe me to be, with great truth,

Yours, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁸ Dungarvan was a Repeal borough. The original cause of the split between Young and Old Ireland was because O'Connell expressed himself satisfied that Sheil, a Whig minister, should remain in possession of the seat. The first public revelation of the new Whig alliance was O'Connell's expressed intention not to

oppose Sheil's re-election.

The Master of the Mint, who 'did not like to lose a shilling,' was run very close in 1847 by John Francis Maguire.

⁹ Right Honourable Richard More O'Ferrall.

¹ Baron Heytesbury ruled as Viceroy from July 1844 to July 1846.

To the Right Hon. D. R. Pigot, M.P.

Merrion Square : July 12, 1846.

My dear Pigot,—How could you imagine that it was possible for me to suppose 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.² If you are not so very soon, I shall meet you in London before the end of the present week.

[*The appointment of Mr. J. J. Murphy as Master in Chancery in succession to Mr. Goould is here urged.*] I think a Catholic ought to get it, and he is as suitable a man as could possibly be.

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.³

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 newspapers, so I shall say no more until we meet.

Yours ever sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

² Pigot will long be remembered as certainly the most painstaking judge of whom the Bar had experience.

³ See letter of May 16, 1830, and note. O'Connell claimed and obtained the favour as father of the Catholic Bar. Master Murphy died in June 1878. O'Connell did not

forget that Murphy's father gave £300 in aid of the expenses of the Clare Election in 1828—the turning-point of the Catholic question. O'Connell had been always a most kind-hearted man, and he was not sorry to have an opportunity now of gratifying generous instincts.

The late Mr. Fagan, M.P.,⁴ states that, with the exception of a post given to Charles O'Connell,⁵ the Liberator never asked a personal favour from the Government. 'The appointment of his son Morgan to the office of Registrar,' adds Fagan, 'has been held out as an instance to the contrary. Now the facts are these:—The appointment was in the patronage of the Attorney-General; that office was held at the time by Mr. Pigot, afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer. O'Connell asked the appointment for Mr. Sterne Harte, a Protestant. Pigot peremptorily refused him, to O'Connell's great mortification, and for three weeks there was a coolness between them. O'Connell had great influence with Lord Morpeth. He went to his lordship on behalf of Harte,⁶ but he told him he could not interfere with the Attorney-General's recommendation, which, to Mr. O'Connell's astonishment, was no other than his own son Morgan. Thus the only place, with the exception of the appointment of Charles O'Connell, that any of his family ever got was given against his will, and notwithstanding his earnest solicitation on behalf of another.'

The allusion to Lord Morpeth, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, shows that the above incident belongs to the year 1839, when Morgan O'Connell became Assistant Registrar of Deeds, an office worth £600 a year. Most readers assumed that the anecdote concerned his accession in 1846 to the head of that department, worth £1,200 a year, but how the latter appointment came about the following letter shows:—

To the Right Hon. D. R. Pigot, M.P.

Dublin : August 4, 1846.

My dear Pigot,—I did not distinctly understand 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 retiring pensions, present and future, of the officers of the Registry Office. The fact is that Mr.

⁴ *Life of Daniel O'Connell* [to 1837], *vide* vol. ii. p. 319–20.

⁵ O'Connell in 1846 suggested to his old friend Lord Bessborough the names of his son-in-law, Charles O'Connell, and the Hon. Martin Ffrench as suitable persons to fill the post of resident magistrate, and both men were duly appointed.

The post is in the gift of the Prime Minister.

⁶ Sterne Harte was one of the friends who stood beside him during the duel with D'Esterre, and the pistols used on the occasion formed a prominent object among other curiosities displayed at his house in Fitzwilliam Square.

Moore, who has been no less than forty-eight 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, should be appointed to Morgan's place; that the First Clerk, Chapman, a most excellent officer, who has been in the office very many years, should succeed Glascock.

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.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

During the excitement of the Repeal year Peel had introduced a measure of repression called 'The Arms Bill,' and now Lord John Russell sought to renew it. Among O'Connell's letters of this time are some hurried lines to Pigot begging him 'for Heaven's sake get rid of the Arms Bill, or mitigate it exceedingly.'

Later on he renews the appeal.

To the Right Hon. D. R. Pigot, M.P.

Merrion Square, Dublin : 13th 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.⁷

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.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Right Hon. D. R. Pigot, M.P.

14th 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.⁸ If once the favorable opinion held of the present Government goes down it will be hard indeed to raise it again.

⁷ All firearms belonging to private persons were to be heavily branded with a number and letter.

⁸ This hint told. All the magistrates who had been dismissed by Sugden, together with those who resigned in pique, were now restored. One exception was indeed made—Smith O'Brien ; but the justices of Limerick having specially protested against the omission, his name was added to their list.

How completely the Government wished to please O'Connell this act showed. O'Brien, a month before,

had angrily seceded from O'Connell. Two other gentlemen, also secessionists, had been recommended for the Commission of the Peace—Dr. Cane of Kilkenny, and Dr. Geary of Limerick—but neither was appointed. The Chancellor, on being memorialised, replied that it was not usual to make justices of practising physicians, but the Medical Society interposed and denied the existence of any such usage. (See O'Connell's Correspondence with Sugden in 1843, pp. 304 *et seq ante*.)

To the Right Hon. D. R. Pigot, M.P.

Merrion Square, Dublin : 15th August, 1846.

My dear Pigot,—I send you a memorial of the Clerks in the late Six Clerks Office,⁹ and pray your particular attention to have the matter arranged for them consistently with justice and, if possible, with generosity.

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Charles Bianconi, Mayor of Clonmel.

(Confidential.)

Merrion Sqe. : 1st Sept. 1846.

My dear Friend,—Are you humbugging about standing for Clonmel? You are quite aware that you are not eligible, 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,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.¹

The potato crop, the staple food of Ireland, had now completely failed. Starvation stared the people in the face, and O'Connell sought to avert its terrors by obtaining some employment for them in the shape of public works.

⁹ 'The Six Clerks' constituted a department of the Court of Chancery and were next in authority to 'The Masters.'

¹ *Life of C. Bianconi.*

To the Chief Secretary for Ireland.²

Darrynane Abbey, 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 Session 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.

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

² The Right Hon. Henry Labouchere, previously Lord of the Admiralty, President of the Board of Trade, Master of the Mint, and

Under Secretary for the Colonies, now filled the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland.

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.

To the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Darrynane Abbey, Cahirciveen : 4th October, 1846.

My dear Sir,—I had the honor 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 lost.]

His old correspondent Lord Duncannon held the Vice-regal reins as Earl of Bessborough, and there can be no doubt that his appointment was made in compliment to O'Connell.

To Daniel O'Connell.

Viceregal Lodge: Oct. 6th.

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 Sessions, and also to extend the provisions of the Drainage Act.

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 to-night, but at all events I was anxious that you should know the step that I had taken.—Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

BESSBOROUGH.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey, Cahirciveen: 5th Oct. 46.

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!

*To Michael Lidwill.*³

Darrynane Abbey, Cahirciveen: Thursday, 15 Oct. 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 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 shew 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.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

³ Probably a son of the gentleman who acted as O'Connell's friend in the affair with Peel (see vol. i. p. 42.)

To the Under Secretary for the Colonies.⁴

Darrynane Abbey, Cahirciveen : 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,⁵ 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.

⁴ Sir Benjamin Hawes, K.C.B. Born 1797; died 1862. M.P. for Lambeth from 1832 to 1847. He finally filled the post of Permanent Under-Secretary for War.

⁵ Afterwards Provost. 'He had a great admiration for O'Connell,' observes his son, addressing the

present writer, 'and O'Connell never forgot that when a Fellow of T.C.D. and a "Protestant Parson," he had signed the petition for Catholic Emancipation so far back as in 1813, when few in his position would have had the courage to do so.'

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.

I have, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The family of Richard Graves MacDonnell were not aware, until shown this letter, that O'Connell had exerted himself thus cordially in his regard. The interposition of so influential a friend had due weight with Lord John Russell. Richard MacDonnell did not return to the Gambia till July 1847, and then as Governor instead of Chief Justice. Here he remained until 1852. Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G. and C.B., afterwards served with distinction as governor of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, South Australia, Nova Scotia, and Hong Kong.

The National party, which O'Connell had long led, was now divided by a sharp schism. Old Ireland, holding the principles of moral force, remained attached to O'Connell; Young Ireland, led by Smith O'Brien, Meagher, Mitchell, and Duffy, weary of delay, formed the Irish Confederation, preached the doctrine of physical force, and drifted into revolution. Two or three priests followed O'Brien. The *Liberator* witnessed the disruption with feelings akin to Napoleon's when he beheld his Old Guard give way. Various efforts were made by the veteran leader to re-form their ranks, but without effect. He proposed a conference, and that his friend Mr. (afterwards Lord) O'Hagan should take part in it. O'Hagan replied in complimentary terms, but added that his opinions on the question of Repeal were not in accordance with O'Connell's or with those of the men who had seceded from the Association, and he felt that he could not consistently intervene to help in making political arrangements which might involve the recognition of principles antagonistic to his own.⁶

⁶ O'Hagan, in an oration delivered long afterwards, said: 'O'Connell was a victorious revolutionist, who changed a people's destiny with-

out blood or crime, leading them safely through the stormiest agitation the world has seen.'

To Mr. (afterwards Lord) O'Hagan.

Merrion Square : 9th December, 1846.

My dear O'Hagan,—I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for your kind note and most considerate attention.

I agree entirely with your view of your position. The conference will not involve you in any political arrangements whatsoever. What I want is your legal assistance, that which you would not refuse to a total stranger, and which I am convinced you will not refuse

Your sincere Friend,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The split between Young and Old Ireland threatened daily to widen. Smith O'Brien remained in sullen retirement at Cahirmoyle, his seat in a remote county, and O'Connell's chaplain determined to proceed thither on a mission of peace.

To the Rev. Dr. Miley.

Merrion Square : 9th Decr. 1846.

My beloved and dear Friend,—I beg of you to act upon the distinct conviction that the member for Kilkenny,⁷ entirely concurs with me. You have, therefore, what you require—his entire concurrence.

With respect to the meeting on next Monday, have no apprehension, I will manage that ; to that I pledge myself to you.

If you have to mention the name of a third person to Mr. O'Brien, you may name Mr. John Dillon, a 'Young Irelander,'⁸ as a fit person to be present.

With the sincerest respect,

Your devoted,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ His son John.

⁸ John Blake Dillon, a man of high culture and probity, father of the present Mr. John Dillon, M.P., b. 1814, d. 1866, when the colleague of Charles Moore in the representation of Tipperary. In 1848, though opposed to an appeal to arms, he

felt bound in honour to follow his attached friend Smith O'Brien. After the suppression of the insurrection he escaped on board an emigrant ship disguised as a priest. For some years he practised at the New York courts, and in 1852 returned to Ireland.

To Frederick Wm. Conway.

Merrion Square : 10 December, 1846.

My dear Conway,—I cannot allow your publication⁹ 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 to see that if the disease progresses no class will be safe from its dire effects.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To account fully for a tone of *hauteur* traceable in the following letter one must know something of the young

⁹ The *Dublin Evening Post*, but this letter does not appear in it.

man who had addressed, and indeed slightly lectured, O'Connell. Sir Gavan Duffy, the leading light of the Young Ireland party, describes him as a vigorous and gifted boy, who had not reached the years of discretion.¹ O'Connell died soon after this date, and the influence acquired by Reilly during the secession was fast ebbing. 'I am powerless in the Council,' he writes to Duffy; 'I have neither the manner, nor the tact, nor the power of speech, to change or sway a man on it' (p. 458). Sir Charles supplements some strictures of a colleague, Mr. Wallis, with a notice of the 'culpable carelessness' of Reilly, and that 'he had not been as successful in the Confederation to the extent of his ability, or even of his ambition, for he was vain and impatient of discipline, and O'Brien and other seniors could scarcely tolerate him.' Duffy, however, makes no reference to the following letter.

To T. Devin Reilly.

Merrion Square, Dublin : 12th December, 1846.

Sir,—I return you the resolutions which you sent me, unsought for on my part. I return them lest by retaining them I should be supposed to acquiesce in the gross inaccuracy they exhibit of the real state of the question touching the conference proposed by me.

In one of these resolutions you speak as of a matter of doubt whether any *legal* question would arise at the conference.

It is, perhaps, my duty—at all events it is my inclination—to inform you that the primary, if not the exclusive, object of the proposed conference is to ascertain and define matters of law.

In truth, the affair stands thus :—

First, the Repeal Association is, beyond any shadow of doubt, a lawful assembly, not impeachable for any breach of the law. My proof is this. The Repeal Association has stood the ordeal of the State Trial, not only without any prosecution, but without any officer of the Crown, or any

¹ *Four Years of Irish History*, by Sir C. G. Duffy, p. 493.

one of the Court, intimating against it the slightest charge of illegality.

The Repeal Association is a legal body because it disclaims any use of force or violence to achieve the Repeal of the Union Statute. *Because it disclaims the use of physical force to achieve the Repeal of the Union*, every member of the Repeal Association is at present perfectly safe from any prosecution.

Would the members be equally safe if it were to admit any intermixture of the physical force principle as part of the means for obtaining such Repeal?

I am decidedly of opinion that the members would not, in such a case, be safe from a well-founded prosecution.

I take these propositions to be clear in law:—First: That any assembly admitting any species of physical force as part of its means of obtaining a repeal of an Act of Parliament is an unlawful assembly, liable to be dispersed by any magistrate, and its members punished by indictment.

Secondly: That any such assembly is not only unlawful, but that any acts done by it in furtherance of its objects constitute a treasonable fact, rendering the members liable to conviction and execution for treason.

This opinion, in point of law, I have at repeated public meetings proclaimed.

On one occasion, in the Association, I brought down the legal authorities and quoted them, chapter and page.

It is observable that, often as I have repeated this legal doctrine, no one has had the hardihood to deny its accuracy.

It follows, if I be right, that the seceders cannot safely be admitted into the Repeal Association unless upon the fullest and most explicit disclaimer of resorting to any physical force means to achieve the Repeal of the Union.

In order to be enabled to receive the seceders into the Association again it should be ascertained whether, beyond a doubt, I am right in point of law or not.

At former periods in my struggles for advancing the popular cause my judgment in matters of law was found eminently useful, and my opinion of the state of the law

was trusted to with implicit confidence. And I have the comfort to know that such confidence was never regretted, nor shown by any fact to have been misplaced.

Now my most anxious desire is to lay the foundation of perfect conciliation; or, if that be refused, to have the universal people understand who it is to whom the continuance of the dissension is justly attributable.

I stand altogether upon the law. My sole difficulty rests upon the legal objection to the admission of the seceders.

What, then, is to be done? Is it not the wise course to ascertain, beyond a doubt, what the law is upon the subject? If the law will admit of any relaxation, I am quite ready—of course I am—to give the seceders the full benefit of that relaxation. I repeat the question. What is to be done? My answer is ready, and I propose to do the thing—that is, to hold an amicable conference—to ascertain, in the first instance, the state of the law.

This should be a preliminary inquiry. It would be idle to talk upon the terms upon which the seceders should be readmitted, if we are prevented by the law from re-admitting them except at the peril of our lives.

It was with a view to ascertain, thus amicably, the law of the case that I proposed the conference. I selected the most unexceptionable persons to be members of that conference, including even myself, for I named before me Mr. Smith O'Brien. I also selected four barristers—three of them more eminently successful in their profession than any gentlemen of their standing in the British dominions; the fourth possessed of talents equally entitling him to a success which, I believe, ought not to be far distant. The four are:—Sir Colman O'Loghlen, Mr. O'Hea, Mr. O'Hagan, and Mr. Dillon.

It is not likely that any man will be found to dispute the accuracy of their conjoint legal opinion. If that opinion be identical with mine, there are many of the seceders who will acquiesce and submit to the law, and join the Association once more in its struggles for Irish nationality. If the law be declared otherwise than I think it is, then I shall at

once acquiesce and admit my error. But, in either case, no question of terms can arise until the law is ascertained, and fully and unequivocally submitted to. There can be no paltering in a double sense. The law must be the rule of all our actions; nothing else would be just, nothing else would be wise, nothing else would be safe.

The conference cannot do any harm; it may, and must, I think, do good. It will show that I am ready to carry out conciliation to the full extent of law. It will also show who they are who would prevent reconciliation; or, at all events, not avail themselves of its influence.

I am bound to say that I have not been met with a spirit corresponding to my own in the desire to put an end to dissension.

A most respectable clergyman, of the mildest conciliatory demeanour and a high order of intellect—

Such men as he
Give grace to holy ministry—

took the trouble of going down to the County Limerick to Mr. Smith O'Brien with my message of peace. He had, alas! his journey in vain. I have his authority for saying that Mr. Smith O'Brien decidedly rejected the conference.²

I regret it extremely; but it makes it only the more imperative duty upon me to redouble my exertions for the sole remaining object of my political life—the Repeal of the Union Statute.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To William Smith O'Brien, M.P.

Merrion Square, Dublin: 17th December, 1846.

My dear Sir,— . . . I am most heartily sorry that you think it right to decline all discussion on the physical force question, as it is, in fact, the only vital point upon

² O'Brien in a subsequent letter wrote: 'I am not aware that I left him under the impression that I was averse to accommodation.' For O'Connell's private opinion of O'Brien, years before, see p. 184 *ante*.

which the secession commenced, and is now so likely to continue.

Pardon me when I say that I deem it a sacred duty solemnly to warn you against making light of this physical force question. It involves your personal safety, which, I am free to admit, is not a paramount consideration in *your* mind ; but it also involves the safety of others engaged in the same object which you have in view.³ I should vote for the readmission into the Association of very many of the seceders if they would disavow the physical force principle ; or if, without that disavowal, the Association would still be a legal assembly. I say emphatically it would not ; and it was to ascertain this point, and this alone, that I proposed the legal conference as a preliminary step to a complete conciliation.

Forgive me for pressing this topic upon your attention. I do it in the spirit of respect and courtesy, whilst I bitterly deplore that you should not consent to be a party to an amicable ascertainment of the effects, in point of law, of any admixture of the physical force principle with the principles and proceedings of the Association.

I do not presume to expect to make any impression on your mind by these declarations of mine, but I trust you will excuse them when you recollect that the protection of the members of the Association from any well-founded prosecution is the first and most sacred of my public duties. I can never be a party to any species of arrangement which does not, in the first instance, provide for the due obedience to the law, and for the entire and perfect protection of the members of the Association from any legal prosecution.

You will, of course, perceive that your refusal to hold

³ In July 1848, Smith O'Brien, accompanied by Meagher and other leading members of the Young Ireland party, appeared in arms against the Queen. Nearly all were arrested, tried for high treason, and sentenced to death. Mitchell, noticing O'Brien's failure in rousing the people, admits how completely they

had been impressed by O'Connell's teaching. The dread decree of the court was commuted to transportation for life, and in 1856 O'Brien received a free pardon. O'Brien, who was the brother of Lord Inchiquin, died June 16, 1864, and shortly before that event he told Lady Wilde that his heart was broken.

the conference on the legal question, in the first instance, precludes me from the possibility of carrying out any amicable adjustment. Until the point of legality be decided, no further arrangement is possible.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

Merrion Square : December 18, 1846.

My dear Barrett,— . . . Is it not the most strange of all imaginable strange things that the seceders should refuse to allow the legal basis of the Association to be ascertained and settled, even in the most amicable way ?

Is it their intention, seriously, to leave that question to be settled at the peril of our liberty and lives by a one-sided judge and a shameless jury ? or any judge or any jury ?

Yours always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Merrion Square, Dublin.

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.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to O'Connell.

Viceregal Lodge : Dec. 26.

My dear Sir,—I return Dr. MacHale'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.

Believe me, &c.,

BESSBOROUGH.

Horrors, described by Brougham as surpassing anything in the pages of Thucydides or the canvas of Poussin, or in the dismal chant of Dante, fell thick as hail on Ireland. 'The dead march' of famine now traversed the land; fever and emigration helped to thin the ranks of the people. This black outlook, intensified by the desertion of old friends, broke O'Connell's heart. FitzPatrick, in a 'mem.' dated 'Monday, January 11, 1847,' writes:—

The Liberator commenced his conversation with me to-day by remarking that he felt himself gradually failing in bodily strength, notwithstanding the assurances of his physicians to the contrary, and that he was therefore anxious to settle some matters which might cause difficulty in the event of his death.

These matters, referring purely to financial arrangements, it is needless to introduce here. His physicians prescribed a trip to the Continent as the best chance of restoring the *mens sana in corpore sano*. At last a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Apostles was planned. Meanwhile the dying Liberator, anxious that the civil rights which he had won should be fully availed of, is found addressing to the Lord Chancellor the following letter:—

To the Lord Chancellor.

Merrion Square: 22nd January, 1847.

My Lord,—I spoke to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant 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 equalization. His Excellency was pleased to direct that I should communicate with your Lordship on the subject, and to authorize 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 Catholics 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.

Mr. Maziere Brady⁴ now filled the office of Lord Chancellor, and was not slow in giving effect to O'Connell's recommendation.

The Viceroy, Lord Bessborough, was the first resident Irish peer who had been appointed to that post, and he held it during a period of severe trial. He found Ireland divided, oppressed by famine, the people discontented. His great aim was to improve her social condition, to reconcile her to English rule, and to bring all parties together for the common good of the country. At length, while bitter suffering overspread the land, Lord Bessborough was himself stricken by mortal illness, to which he slowly succumbed. Greville gives a touching picture of his death-bed—how he felt his own pulse and declared that he had but a few hours to live; and it is remarkable that O'Connell and he left the world almost on the same day.

To T. M. Ray.

London: February 6th, 1847.

My dear Ray,—You have enclosed the following subscription for this month:—Daniel O'Connell, M.P., £1; Maurice O'Connell, M.P., £1; John O'Connell, M.P., £1; Daniel O'Connell, Junior, M.P., £1; Thirty Grandchildren, £1 10s.

I am sorry to inform you that any prospect of relief—I mean of substantial and comprehensive relief—from Parliament is, in my judgment, daily diminishing. There is, to be sure, a great deal of sympathy and good feeling both in and out of the House, and generally a very sincere desire that something efficient should be done to relieve the horrible sufferings of the people of Ireland; but there are also many obstacles and an unwillingness to place upon the British people the burdens absolutely necessary to give efficient relief to Irish misery.

⁴ 'Brady made me an Orangeman,' says Lord James Butler. The Chancellor had announced that no Orangeman would be entrusted with the Commission of the Peace. Lord James Butler, J.P., roused by the threat, joined, demonstratively, the

Orange Brotherhood. The Chancellor took no notice of the act, became his attached friend, and maintained this attitude to the last. Mr. Brady was created a baronet, and died April 13, 1871.

In short, there is great individual and personal sympathy for our national distress. There is abundant individual humanity and charity—the noblest generosity is evinced by multitudes of the English. They are making large, very large pecuniary sacrifices; and, as far as personal goodness and charity go, nothing can exceed the benevolence exhibited by many classes towards Ireland.

I am afraid of not finding words sufficient to express my strong and lively sense of English humanity. If the exhibition of these qualities by individuals could save Ireland in her present misery we should be saved. But I cannot conceal from myself, and I ought not to conceal from the Irish nation, that there is, alas! but little prospect of substantial relief on that enormously large scale which is absolutely necessary to prevent hundreds of thousands of the Irish people from perishing of *famine and pestilence*.

The Government measures, as far as they go, are good, and their intention to relieve by those measures is apparent; but the measures themselves are not of half sufficient magnitude; it is essentially necessary to have food in the utmost abundance poured in, so as to extinguish the famine prices which devour the people.

I trust in God that my health will enable me to take that active part which I desire on behalf of the famishing people. I intend, please God, on Monday, in sadness and sorrow, to develope my views of what is necessary to save Ireland. The obstacles in the House of Commons are manifold, and there seems to be an ignorance of the real state of horror in which Ireland is plunged. How I wish that it were possible to make Parliament comprehend the enormous and hideous extent of the calamity which cries for a remedy.

Believe me to be very faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London: Feb. 8th, 1847.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You have enclosed £5 cheque; be so kind as to distribute the money thus:

£2 to St. Vincent Paul's Society, and £2 12s.—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 Nugent⁵ 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.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The old Tribune proceeded to the House of Commons. His words, uttered with difficulty and emotion, were: 'Ireland is in your hands, in your power; if you do not save her she cannot save herself. I solemnly call on you to recollect that I predict, with the sincerest conviction, that one-fourth of her population will perish unless you come to her relief.'

It was during this last visit to London that O'Connell felt himself in conscience bound to repay the valuable services which he had long received at the hands of Patrick Vincent FitzPatrick. He had an interview with Lord John Russell, who consented to appoint Mr. FitzPatrick Assistant Registrar of Deeds in Dublin, but as no vacancy then existed, Mr. Walter Glascock was permitted, after long service, to retire on full salary. It was only surprising that FitzPatrick, who from his influence with the Great Agitator helped so many others forward, had so long forgotten himself. Lord John Russell recognised the claim made upon him. If to Whig Governments O'Connell's public life had been a source of power and advantage, to FitzPatrick,

⁵ Dr. John Nugent, physician to O'Connell, appointed soon after Inspector of Lunatic Asylums, an office which he still holds.

whose talents and energies kept the Tribune in a state to be serviceable, part of the obligation was due. 'As in the Indian cosmogony,' observed Remigius Sheehan, 'the universe was sustained by an elephant, and that elephant by a tortoise, *he* was the tortoise that sustained the elephant that sustained the world of Irish agitation.'

To the public FitzPatrick never appeared in any capacity other than that of an able financier; for the strife of the political arena he was by nature unfitted. During twenty years he filled the post to which Lord John appointed him.⁶ Happily it was a sinecure, and thus he was able to brighten many a home and charm troops of friends at the dinner-table or fireside by his store of brilliant anecdote and quiver of brisk impromptus. His gaiety of heart was infectious and refreshing; his facetiæ, never barbed by malice or made hurtful by sarcasm, are remembered as the characteristics of the man, and will long recall him to the fond memory of many. He continued to the last to recreate himself with poetic efforts, showing no little culture, and it is to be hoped that some genial editor may yet take in hand his literary remains.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London : February 12, 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 Doctor Miley⁷; but that is idle, as I am not strong enough to return to Ireland in such weather as this. However, it

⁶ The organs of Young Ireland severely complained that O'Connell obtained office for his friends. Probably no man possessing the power ever used it less. The objection advanced against him was not endorsed by the Catholics as a body. I find the following in the address of the Catholic Defence Association, dated June 12, 1852 :—

'It is indeed a mistake to suppose that a Catholic ought not under any

circumstances to take office, or ask favours from Government. If we had, as we hope we may sooner or later, a Liberal Government such that a Catholic member might openly and honorably support in Parliament, from such a Government it would be no disgrace to receive or ask any just and honorable favour.'

⁷ An eminent pulpit orator and divine, much attached to O'Connell. (See letter of December 9, 1846.)

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.

Most sincerely and faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To T. M. Ray.

London : 13th February, 1847.

My dear Ray,—The severity of the weather and the state of my health preclude me from taking that energetic part in public business which I would most anxiously desire.

There never was a period when more energy was necessary for the public safety, nor were ever the prospects more dark and dismal. God's holy will be done!

The discussion upon Lord George Bentinck's motion ⁸ is going on and will probably last two nights more. It is believed that it will be defeated by a considerable majority.

There are certainly many objections to his scheme, and if these were ordinary times it would not be entertained for a moment. It has, however, one overwhelming recommendation—it would give some employment and some wages to the starving people. These advantages are greatly exaggerated; still, these are advantages not to be overlooked in such a season as this of dire calamity. This is the principle upon which I act. Lord George Bentinck proposes to employ £16,000,000 ⁹ sterling in Ireland; if I saw anybody who was disposed to give more I should reject Lord George's and accept the larger sum; but when I cannot see anyone offering so much, with the people dying in thousands around us, I cannot afford to reject his proposal.

⁸ His plan proposed to employ the people as labourers on railway lines in Ireland.

⁹ As a public loan to be re-lent to the Irish railway companies. Hudson, the Railway King, declared that it would not cost England a shilling in the end. On a rather close division the measure was lost, John and Daniel O'Connell Junr. sup-

porting it, while Morgan John O'Connell, the Liberator's nephew, voted with Ministers. The project was a generous one, but the Government viewed it as a hostile measure because it came from the Opposition. Lord George Bentinck is now perhaps best remembered for his saying: 'All men are equal on the Turf as well as under it.'

There is another point in much dispute, and that is the out-door relief for able-bodied persons under the new Poor Law Bill. So long ago as the year 1830 I warned the Irish landlords that they had nothing before them but the Repeal of the Union or Poor Laws; they laughed me to scorn, and the Poor Law was introduced, and the natural progress of that measure is going on. It must necessarily arrive at the out-door relief for able-bodied persons, and the landlords are now placed in this dilemma: they must either leave their properties to be confiscated by the new Poor Law, or refuse the proffered aid of England to give proper relief against famine and pestilence on her own terms. Certainly the gentry of Ireland are in a most deplorable situation; they clung to Protestant ascendancy with a desperate tenacity until the Penal Laws crumbled under their feet. They have since clung to Anti-Catholic Toryism, preserving in action the evil tendency of the Penal Laws, after these laws had been extinguished by Emancipation. Not one of them has, as yet, opened his lips for Repeal, nor, alas, can they do so, in the present circumstances, with any effect. They might, however, I think, begin to intimate their sense of the coming necessity for that measure; but, unhappily, they are not cured sufficiently of their anti-religious prejudices, nor have they, as yet, sufficiently forgiven us—Repealers—for having extorted Emancipation.

In the mean time the people of Ireland are perishing in shoals; they are perishing by the most frightful species of death—the most painful starvation,¹ a horrible starvation, aggravated to the excess of human misery by beholding the concurrent sufferings of father and mother, brothers and sisters, the aged and the children, all suffering by the same excruciating calamity.

. . . If individual generosity could save a nation, British generosity would now do so; but it is impossible without the bountiful hand of Parliament, and the disposition

¹ At the Enniskillen Assizes Mr. Blackburne as Chief Justice tried two young boys for stealing one

pint of meal cooked into porridge, and sentenced them to transportation for seven years.

to bounty of the Parliament appears to be extremely limited.

I am bound to forewarn the people of Ireland that, in my judgment, Parliament is not disposed to go far enough, that there will not be sufficient relief given by the Parliament, and that it will not be until after the decease of hundreds of thousands that the regret will arise that more was not done to save a sinking nation.

How different would the scene be if we had our own Parliament, taking care of our people, of our own resources ! But alas, alas, it is scarcely permitted to think of these, the only sure preventives of misery, and the only sure instruments of Irish prosperity.

Believe me to be, ever faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London : Feby. 16, 47.

My dear Friend,—How delighted I am to hear of Doctor Miley's kind, kind intention. 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.

Ever most sincerely yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

'By special command of Archbishop Murray,' observes the *Freeman* of February 19, 'the Rev. Dr. Miley left for London this morning upon business of extreme urgency.'

The Rev. Dr. Miley to P. V. FitzPatrick.

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London : February 22nd, 1847.

I found the Liberator much reduced by bodily pain, confinement to his bedroom, and depression of spirits. His kindly feelings towards me had the effect of cheering him not a little. He said repeatedly that he felt greatly better, and that his mind was not only tranquil but happy and comforted at having me in the house. His sleep on that (Sunday) night was better than usual. Last night, however, he slept but little. Sir Philip Crampton's opinion is not to be doubted. There are the elements of recovery in his constitution provided he can be induced to go to Rome. Yesterday I opened the trenches, skilfully supported by Dr. Callan, and I think we have made some safe advances. But I need not tell you that there is need of extreme caution not to provoke a repulse in the outset. Prayer is his only occupation. It is at once most edifying and affecting to witness his demeanour in this respect, not alone by day, but by night also. He is perfectly prepared for death, and had rather not be diverted from the thought of it. Never have I beheld him more calm, self-possessed, or, when put to it, more capable of that state of mind. I beguiled him last evening, as he sat with Dr. Callan and myself, into one of the sunniest bursts of humour—about young O'Gorman and the man who turned his coat at Galway²—that I ever heard even from him. But generally he is solemn, collected and given to ejaculatory prayer—the autotype, you would figure to yourself, of one of the ancient patriarchs of whom it is written that 'they walked before God, and were perfect.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

British Hotel, Jermyn Street, London : March 1, 1847.

My dear FitzPatrick,—They deceive themselves, and consequently deceive you, who tell you that I am recovering. God's holy will be done !

² This incident will be found described by Father Tom Burke, who witnessed it. (*Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 74. Kegan Paul.)

I enclose you a cheque for £50 and Conlan's bill. I allocate to my son Dan the proceeds of that transaction, and make him a present of it at once.³

I wish there were a schedule made out of my policies of insurance on my life. Bianconi 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 lady 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 favor—I should say £900.

How much does John owe you for the house? ⁴

Call on Curtis, 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 Smyth, and find out in whose custody the five policies for £1,000 each are. I hope that, after my death, the trustee will not give any trouble.

There is no incumbrance affecting John's property but my sister's jointure of £100 a year Irish and two sums, one to Ellen Farrell, the other to Catherine MacSweeny, not amounting together to £400.

You are aware that I have made provisions, by the

³ This alludes to a claim upon Robert White for the amount of a bill accepted for his accommodation by the *Liberator*, and which the latter had eventually to pay, with heavy costs. The *Liberator* lost upwards of £600 by the transaction.

Robert White was, however, not only unable to repay the amount, but he pleaded claims upon the *Liberator* to the same extent as a full set-off.

⁴ John O'Connell rented from P. V. FitzPatrick Gowran Hill, Kingstown.

insurances in the trustee's hand, for the payment of these charges.

Perhaps, on second thoughts, it is better to say nothing to John Smyth till the time arrives.

D. O'C.

The correspondence which had been so long maintained between them formed the nerves and arteries of their friendship. The faithful friend, not content with executing these commissions, hurried to take a last farewell of his chief.

P. V. FitzPatrick to his Sister.

March 19th, 1847.

We cross the country to Folkestone in a drag with four horses, and although O'Connell is very reluctant now to travel, except by railway, this comparatively short drive will be so rapidly accomplished that I trust he will be sufficiently reconciled to it.

Lord Shrewsbury has just left us. His attentions and kind solicitude regarding the great man are honorable to him in the highest degree.⁵

Several shamrocks were received by post and otherwise by the Liberator on St. Patrick's Day. One of them came from Lord Decies, a member of the Beresford family.⁶ That sent you by me, and which I placed in his hat, was received from Ireland.

P. V. FitzPatrick to his Sister.

Pavilion Hotel, Folkestone: March 22nd, 1847.

Within the last fifteen minutes the 'Prince Ernest' ss., bearing the Liberator to the shores of France, has quitted this harbour. The sea is scarcely rippled and the gentle breeze that prevails is favorable for Boulogne. Since it became necessary for O'Connell to move from place to place for the benefit of his health, the weather has been almost providentially propitious.

Bodily debility and frequent, though not continuous, fits

⁵ Lord Shrewsbury and O'Connell had had a warm pamphleteering controversy some years before.

⁶ The Rev. John De La Poer

Beresford, D.D., Lord Decies, born 1777. O'Connell had often opposed the Beresfords. (See letters of 1826, pp. 121-126, vol. i.)

of mental depression continue to constitute his principal malady. Although not immediately dangerous, the prostration which these create may eventually prove as fatal as actual disease, and I regret to say that few symptoms of resuscitation have as yet been manifested by him. We must trust to the curative and enlivening effects of the elastic atmosphere and equable temperature of the climates he is about to enjoy, and of course much will depend on his own determination not to permit his recovery to be impeded by imaginary illness.

Before he proceeded to the ship he gave me his blessing, designating me 'the best of *all* his friends,' and fervently breathing a 'wish to live for some time longer, that he might be enabled to serve me substantially.'

Crowds of the townspeople, and more than one Irish Protestant clergyman, attended at the place of embarkation, and treated him with marked respect, audibly enunciating their anxieties for his recovery.

P. V. F.

Canon van Drival visited O'Connell at Boulogne. He furnished Louis Cuvrois with a long account of what passed, and we learn that the Liberator seemed quite crushed by '*les malheurs d'Irlande et les folies d'O'Brien.*' But yet hopes were cherished that he might rally. Daniel O'Connell, jun., writing to his brother John from Abbeville, says:—

My dear father is, thank God, getting on famously. His appetite is excellent, and he sleeps well. So far the experiment has perfectly succeeded. He is better, stronger, and more cheerful to-day than I have yet seen him. We came here yesterday, and go to Amiens by rail at 2.30 P.M., sleep there, and proceed to-morrow to Paris.

I think we have reason to hope that the journey will restore my father. He now wants people to talk to and rouse him. He has asked Dr. Miley to tell him whenever he seems in bad spirits.⁷

⁷ This is the son noticed by Mr. W. Fagan (ii. 582), 'whose filial devotion to his father during his pro-

tracted last illness will be cherished in the memory of the Irish nation.'

The Rev. Dr. Miley to P. V. FitzPatrick.

La Palesse : 8th of April, 1847.

My dear Friend,—How deplorable! We are still remorselessly pursued by winter—literally downright wintry weather. This is sadly against us. The rheumatic pains to which the Liberator was slightly liable before we left England have greatly increased, while his strength, his appetite, and his spirits are daily sinking. For me to attempt any description of the harrowing anxieties I endure under these most depressing circumstances would be utterly vain. Some nights I do not undress at all. Just now, being much depressed, having headache and indigestion, I went out, while Daniel and Duggan were both with him. I was not away twenty minutes, and, when returning, I was met by two messengers, and coming into the room found him in the greatest alarm at my absence. In fact, I cannot be out of his sight a moment. No shadow of fear has crossed my mind till now, but the failing of his appetite alarms me greatly. It will disable him from bearing the fatigue of what yet remains of our journey to Lyons, though we are at this place within ten posts, and those not long ones, of that city.'

The professional assistance of Dr. Bonnet was obtained at Lyons, and he thus describes the condition of the distinguished patient: 'His weakness was so great that he believed it incompatible with life, and he constantly had the presentiment of approaching death. The arms were slow in their movements; the right trembled continually, and the left hand was cold and could be warmed with difficulty, although he wore very thick gloves. The left foot was habitually colder than the right. He walked with some facility, but his step was slow and faltering. His face had grown thin, and his look proclaimed an inexpressible sadness, the head hung upon the breast, and the entire person of the invalid, formerly so imposing, was greatly weighed down.'

'I am but the shadow of what I was, and I can scarcely

recognise myself,' he said to M. Bonnet, who regarded him with visible emotion.

The Rev. Dr. Miley to P. V. FitzPatrick.

Lyons : 16th April, 1847 [8 o'clk. a.m.].

My dear Friend,—It is snowing as heavily as you ever saw it in Dublin on a Christmas Eve ! Nor was there any sign of improvement yesterday. One of the rivers rose twenty feet above its usual level. How singular, and alas ! may I not add, how disastrous has the lesson been for us ! Everywhere we are pursued by winter, or if we outstrip it for a day or two it meets us in front again. I need not say how unfavourable for the illustrious sufferer all this has been, or how it has augmented our griefs and our fatigues. Never have I had such a struggle as from 2 to 4 o'clock last night to keep him in bed or prevent the alarm being given to the whole hotel. At the moment it would have been most unfortunate that any but his own should have seen him.

Half-past nine.—But how wonderful is his constitution ! He has just eaten heartily, and is actually better than he has been for many days. He paced up and down the *salon* stoutly, looks himself, and, what is remarkable, makes but few protestations as to the impossibility of his surviving till dinner-time.

The French treatment, thus far, is telling well ; and yet it would be worse than vain to dissemble from ourselves the gravity of the danger with which, I fear, even his life is menaced. The doctors give hope, but so terrible are his mental agitations, so pertinaciously does he cling to the most gloomy ideas and prospects, that it is next to a miracle that either mind or body can hold out against it. I fear I am myself beginning to sink. Even by day I cannot leave him to walk in the open air for fifteen minutes ; as for the night, all its griefs and terrors are on me, for he will not be satisfied unless I am by his bed ; and by day and by night nothing will he ever hear or speak or think of for a moment but his own maladies and misfortunes.

J. MILEY.

O'Connell at length reached Genoa, but never left it alive. The chill of death had entered his bones, and the utter hopelessness of being able to complete the pilgrimage smote him with painful force. Dr. Miley, contrary to his usual indulgent tone, mistakes for caprice O'Connell's refusal to move. 'The Liberator,' he writes, 'is obstinate to an excess to inspire us with despair as to the prosecution of what yet remains of his pilgrimage, a fact the more afflicting as we have now surmounted the difficulties of the enterprise (and they were incredible), and find ourselves as if upon the threshold of the Holy City. The sea is like a mirror; the steamer a noble ship, the captain eager to make O'Connell comfortable, as if he were his king; a large airy room with commodious beds for himself and his servants on deck; yet with the certainty of sacrificing all the noble advantages placed within his reach by Providence he refuses to move. *Liberavi animam meam*. There is no light of advantage, I believe, in which his visiting Rome could be placed, no disgrace or loss or disadvantage likely to arise from giving it up under such circumstances, that I have not set before him in the strongest language I could command. I have failed! Alas! as yet, I have utterly failed. And yet, so entirely unworthy of him does it appear to me, that I cannot and will not abandon the hope, though a forlorn one, of yet persuading him. Remember the protest solemnly entered by me in your presence at Hastings touching this subject. You will be my witness that I did not rush inconsiderately into this enterprise, that I set before him the difficulties, the indispensable necessity of his throwing into it his own mighty will, and the impossibility of its being ever accomplished without his doing so. Yet I take Heaven to witness that his compact then made in your presence has not been kept. Through sorrows and obstacles enough to break the sternest heart and appal the most courageous hither we have brought him safe and sound, beyond comparison better and more likely to recover than the day we sailed from the shores of England. From where we are the journey to Rome is like gliding down a sunny stream. Yet go he says he cannot. The will of God be done. I am heartbroken at this issue; yet remember, that still I have not acquiesced in despair, that I am grateful beyond expression to the Almighty for the favorable turn it has pleased His mercy

to give to our prospects as to his recovery; and finally, that it is under the most solemn bond of secrecy that I write. You shall hear from me soon again. No business matter could be proposed to him. He will attend to none.' ⁸

Rev. Dr. Miley to P. V. FitzPatrick.

Genoa : Friday, 14th May, 1847.

My dear Friend,—Our prospects are not better, but worse, alas, a great deal worse than when my last letter was dispatched. The slow but progressive congestion of the brain has not been checked. The application of the leeches had its effect for a time, but as it proved quite impossible to induce him to take any internal remedies, not even a drink of any sort so much as to moisten the tongue, it became necessary to apply leeches behind his ears.⁹ After this (12 were applied, 6 on each side) he improved until yesterday, when about 5 A.M. I observed a slight wandering of his mind and appearances about his countenance which alarmed me. Soon after the doctors came. The remedies ordered by them we found it almost impossible to prevail upon him to take. The whole *onus* of persuading him on such occasions had fallen to my lot up to this juncture, but apprehensive, from the excited condition in which I saw him, that by incessantly presenting myself

⁸ The valet Duggan, who accompanied O'Connell to Italy, furnished Canon O'Hanlon with some notes made at the time. This document is a sad record of gradual decay—how at last he avoided food, but yet was freely bled, how he became delirious and would say imploringly to Duggan: 'Do not let them bury me until I am dead.'

'Tuesday, 11th. Asked me had Mr. Wyse brought forward his motion and who seconded it. That Wyse was mad, and to call him should there be a division. No food: worse to-day.'—*Duggan's Diary*.

⁹ The fondness of Italian physicians for blood-letting is proverbial. Byron's biographers lay at their door

his premature death. Cavour, it is said, would be now alive if it were not for the Sangrados who clinically prescribed for him. Father Kenny, the eminent Jesuit father, had a horror of venesection. He was taken ill at Rome in 1841, but when asked to allow it in his case, he steadily refused. At last his Superior, reminding him of the obedience which he had vowed, urged him to submit. Father Kenny thereupon resigned himself to his fate; lance and leech did their work, and the old man expired in the arms of Father Esmonde. 'The blood is the life,' and it is a question whether O'Connell in his weakened state was a fit subject for depletion.

before him in this irksome capacity, some disgust or alienation of affection and confidence might ensue to such an extent as to render me less serviceable in my own peculiar sphere as the physician of the soul, I recommended that when any remedy was to be taken or applied the doctors would themselves see it prepared and then go together to his bed and see it administered. This plan has turned out better than could have been expected; the medicines, &c., are taken with less difficulty, and he and I are left to commune on our former terms relative to his soul's health. . . . The doctors do not yet despair; they say there are hopes of subduing the malady, but I see so much to alarm that I do not think it right to adjourn these solemnities much longer. For the rest, the Liberator has long been prepared for death; he has *familiarized* himself with the contemplation of his last end. Had I yielded to his earnest entreaties, it is not now, but weeks, I may say *months*, since he would have been anointed and received the most holy viaticum.

1 o'clock.—The doctors have just seen him. He is not worse, but if changed it is for the better. I write to *you* the *worst*, but I think you ought not yet to state more than that there is danger.

'At two o'clock this morning, the 15th,' writes Dr. Miley, 'I found it necessary to send for the viaticum and the holy oil. Though it was the dead of night, the Cardinal-Archbishop (he is eighty-eight years old), attended by his clerics and several of the faithful, carried the adorable viaticum with the solemnities customary in Catholic countries, and reposed it in the tabernacle which we had prepared in the chamber of the illustrious sufferer. Though prostrate to the last degree, he was perfectly in possession of his mind whilst receiving the last rites. The adorable name of Jesus, which he had been in the habit of invoking, was constantly on his lips with trembling fervour. His thoughts have been entirely absorbed by religion since his illness commenced. For the last forty hours he has not opened his lips to speak of anything else. The doctors still say they have hope. I have none. All Genoa is praying for

him. I have written to Rome. Be not surprised if I am totally silent as to our own feelings.'

The Rev. Dr. Miley to P. V. FitzPatrick.

Genoa : 17th May, 1847.

Oh, friend of my heart, of my heart crushed and steeped in sorrow, how shall I address you? He is dead! The stroke has fallen upon us close upon hopes with which we had cheated ourselves that we should see him once again almost himself, returning to cheer and console his country. I am so completely overwhelmed with the blow as to be almost incapable of writing. His death was serene and happy, for it was sanctified by the sacraments and alleviated by the consolations which our divine religion lavishes with so much mercy on its children. He replied at first in words, and afterwards with look and gesture, to the exhortations which I addressed to him up to the last. He only spoke a very few words to his physician, and these were to make an earnest request that the coffin should not be closed too soon over his remains, because he felt sure (he said) that he would have the appearance of being dead before yielding up his last sigh. . . . His last breath was resigned, with the calm of an infant that falls off to sleep, on Saturday night at twenty-five minutes to ten.¹ He requested his heart—that heart which always beat for the cause of religion and liberty—to be taken to Rome. We have had that noble heart embalmed and have enclosed it in a silver urn. The body, which has also been embalmed, will remain here in a chapel until our return from our pilgrimage to Rome with his heart, and then the corse will be transported to his native mountains, to remain there to the day of resurrection. Think of the effect upon the whole country of that procession from our landing to the wild mountain abbey² which he loved, and which for ever shall

¹ Most of the memoirs say that while the glories of an Italian sun were bursting forth refulgently,

O'Connell sank to rest.

² See letter of September 18, 1837, and sequel.

be a place of pilgrimage. He stood alone! Let his rest be in the grandeur of solitude.

The heart of O'Connell at Rome, his body in Ireland, and his soul in heaven: is not that what the justice of man and the mercy of God demand? Adieu! adieu!³

J. MILEY.

FitzPatrick's grief was not less poignant than that of Dr. Miley. His emotion on hearing the sad news found a vent in lines, now printed from the scrap on which they were originally pencilled:—

Ne'er to the chambers where the mighty rest
Since their foundation came a nobler guest;
Nor e'er was to the bowers of bliss conveyed
A braver spirit or more welcome shade.

³ Dr. Miley was not allowed to carry out the whole of his great thought. The monster funeral through Ireland was abandoned in favour of one confined to the City of Dublin. Glasnevin, where Curran and Ruthven sleep, claimed the remains of O'Connell. A large packet of letters from Dr. Miley are preserved, in which he gives an account of the grand obsequies in Rome, with the funeral oration of Ventura, and

descriptive of every stage of the journey to Ireland with his sacred charge. The lofty Round Tower which rises over O'Connell's grave arrests the eye for miles. Though regarded as Petrie's work, FitzPatrick, in a 'mem.' now before me, states that the conception originated with himself. The same idea has been since adopted by the Wallace Memorial Committee in Scotland.—W. J. F.

APPENDIX.



CATHOLIC AGITATION IN 1812.¹

THE papers of the Home Department are closed to historic inquirers after 1760, though in the case of Mr. Froude and Mr. Lecky special facilities of access were granted up to the year 1800. Permission to examine documents of the present century is rarely given. The following letters, however, afford evidence of a not uninteresting exception to the rule. Mr. Secretary Pole, writing to the Home Secretary, encloses a letter from Hamilton Rowan,² addressed to Lord Fingall, referring to his Lordship's arrest as chairman of a Catholic meeting. 'I was a spectator of that disgraceful scene where legal quibble was tortured to entrap the feelings of a man of honour unaccustomed to disguise because his pursuits were honourable, legal, and constitutional.' Rowan adds that the object of the meeting had been to debate whether a petition to Parliament or an address to the Prince Regent should be adopted. He argued that appeals to persons were not equal to appeals to principles. Further, he published a document maintaining the rights of the people to public meeting and discussion and condemning the unconstitutional interference of the Executive. Among the State papers is a long letter marked 'Private,' dated 'Dublin Castle: 6 August, 1811,' from Mr. Wellesley Pole to the Home Secretary. It commences 'My dear Ryder,' and is principally taken up with the question of the delegates. At the end he says, 'Mr. Hamilton Rowan's advertisement I send you, as a proof how cautious Government ought to be of pardoning an Irish traitor.'—*Ireland*, 1811, July to September, No. 653.

The difficulty alluded to in the letter of Hamilton Rowan as to whether the rival plans of an address to the Prince Regent or a petition to Parliament should be decided on was solved by the adoption of both. A petition and an address, which, however, were almost the counterpart of each other, were prepared, and an aggregate meeting was summoned for Friday, February 28, 1812, to receive and adopt them. The importance attached

¹ See vol. i. p. 18.

² See notice of Hamilton Rowan, vol. i. p. 97.

by the Government to this resolution of the Catholics to assemble again and exercise what they considered to be their constitutional right may be inferred from the following important letter of the Lord-Lieutenant to the Home Secretary, among the records of whose office it is to be found, endorsed '*Ireland*, No. 655.'

(Secret and Confidential.)

Dublin Castle: 20th Febr. 1812.

Sir,—Having learned from secret information² that the Roman Catholic Board appointed at the aggregate meeting of the 26th December last, as mentioned in the letter which I had the honor to address to you on the 27th of that month, had been summoned to assemble on Saturday [Friday] next, I thought it necessary to be prepared with the opinion of the Lord Chancellor and the law officers of the Crown on the legality of the intended meeting, previous to deciding on the conduct which it might be advisable to observe towards it.

As they unanimously concurred in the opinion that the Board, constituted as it was by the nomination of an aggregate meeting for the declared purpose of preparing and presenting an address to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent relative to the subjects' right of petition to Parliament, and not having for its object the alteration of matters established by law in Church and State, did not appear to militate against the provisions of the law, I was glad to find there existed no obligation on the part of the Government to interfere for the dispersion of the meeting; more especially as the secret manner in which it seems intended to convene it, and the difference of opinion that is understood to prevail amongst the principal members of the Roman Catholic body with respect to the propriety of convening at the present moment, have taken from it much of the mischievous character and tendency that belonged to the meetings of the General Committee. With respect to the meeting of that committee which was appointed by the same aggregate meeting to assemble on the 28th instant, I apprehend there can be no hesitation as to the line of conduct which it will be incumbent on me to pursue, constituted as that body is, and acting in open defiance of the law as it has been recently pronounced by the judgment of the Court

² Fredk. W. Conway, afterwards editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, was furnishing secret information to the Government at this time, as appears from the same State Papers, No. 657. From newspapers of the

day I perceive that he acted sometimes as secretary and sometimes as chairman at meetings of the Catholic Association. See vol. i. of the present work, p. 371.

of King's Bench and the verdict of a jury ; and I propose, unless His Royal Highness the Prince Regent should see reason to vary the repeated instructions which His Royal Highness has been pleased to convey to me on this subject, to act against it by resorting, as on former occasions, to the powers with which the Government is invested under the Convention Act, taking care to carry its provisions into effect with all the lenity and forbearance that may be consistent with the necessary repression of such persevering endeavours to act in violation of the law.—I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

RICHMOND.

The Right Honorable Richard Ryder.

The Viceroy and Mr. Wellesley Pole have hitherto incurred the odium of having dispersed the Catholic meetings of 1812 ; but it now appears from the private correspondence before us that they acted under secret instructions issued by the Prince Regent himself. Long had it been customary with the Catholic leaders to regard and hail the Prince of Wales as the best friend to their emancipation. Nor was this impression adopted on any light grounds. O'Connell's speech at a great meeting of the Catholics of Ireland in Fishamble Street Theatre on June 18, 1812, enumerated a number of pledges given by the Prince. They occupy some pages of the 'Speeches of Daniel O'Connell,' edited by his son, Dublin, 1846, vol. i. pp. 174–5.

In addition to these private and special reports, the Lord-Lieutenant forwarded to the Home Secretary in London a copy of the *Dublin Evening Post* of February 29, 1812 (a leap year), which contained the fullest printed account which was then published of what took place at the meeting. All these documents, printed and manuscript, with the letter of the Duke of Richmond which accompanied them, are preserved among the State papers of the time. As these official documents are necessarily of much greater interest than any already printed reports, they are here given as descriptions of the meeting—an important one in the history of Ireland, and the presence of Shelley at which would alone have made memorable.

From the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to the Home Secretary.

(Secret and confidential.)

Dublin: 1st March, 1812.

Sir,—Enclosed I have the honor to transmit such accounts as I have been able to procure relative to the proceedings of an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics which was assembled at the Fishamble Street Theatre in this city.

In order to lead to a more distinct view of the character of

that meeting, and the feelings and objects of those who were most conspicuous on the occasion, it may be necessary to advert to the conduct of the Catholic Board which had been nominated at the aggregate meeting of the 26th December last, and which having met for the first time on the 28th ultimo agreeably to the determination noticed by my letter of the 20th ult. continued to sit daily from that time without, however, giving to the public any other authenticated account of its transactions than that which is comprised in the enclosed publication of the resolutions of the 22nd.

I propose, therefore, to enter on a short statement of what I have learned by secret information (for none but members were admitted to the Board) respecting its proceedings antecedent to the aggregate meeting of the 28th ultimo.

It seems that Lord Fingall and several other gentlemen of rank and consequence in the Catholic body, who had hitherto acted in concurrence with the general committee of the Roman Catholics, were indisposed to the assembling of the Board, feeling that altho' it should not assume to be a continuance of the Committee (its members being identically the same) it yet would carry that appearance, and unwilling, after what had taken place both at Mr. Kirwan's trial and subsequent to that event, to be considered as pertinaciously adhering to a line of conduct which the Judges of the King's Bench had announced to be a violation of the law, until that judgment should be reversed by the sentence of a superior tribunal.

In this opinion it seems that Mr. Hay, who usually acted as secretary to all the Catholic meetings, whatever denomination they might assume, concurred, and consequently refused to summon this Board unless he could be satisfied by the opinion of some of the first law authorities at the Bar that it was not a body so constituted as to come within the prohibitions of the Convention Act. From this opinion, however, Messrs. O'Connell, Dromgoole, and Scully, who have usually taken the least temperate line in all these proceedings of the Committee, and indeed in almost all other Roman Catholic meetings, dissented, and under their three signatures announced a meeting of the Board to be held on the 22nd ult. That meeting, of which the resolutions as they were advertised will be found in the enclosure (No. 1), was not attended by Lord Fingall, Sir E. Bellew, and others of the most respectable of those gentlemen who had usually been put forward in behalf of the Catholic body. However, notwith-

standing their absence, a motion made for appointing a day of meeting for the Board was not carried without much debate and opposition, and in truth, altho' the terms of the first resolution are said to have been considered and acquiesced in, if not as an abandonment of the measure, at least as a sort of compromise between the contending opinions, nevertheless the first resolution was by the dexterity of Mr. O'Connell ultimately made an argument in support of the third, it being insisted on by him that a meeting in conformity with the resolutions of the 26th of December 'was in effect and by reference an admission of the meeting of the "Board" thereby appointed'; and this construction being admitted on a division by a great majority of the members present, an adjournment of the Board, *eo nomine*, to the 26th was accordingly resolved upon.

The Board which, I have before observed, having once met, continued to assemble from day to day, appears to have been chiefly occupied in discussing and framing the intended address to the Prince Regent and the petitions to the two Houses of Parliament, and in preparing the resolutions that were brought forward and passed at the aggregate meeting of the 28th.

The proceedings of that meeting, as they are to be collected from the enclosed accounts, appear to partake of the various feelings and opinions that are stated to have presided at the antecedent meetings of the Board; they lead also to a strong presumption that, notwithstanding the air of moderation with which the Committee [had at first acted and which⁴] appears to have been abandoned for the present, there exists the disposition to revive it under the denomination of a Board, and it may be expected that attempts will be made for the gradual accomplishment of that object.

The readiness with which Lord Fingall and the other members of the Catholic body who seem to have been anxious for the discontinuance or suspension of the Committee have lent themselves to a measure bordering so closely on the repetition of an offence, on account of which he has so recently experienced the lenity of Government, is much to be regretted, more especially as past experience has given proofs as well of the stratagems that will be used to commit them to the same extent with the most violent partisans of the Committee, as of their inability to oppose or control the violence of those whose measures, however

⁴ These or some similar words have been inadvertently omitted in the transcript.

intemperate, they will surely be called on to countenance and approve.

Under these circumstances I am deeply impressed with the necessity of watching the conduct of this newly assembled Board, and taking care lest, consisting of the same individuals as the Committee which, agreeably to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's instructions, I have felt it incumbent on me to disperse, and differing only in the manner of its appointment, it should assume a delegated capacity, profess to have the same objects and arrogate the same mischievous powers as the assembly for which it has been substituted.

Should any apprehension of such consequences be unfortunately realised, it will become my duty to manifest, by exerting the authority with which the law has entrusted me, that such an assumption of the representative character, as made in the election or constitution of such a representative body as the General Committee, under whatever name they may pass, are alike repugnant to the spirit and the provisions of the Convention Act.—I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient

RICHMOND.

Right Honourable Richard Ryder.

[Record Office: No. 655.]

The three enclosures which accompanied the letter of the Lord-Lieutenant are marked Nos. 1, 2, and 3. No. 1 contains the resolutions of December 26 referred to by his Grace. Contrary to the expectations of the Duke, they are signed by the secretary, Mr. Hay. No. 2 is Mr. Manning's report of the aggregate meeting, February 28, 1812. No. 3 is endorsed thus: 'Copy of Mr. Farrell's (Peace Officer) report.'

O'CONNELL AS COUNSEL.

One of O'Connell's earliest displays of forensic acuteness took place at Tralee.

The question in dispute touched the validity of a will which had been made almost *in articulo mortis*. The instrument seemed drawn up in due form, the witnesses gave ample confirmation that it had been legally executed. One of them was an old servant. O'Connell cross-examined him, and allowed him to speak on in the hope that he might say too much. Nor was the hope disappointed. The witness had already sworn that he

saw the deceased sign the will. 'Yes,' he went on, 'I saw him sign it, and surely there was life in him at the time.' The expression frequently repeated led O'Connell to suspect that it had a peculiar meaning. Fixing his eye on the old man, he said, 'You have taken a solemn oath before God and man to speak the truth, and the whole truth; the eye of God is upon you, and the eyes of your neighbours are fixed on you too. Answer me by the virtue of that sacred and solemn oath which has passed your lips, Was the testator alive when he signed the will?' The witness quivered; his face grew ashy pale as he repeated, 'There was life in him.' The question was reiterated, and at last O'Connell half compelled, half cajoled him to admit that, after life was extinct, a pen had been put into the testator's hand, that one of the party guided it to sign his name, while, as a salve for the consciences of all concerned, a living fly was put into the dead man's mouth, to qualify the witnesses to bear testimony that 'there was life in him' when he signed the will. This fact, literally dragged from the witness, preserved a large property in a respectable and worthy family.

An incident in Miss Edgeworth's 'Patronage' was suggested by this occurrence. I have often heard it said that the Cronin family were the parties interested, but it appears from an old number of the *Liverpool Journal* now before me that it was two sisters named Langton to whom the property had been miraculously preserved.

Perhaps no great advocate ever had the same relish for his work. It was remarked by Owen Madden that O'Connell hunted down a case with the gusto of a Kerry fox-hunter in pursuit of reynard. His great knowledge of character enabled him to dissect motives with skill. He was an Irish Garrow, just as Sir Thomas Wilde, if he had had pathos and humour, would have been an English O'Connell. A spice of the latter quality is found in the case of the Corporation of Cork *versus* Boyle. One fails to find it noticed in the various memoirs of O'Connell; and I owe to an old newspaper report what is known of it. Boyle, in a print called the *Freeholder*, subjected the Corporation of Cork to some personal remarks highly caustic. Owing to precautions in the mode of publication it was impossible to proceed against him for libel. If they could have done so his punishment was certain, for in those days there were none but Corporation juries, and the fact that Boyle was hostile to the municipal junta was enough for them. It happened on the occasion of a crowded benefit that Boyle and one of the sheriffs were coming out of the theatre at the same moment. A sudden crush drove the scribe against the sheriff, and the concussion was so violent that the latter had two of his ribs broken. The incident was clearly accidental, but it was too lucky not to be turned to advantage. Boyle was prosecuted for assault. O'Connell (who

was personally inimical to the Corporation) scarcely cross-examined a witness, and called none in defence. He proceeded to reply, paying, as he went, some hyperbolical compliments to the 'well-known impartiality, independence, and justice of a Cork jury.' 'I had no notion that the case is what it is, therefore I call no witnesses. As I have received a brief I must address you. I am not in the vein for making a long speech, so, gentlemen, instead of it I'll tell you a story. Some years ago I attended Clonmel Assizes and witnessed a trial which I shall never forget. A wretched man, a native of Tipperary, was charged with the murder of his neighbour. An ancient feud had existed between them. They met at a fair and interchanged blows; again, that evening they encountered at a low pot-house, and the physical interference of friends alone prevented a fight. The prisoner was heard to vow vengeance against his rival. The wretched victim left the house, followed soon after by the prisoner, and was found next day on the roadside murdered, and his face so barbarously beaten in by a stone that he could only be identified by his dress. The facts were strong against the prisoner; in fact, it was the strongest case of circumstantial evidence I ever met. As a matter of form—for of his guilt there was no doubt—the prisoner was asked for his defence. He called, to the surprise of every one, the murdered man. And the murdered man came forward. It seemed that another man had been murdered, that the identification by dress was vague, for all the peasantry of Tipperary wear the same sort of clothes; that the presumed victim had got a hint that he would be arrested under the Whiteboy Act, had fled, and only returned, with a noble and Irish feeling of justice, when he found that his ancient foe was in jeopardy on his account. The case was clear; the prisoner was innocent. The judge told the jury that it was unnecessary to charge them. They requested permission to retire; they returned in about two hours, when the foreman handed in the verdict "guilty." "Good God!" said the judge, "of what is he guilty? Not of murder, surely!" "No, my lord," said the foreman, "but if he did not murder that man, sure he stole my grey mare three years ago." The Cork jurors laughed heartily at this anecdote, and, ere their mirth had time to cool, O'Connell continued, with marked emphasis, 'So, gentlemen of the jury, if Mr. Boyle did not wilfully assault the sheriff he has libelled the Corporation. Find him guilty, by all means!' The application was so severe, that the jury, shamed into justice, at once acquitted Boyle.

A man named Pat Hogan was tried for murder. O'Connell defended him. A hat, believed to be the prisoner's, was found close to the murdered man, and this was relied upon as the principal clue to the perpetrator. The state of the body clearly proved that the deceased met with a violent death, and O'Connell felt that the case would tax his powers to the utmost. The

Crown counsel made a strong point on the hat, which was produced in court. O'Connell cross-examined a neighbour of the prisoner, a Crown witness, who identified it.

'By virtue of your oath, are you positive that this is the same hat?' 'Yes.' 'Did you examine it carefully before you swore in your informations that it was the prisoner's?' 'Yes.' 'Now let me see,' said O'Connell, and he took up the hat and began carefully to examine the inside. He then spelled aloud the name slowly, thus, P-a-t H-o-g-a-n. 'Now do you mean those words were in the hat when you found it?' 'I do.' 'Did you see them there?' 'I did.' 'This is the same hat?' 'It is.' 'Now, my lord,' said O'Connell, holding up the hat to the Bench, 'there is an end to the case—no name whatever is inscribed in the hat.' The result was acquittal.

Great was the gratitude lavished on O'Connell by many a peasant who had got into trouble. In the case of an unexpected acquittal the prisoner exclaimed, 'Och, counsellor! I've no way here of showing your honour my gratitude, but I wisht I saw you knocked down in my own parish, and, maybe, I wouldn't bring a faction to the rescue!'

Horse and cow stealing earned capital conviction in those days. O'Connell detected a flaw in the indictment under which a client of his was charged. It turned on a law point which may be found in Roscoe's 'Criminal Evidence,' p. 77. The prisoner, an old hand, was acquitted on a charge of stealing a cow. The grateful thief came to O'Connell's lodgings to thank him for having saved his life, exclaiming with emotion, 'May the Lord spare you to me!'

I owe to Father McMahon, P.P. of Doonas, County Clare, the following curious anecdote:—In a case known as 'The O'Grady Case' O'Connell having examined the hostile witness, who was a woman, came to the conclusion that she swore falsely. The trial took place on Good Friday. O'Connell, calculating on the soft and impressionable character of a woman, preached a short sermon on the sufferings of Christ, and then suddenly and in the Name of that Blood, by which, on that day, she had been redeemed, charged her to retract her perjured words. The woman shrieked, burst into tears, pointed to a man in Court, whom she accused of instigating her by a bribe, told the truth and turned the tide.

Mr. D. O. Madden, in his 'Revelations of Ireland' pronounces O'Connell to be not only a 'very heavy feeder, but also a coarse one.' O'Connell's daughter, Mrs. FitzSimon, writes:—'He never ate more than twice a day—before 8 A.M., and often not till 8 in the evening.' Mr. Madden describes O'Connell at a Bar dinner, putting his own spoon into some dish to which an exquisite desired to be helped (p. 127). Mrs. FitzSimon writes:—'He was sometimes absorbed in thought at dinner, and might, perhaps,

at such a time make a mistake by helping himself with his own spoon.'

The most piquant thing in Madden's 'Revelations of Ireland' is a dialogue in outrageous Billingsgate between the Tribune and a virago named 'Biddy Moriarty,' famous for the use of foul words. The scene (which fills several pages) has been often quoted, and made the subject of very amusing pictorial illustrations. Even Canon O'Rorke has filled with this vituperation five pages of his Centenary 'Life of O'Connell.' It is a pity to pull down a fabric to which both historian and artist are indebted, but there is now before me a memorandum by O'Connell's daughter saying that 'there is not one word of truth in the scene so sensationally described by Mr. Madden, though something similar to it has been told of Curran.'

A graphic account of one of the illiterate judges before whom it was his fate to plead was communicated by the Liberator to R. O'Connell, B.L., Tralee, who has included it in the jottings he has been good enough to make for my use.

'A case came on before Judge Henn on circuit,' writes Mr. R. O'Connell, 'which excited great interest in the locality. It was an action brought to try the right to levy tolls at fairs and markets under a patent. Henn saw from the array of counsel employed, the size of the briefs and the crowd in Court, it was a case likely to occupy much time. The counsel opening the case stated it was brought for the trifling amount of *seven and sixpence*, but that though for so small a sum it was in effect to try the right to an important and valuable *Incorporeal Hereditament*. "A what?" interrupted Henn, who had never heard the word before. "An *Incorporeal Hereditament*, my lord," said the counsel. "How much do you say 'tis for?" inquired the judge. "Seven and sixpence, my lord," was the reply. Henn pulled out his purse, counted out 7s. 6d., and said, "Here's your 7s. 6d. for you, and to the Devil I pitch you and your *Incorporeal Hereditament*. Do you think now I am to be shut up in this hot Court for maybe two or three days trying a case for *seven and sixpence*?"'⁵

'The Liberator said that all remonstrance with *such* a judge was in vain; his fixed idea was that it was scandalously *infra dig.* for him to sit two long summer days trying a case for 7s. 6d., and that in every point of view 'twas the wisest and best course to pay the 7s. 6d. out of his own pocket, rather than lose his time trying such a case.

'I heard the Liberator tell that, on his first circuit, Mr. Hoare and the celebrated Bully Egan were then leaders on the circuit, and in an important case where they were pitted against each other, Hoare, for the plaintiff, made a deep impression on the jury by his speech; in fact, carried the jury with him. Egan saw

⁵ Sir Jonah Barrington tells one anecdote of Henn (*Personal Sketches*, i. 257), but this is perfectly new.

this, and when it came to his turn he put forth all his energies to remove the impression Hoare had made, and the conclusion of it was : " Mr. Hoare evidently thinks that his loud declamation has secured for him your verdict, gentlemen, but I know you well, and I know you long, and I know that never were there twelve men in a jury box less likely to be led away *by the dark oblivion of a brow.*" As Egan was going out of the Bar-box some of the Bar said to him, " Why, Egan, what rank nonsense the concluding sentence of your speech to the jury was ; surely there was no sense or meaning in '*the dark oblivion of a brow.*'" " To be sure there wasn't," said Egan ; " I know that as well as you, *but I knew it would do very well for that jury.*" The inimitable richness of tone and manner with which the Liberator used to tell this can only be conceived by those who heard him ; to convey a full idea of it to those who did not would be hopeless.

'He said that one of Bully Egan's duels was fought with a Mr. O'Reilly, who fired before the word was given, but without inflicting hurt. " Well, at any rate, my honour is safe," said O'Reilly. " Is it so ?" replied Egan. " Egad, I'll take a slap at *your honour*, for all that."

'He fought another duel with Curran, and when on the ground complained of the disadvantage in which he stood, Curran being like a blade of grass, and he as broad as a haycock. Curran declared that he scorned to take any unfair advantage. " Let my size be chalked upon your body," he said, " and any shots of mine which hit outside the chalk shall not count."

'Judge Day had been M.P. for the nomination borough of Ardfert before the Union, and having been an active supporter of that measure, was rewarded first by the Chairmanship of Kilmainham, which Bully Egan so nobly forfeited when, in voting against the Union, he uttered the memorable exclamation of " Ireland for ever, and damn Kilmainham !" Having been for some time in the chair of Kilmainham,⁶ Day was promoted to a Judgeship of the King's Bench. Conscious what a set of stupid ignoramuses the First Judges of the time were, Day set up for knowing *something* of law, and accordingly read some law books, and got over several volumes of the Reports of Cases decided in the English Courts ; but the foundation of an early study of the principles of law was not well laid, hence his superficial smattering, which he was so fond of parading, was seen through ; and being a roundabout, heavy speaker, his ludicrous attempts to elucidate nice points of law were described as "*remining one of a man attempting to open an oyster with a rolling pin.*"

'I spent far more time in the Liberator's society than even Daunt did, who has written a book about him,' proceeds Rickard

⁶ An office equivalent to that of county court judge for Dublin.

O'Connell. 'He held me at the baptismal font, and from that hour to his death I was on the closest intimacy with him.

'The Liberator thought not over highly of John Keogh's exertions in the Catholic cause. I heard him tell that, soon after he entered the political *arena*, Keogh one day said to him, "'Twas I made men of the Catholics.'" "If you did," said O'Connell, "they are such men as realise Shakespeare's idea 'of Nature's journeymen having made them, and made them badly,'" ⁷ &c. At that time he said a Catholic could be known in the street by his subdued and slavish look and gait, and he felt a prophetic inspiration that 'twas reserved for *him* to really make *men* of them. A keen observer (W. H. Curran) described O'Connell marching to court shouldering his umbrella as if it was a pike, and flinging out each factious foot before the other as if he had already burst his bonds and was kicking the Orange ascendancy before him. Indeed, a Dublin jury of that day, if judiciously chosen, would have found his very gait and gesture to be high treason by construction, so explicitly did they enforce the national sentiment.'

It has been said that O'Connell was implicated in the Rebellion, but the following seems to show an opposite sympathy. Rickard O'Connell remarks that the Liberator said many curious things not recorded by Daunt.

'I think Daunt was in the parlour at Merrion Square one evening in 1842, when Emmet's name turned up in conversation. The Liberator said, "There was never a more rash or foolish enthusiast. At the head of eighty men, armed only with pikes, he waged war on the most powerful Government in the world, and the end of the mad *fiasco* was the murder of the best of the then Irish judges, Lord Kilwarden, a really good and excellent man. His nephew, Wolfe, who happened to be in the carriage with him, was also murdered; for this murder, even if it stood alone, Emmet deserved to be hanged; ⁸ and but for the romance which his attachment to Miss Curran threw around the case he would have long since been forgotten."

'During the struggle for Emancipation letters often reached the Liberator from men of seditious bias suggesting a rising and enclosing plans of proposed operations. He invariably sent them at *once* to one of the law officers. Whether genuine or intended as a trap, that was the right course to pursue, and he did it.

⁷ 'I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably.' — *Hamlet*, act iii. sc. 2.

⁸ Had O'Connell studied Emmet's life and character, he would have held him guiltless of Lord

Kilwarden's murder. From the 'State Trials' I find that Emmet led the van of his men; but Lord Kilwarden's carriage arriving from Tallaght in the midst of some tipsy stragglers at the rear, a man named Shannon drove a pike into his groin.

'The Liberator's anecdotes of the past were very pleasant. I proceed to give you a few not mentioned by Daunt.

'Lord Buckingham, when Viceroy here, at a dinner party in Dublin Castle asked, "Where shall I get a good History of Ireland? I want to understand the history of this country." "Your Excellency will find it," said Sir Hercules Langrishe, "*in a continuation of Rapin-e.*"

'Sir Frederick Flood was in London as a delegate from the Irish Parliament to Mr. Pitt on some great question of the day, when one evening, dining with Mr. Pitt, the conversation turned on the drinking powers and habits of the Irish gentry. Sir Frederick said his usual allowance was four bottles of claret every night, and that he often drank five. "What! Sir Frederick," said Mr. Pitt, "do you mean to say you could drink five bottles of claret *without any help?*" "*I had the help of a bottle of port!*" was the reply.'

Rickard O'Connell continued for many months to send to the present writer various *ana* that he had gathered from his chief, and some of which are elsewhere embodied. At last, on September 20, 1880, poor Rick's right hand lost its cunning.

THE IRISH COERCION BILL OF 1833-34.

The autobiography of Lord Brougham, published in 1872, when treating of Earl Grey's retirement from the Premiership in 1834, owing to disputes about the Irish Coercion Bill, and the highly awkward scene between Littleton and O'Connell, seeks to throw the *onus* on Littleton. Littleton, better known as Lord Hatherton, had prepared a memoir of the case, which, in 1862, shortly before his death, he confided to Mr. Henry Reeve. This gentleman published the narrative as an answer to Brougham. Littleton complains that O'Connell violated confidence in the negotiation, and states that for this he was censured at the time by Grattan.

Touching these assertions, Mrs. Ellen FitzSimon, the eldest daughter of O'Connell, addressed some letters to the present writer:—

May 23rd, 1872.

My father's conduct has been so frequently vilified, that to vindicate it would be utterly useless and endless. The fact is, his memory can afford to be vilified. I am sure my father never violated confidence.

Lord Brougham treated my father badly on many occasions,

although at first he overpowered him with civilities and attentions and confidences too.

I open my letter to give you Morgan's⁹ account. He tells me that the Whigs wanted to renew the Coercion Bill in 1834. The *Liberator* and Littleton conferred thereon, and for peace's sake, as it was towards the end of the Session—a long and arduous one—the *Liberator* agreed, on condition that the objectionable clauses which he had always opposed should be struck out. Littleton (a good-natured kindly man, and most courteous to the Irish M.P.s, then quite a tabooed race) engaged that this should be done. Of course it got wind, and old Grey, in the Lords, disclaimed any such agreement. The *Liberator came out* in the Commons (as he had every right to do) and declared that he had been deceived. This affair broke up Grey's Administration.¹ My brother Morgan remembers going on to the steps of the throne in the Lords to hear old Grey announce his retirement, in doing which he alluded angrily to my father as the person of whom he need not more directly speak, tho' largely concerned in the fray. My brother said to my father, 'Do you hear what he says of you, sir?' My father replied, 'What do I care what the blockhead says?' The result proved that Grey was wrong. My brother says he never can forget the furious chastisement Wellington gave Lord Grey on that occasion, reviewing his whole Ministerial career. My brother says his recollection is that Brougham and Lord Duncannon were all along, during the Grey Administration, most anxious that the Catholic (and Irish) party should be conciliated, as was also Lord Durham. When Brougham was on the woolsack he used to be almost *servile* in his adulation of O'Connell, and the latter, my brother remembers, expressing himself as annoyed by the gross flattery of Lord Brougham when he (D. O'C.) was pleading before the Lords in some great cause, and saying it was gross nonsense.'

My brother recommends you to look up the Liberal papers of the day and Hansard.

Ever yours, in haste,

E. F. (*née* O'CONNELL).

⁹ Morgan O'Connell was in Parliament in 1834, as member for Meath.

¹ Since the above was written,

O'Connell's letters in respect to this affair have been found, and are now added to the present collection.—W. J. F.

THE SCHEME OF FEDERAL PARLIAMENTS.

'To the Secretary of the Loyal National Repeal Association.

'Darrynane Abbey, Caherciveen, 12th October, 1844.

'Sir,—I am extremely anxious to bring the emphatic attention of the Association to that which I deem the most important of all the duties they have to perform at the present most auspicious period. We have obtained the most valuable victory that ever was achieved, by purely moral means. The victory of Waterloo was the mere triumph of physical force, combined with military organisation: it was a brutal and a bloody scene, and much of what are called its glories depended upon chance and accident.

'Ours, on the contrary, was the triumph of the first principles of civil liberty, and of the judicial merits of our glorious cause. That which triumphed was the great constitutional principle which sanctions the right of free discussion to the inhabitants of these realms. It was that principle which battled with, and triumphed over, the well-arranged conspiracy to extinguish popular sentiment, and to limit and restrain the efficacy of peaceable popular exertions.

'The object we had in view was perfectly legal and perfectly constitutional—the repeal of an Act of Parliament; and the efficacy of our struggle ought, in constitutional reasoning, to depend on the numbers of those who were convinced of the necessity of such repeal. The effort of Ministerial despotism was, by the prosecution, to prevent the exhibition of that multitudinous public sentiment which could alone require or obtain success. It was a struggle, on the part of our governors, to make the exhibition of the extreme pressure of a grievance stimulating multitudes to call for redress, a conspiracy and a crime. It was the manifest design of the Irish Government to introduce a new doctrine into our law—the doctrine that numbers constituted crime; so that when the oppression of a tyrannic law affected the great majority of the nation, that very majority should be treated as *essentially* criminal, and be used as a legal instrument to prevent the redress of the grievance. The more

universal the cry for relief, the more impossible would a successful prosecution have made it to obtain redress.

‘Our triumph on the Jury question was, if possible, still more vitally important. If it were once established that the jury list might, with safety, be fraudulently spoliated or arranged, on the ground that the fraud was not committed by the Sheriff himself, then, indeed, the trial by Jury would have become “a delusion, a mockery, and a snare!”’

‘We have, in truth, gained a great victory. Yet there has been nothing of the insolence of triumph in our demeanour. We have borne our success with meekness, and in the fullest spirit of conciliation.

‘But we should be guilty of a criminal neglect of duty if we did not avail ourselves of that success in order to achieve the great object of our desires—the restoration of an Irish Parliament.

‘Our business is not to irritate or provoke any portion of our fellow-subjects. Our duty—our sacred duty—is to conciliate all classes and persuasions; and, if possible, to procure the entire Irish people to join in the struggle to obtain the right of Irishmen to legislate for themselves.

‘Upon the subject of the Repeal near nine-tenths of the Irish people are perfectly agreed. They are convinced of its necessity. They have no doubt of its practicability. The monster meetings have placed beyond a shadow of doubt the determination of the overwhelming majority of the Irish to obtain the restoration of their own Parliament. If that fact had not been demonstrated by the meetings of last year we should continue to hold similar meetings, now that the legality of the largest possible peaceful assemblages is fully established by the unanimous opinion of all the English judges. It was in the 6th and 7th counts that the holding of those monster meetings was alleged to be a crime; and all the English judges were unanimous that those counts were essentially and radically bad. We could, therefore, hold more monster meetings if it were at all necessary; but there is no such necessity. The opinion of the Irish people was emphatically pronounced in the forty-one monster meetings we held last year; and as it is not necessary to hold any more such meetings, it would appear to be an insulting braggadocio to revive them. We will revive them only in the case that it should, with any plausibility, be hereafter

asserted that the mass of the people had changed their minds on the subject of Repeal, and were no longer in favour of the Irish making laws for Ireland.

‘ Having thus in favour of Repeal the overwhelming majority of the Catholic population—clergy and laity—and having also been joined by many, very many, Protestants—by a large body of Presbyterians, and by some other enlightened Protestant dissenters, it only remains for us to conciliate and combine the residue of the Protestants of every class and description. This, I repeat, is our task, our duty—our pleasing duty.

‘ What is it which prevents the remainder of the Protestants of all descriptions from joining for the Repeal? Not any disinclination to have Ireland legislated for by an Irish Parliament; upon that subject Mr. Porter’s letter is a demonstration that all the Irish, of every class, are agreed. But the combination of all is prevented by idle jealousies and unfounded fears.

‘ It is our business to remove these jealousies and absurd fears. We should entreat, implore, conjure our Protestant fellow-countrymen to listen to us. We should solemnly assure them that the Catholics desire no civil or ecclesiastical ascendancy; all they desire is perfect equality—that perfect equality which the Repeal of the Union alone can produce.

‘ We can most confidently assert that the Irish Protestants ought to place unlimited confidence in their Catholic fellow-countrymen; and, above all, that they ought not to retain any jealousy or apprehension. This is our solemn, unequivocal, and most conscientious conviction and assertion, and we are entitled to be believed. But we will not place the cause of conciliation upon mere assertion: we appeal to facts to prove that confidence should be reposed in the Catholic Repealers by Protestants of all classes.

‘ The FIRST proof is adduced from Protestant historians. It is the historic fact that the Irish Catholics were, since the Reformation, three times in possession of political power—in fact, of the government of the country—yet they never passed one single penal law, nor persecuted one single Protestant. I have one thousand times challenged the libellers of the Irish Catholics to give me the name of any one Protestant who was persecuted by the Catholics while in power; no such Protestant has ever been named, simply because none such ever existed.

‘ The SECOND proof arises from the language of the Catholics

during the many years of our struggle for Emancipation. We had tens of thousands of meetings, in all of which our claims were placed upon the principle that conscience should be free. Free for others as well as for us. And in not one of these meetings, although guilty of many an indiscretion, yet not one single word of a bigotted or excluding nature was uttered, save upon one occasion, when a phrase considered to be of a bigotted nature having been used, that phrase was emphatically condemned by the all but unanimous vote of two public meetings; there was, indeed, but the single negative of the utterer of the phrase himself—HE STOOD ALONE.

‘The THIRD proof arises from the *conduct*—that is, the acts of the Catholic people during the agitation for Emancipation. We had our tens and our twenties of thousands of meetings. We had our Catholic Boards, and Catholic Committees, and, finally, our great Catholic Association. But, there was no riot, no violence, no tumult. No Protestant was injured in person nor in property by the Catholics in their struggle for Emancipation. No Catholic Associator was ever accused of any crime, committed in the struggle for relief, with the exception of myself; and then the charge of sedition was so frivolous that the bill of indictment against me was ignored by a grand jury—the foreman and two-thirds of whom were Protestants, and several of them Orangemen. There was not one single assault committed in the agitation for Emancipation. I, one of the most prominent among the agitators, and, probably—may I venture to say it?—one of the most popular, repeatedly declared that I would abandon the pursuit of Emancipation if it were stained with one single drop of human blood. And, blessed be Heaven! no such stain taints that cause.

‘The FOURTH proof is derived from this, that my principle has been throughout, and is, that “*every change of political institutions should be effected by exclusively moral and peaceful means;*” and “*that no amelioration, however in its nature valuable, in the laws or government, should be purchased by any one crime or sin of ever so small a degree—and, above all, is not worth the purchase by the loss of one single life.*”

‘This doctrine I have preached and practised. By the assertion and practice of it the Irish people carried the Emancipation—and I, who am the original apostle of this doctrine of peace, possess, ‘it is manifest, the unlimited confidence of the Irish

people. Oh, how idle must be the jealousies and fears of any of our Protestant fellow-countrymen !

‘My FIFTH proof is to be found in the conduct of the Catholics after Emancipation. There was no insolence of triumph ; no insult to our former opponents. The usual demonstrations of public joy were forborne. There were no bonfires, no illuminations, no exhibitions of public delight, lest they should be deemed insulting to the defeated Orange party. The active Catholics courted the good-will of the Orangemen ; we entwined the Orange round our Green ribbon ; we did all we could to conciliate. We combined both colours, and we did all we could to combine both populations. I, myself, for more than six years, courted the Orangemen in every way in my power. I was laughed at for my pains. Though no man likes to be the object of ridicule, yet I bore it, and persevered in my efforts to conciliate the Orangemen. They refused to be conciliated, and yet they were suppressed by an Act of Parliament brought in by their own friends, the Tories, an Act which we, the Catholics, did not call for, and which many of us opposed.

‘My SIXTH proof is also derived from the conduct of the Catholics since Emancipation, with respect to the parliamentary and municipal elections. In no instance, at any parliamentary election, was a Catholic preferred to a Liberal Protestant. - In every instance of parliamentary elections a Liberal Protestant has been preferred to a Catholic. The same principle and practice have prevailed in our municipal elections. In every instance the Liberal Protestants have been preferred to Catholics. The office of Lord Mayor of Dublin has been filled by three gentlemen since the Municipal Reform Bill. The first was a Catholic ; the second a Protestant ; the third is a Catholic ; but his successor, the Lord Mayor Elect, is a Protestant. This evidence of a total absence of a bigotted feeling among the Catholics is the stronger in Dublin, where the Catholics had been, for near forty years before Emancipation, and for several years after, capable, in point of law, of being freemen of the Corporation ; yet, not one single Catholic was allowed to attain even that small benefit. It is not, therefore, from the conduct of the Catholics that these idle jealousies and fears arise ; but, unhappily, from some self-condemnation on the part of several Protestants. It is in human nature that some of them should be unable to believe, even from the most distinct proofs, that others are more liberal than they are themselves.

'The SEVENTH proof that unlimited confidence may be reposed in the Catholic people of Ireland, I draw naturally and forcibly from the conduct of the people at the monster meetings last year ; meetings at which not only no violence was committed, but not even one single accident occurred. At the lowest calculation, one million of Irish assembled at Tara ; yet not one single person was pressed upon, or trodden upon, or hurt, or injured—aye, even by accident ! Are not these a people fit to share in the government of their native land ? Oh ! how idly are jealousies and fears entertained of such a people.

'The EIGHTH proof is derived from the mighty Temperance Movement. More than five millions, principally Catholics, have taken the pledge. A very small percentage, indeed, have violated it—a percentage so minute as to be almost incapable of enumeration. Temperance carries in its train to the house of the poor man many and many a social virtue. Vice of every kind flies before Temperance. Amongst the Temperance men the religious feeling is easily predominant. The public-houses are deserted ; the altar-rails are thronged. Oh, blessed be God ! The Irish people are fit to be a nation. Who so fit as they ?

'The NINTH proof that the jealousies and fears of Catholic ascendancy are unfounded and preposterous, is grounded on the number and strength of the Protestants themselves. If any attempt were made to establish a Catholic ascendancy, all the Protestants would naturally and necessarily rally against such an iniquitous proceeding. They would be joined by all the liberal and enlightened Catholics, and by all the just, generous and humane Catholics. They would be backed and supported by Protestant England. Their enemies would have all the weakness belonging to injustice. The Protestants would have on their side the powerful moral force of being in the right and suffering unjustly wrong. I do firmly repeat it, that nothing in nature can be so absurd as for the Protestants of Ireland to apprehend a Catholic ascendancy.

'My TENTH proof of the idleness of any such fear is the fact that, from the state of property in Ireland, a very great number of the members of the House of Commons *must* be, and probably a majority *would* be, Protestants. In the Irish House of Lords the Catholic peers are about five per cent. of the entire. How is it possible to apprehend that any ascendancy law could pass such a parliament ? And it is still more impossible that such a

law should receive the assent of the Protestant Monarch of Great Britain and Ireland.

‘My next proof is deduced from the conduct of the Repeal Association and its agitators, on the triumphant event of the reversal of the judgment against leading members of the Association. There never was a prosecution more vexatiously conducted. The usual courtesy—a slight one in itself—of allowing us to appear by attorney, was refused. We were compelled to be in readiness to appear in court every passing hour. I will not dwell upon the one-sidedness of the charge of the Chief Justice, whose nephew has got an excellent place in the Castle, and whose son-in-law has got that excellent thing, an Irish bishopric, from the prosecuting Government; neither shall I dwell on the now-for-ever-admitted on the face of the record, fraudulent management of the jury list; nor shall I dilate upon the unjust imprisonment which we have sustained for no less than three months: an imprisonment for which, as the record now demonstrates, there is no kind of justification or palliation; an imprisonment which the Court itself offered to suspend if the Attorney-General, that is, the Irish Government, would consent. I pass over, also, without comment, what Lord Cloncurry has called the “projected massacre at Clontarf.” I pass these by for the present as materials, I trust, for parliamentary inquiry and impeachment. But I avail myself of them for the single purpose of showing that never were men so provoked, so unjustly stimulated to irritation and revenge, so excited to break out into an exuberance of revengeful joy; never were there a set of men more entitled to all the violence of triumph at the ultimate reversal of the judgment; yet, Protestant Non-Repealers, we appeal to you whether passion was not suppressed, irritation and excitement mitigated and soothed, every species of insult avoided; agitation, instead of being inflamed, cooled down into something that has been reproached by our enemies as timidity: yes, we have preferred the appearance of what we could not feel, timidity, by the excess of our meekness, to anything that could prevent a single Non-Repealer from joining the ranks of his country.

‘Non-Repealers, reflect deeply upon these different topics; you have everything to gain, you can have nothing to lose, by the Repeal. The Repeal will restore to Ireland a circulation, in employment, wages, and business, of not less than six millions per annum; but I am not at present arguing the question; every

man in Ireland intuitively knows that the Irish ought to make laws for Ireland, and that no country was ever governed for the benefit of its people by another country.

‘I shall simply confine myself to a quotation of the most perfect truth from the late Lord Chief Justice Bushe. His words are: “*I forget for a moment the unprincipled means by which the Union has been promoted, and I look on it simply as England reclaiming, in a moment of our weakness, that dominion which we extorted from her in a moment of our virtue—a dominion which she uniformly abused—which invariably oppressed and impoverished us, and from the extortion of which we date all our prosperity.*” He added: “*The Union is a measure which goes to degrade the country, by saying it is unworthy to govern itself. It is the revival of the odious and absurd title of conquest; it is a revival of the abominable distinction between mother country and colony which lost America. IT IS THE DENIAL OF THE RIGHTS OF NATURE TO A GREAT NATION FROM AN INTOLERANCE OF ITS PROSPERITY.*”

‘Now, I take it that no proposition was ever so perfectly clear as this: that Ireland cannot, and will not, submit to that denial of the rights of nature which belonged to her as a great nation and a virtuous people. It is perfectly clear that things cannot remain as they are: there must necessarily be a change. This is asserted as distinctly and emphatically by the Conservative member of the Corporation of Dublin, the talented Dr. Maunsell, as it is by me. The Irish people have more of the virtue of perseverance than the people of any other country on the face of the earth—they have been spoliated of property, it is true, but they have retained—tenaciously retained—their opinions, their sentiments, their affections; and, above all, they have clung to their religion with desperate fidelity. They are, I repeat, the most persevering people on the face of the earth; they never will, they never can, abandon the cause of Repeal; and they will ultimately carry that measure as assuredly as that to-morrow’s sun will rise. Whilst we, leading Agitators, and particularly whilst I happen to live, they will never seek to carry the Repeal by forcible or violent means; but the man is worse than mad who does not perceive, in the conduct of the Irish people, that determination to establish self-government which, when the present leaders, and I amongst them, are removed, may well produce separation, but can never tolerate the continuance of the Union.

‘This, indeed, is just the time to carry Repeal, peaceably, quietly, legally, constitutionally. We are arrived at a time when, if the Protestant and Catholic Non-Repealers abandon their apathy or opposition, and join in the agitation for the Repeal, the Union can be repealed without danger, difficulty, tumult, or force; and without, in any way, disturbing the rights of property, or the enjoyments of social life. A bloodless political change, such as that of 1829, can now be achieved without difficulty; a bloodless political change, such as that of 1782, can now be achieved without the least difficulty. Lord Althorp himself, when opposing the Repeal, because called for by only a section, however large, of the Irish people, declared that if the entire of the Irish nation required that Repeal, they were entitled to it. This proposition was full of plain good sense. In fact, if the Irish nation were combined in a peaceable and legal struggle, resistance would be vain or impossible.

‘This is just the period when the Union could be repealed in the manner most satisfactory to those Protestants who have hitherto been neutral or adverse, by reason of their fears of tumultuary or violent proceedings. The Repeal Association is ready, I am ready, for one humble individual, to join in the modes of acting most satisfactory to the timid or reluctant. It is a period in which the lead would be given at once to the aristocracy of wealth, and to the persons most extensively interested in the prosperity of the country. The Repeal Association does not require any O’Connellite party. We are all ready to give to the House of Leinster, if, oh Heaven! that family would once again join for Ireland; we are ready to give the illustrious Charlemont family—a family bearing a name to conjure with; we are ready to give to any other of the Irish aristocracy; we are ready to give to Mr. Grey Porter, or Mr. Sharman Crawford, or to any other gentleman of talent and fortune—Protestant or Catholic—the lead in the great movement. Especially we are ready to give, and we are giving heartily and cordially, to Mr. Smith O’Brien, to the Honourable Mr. Hutchinson, and to our other Protestant associates, the lead in the great struggle to reinstate Ireland amongst the nations.

‘Indeed, the unlimited confidence which Mr. Smith O’Brien has acquired, and which the Hon. Mr. Hutchinson is daily acquiring, should demonstrate to all right-thinking Protestant Non-Repealers with what facility they would obtain their proper

weight and importance, and consideration, in the contest for the Repeal, and for the reconstruction of the Irish Parliament.

‘This is emphatically the time for Catholic and Protestant Non-Repealers to join in the agitation.

‘If they wish, as they naturally must, to share in the government of their own country ; if they desire to secure their estate from future convulsion, and if they wish to increase tenfold the value of their property, they will join with us in procuring the re-establishment of the Irish Parliament, without which there can be no lasting tranquillity in Ireland.

‘This, emphatically, is a period when good-humour, good temper, the disposition to conciliate, and the anxiety to combine all classes, prevails amongst the Irish people ; there is nothing revolutionary in the dispositions of the Repealers ; quite the contrary, an anxiety to prevent any forcible change, and to maintain the social state unimpaired and improved.

‘Never was there a period of more good temper and hilarity ; this is the time for peaceful combination of all sects and persuasions ; the very fact of there being a large military force in Ireland at present ought to give additional security against the prevalence of any violent or revolutionary disposition ; and that army which has been sent here to prevent Repeal would necessarily be protective of the peaceful settlement of the great question.

‘Everything favours a combination at the present moment ; even the prevalence of the hitherto scattered elements of Federalism now facilitates our great object.

‘It is true that Federalism has not, as yet, displayed itself in the strength which, I believe, really belongs to it. I know there are numbers of individuals who have not joined the Repeal Association, and yet are opposed to the continuation of the Union upon its present basis, and desire a Federal connection in its stead.

‘In inviting those persons to join in the contest for Repeal, it is incumbent upon the Association distinctly to trace out how far “ simple Repealers,” and “ Federalists ” can go together ; as also to point out how far the road is common to both ; and to show distinctly where a difference, if any, arises between them. It is our duty to canvass the particulars of that difference, and to yield to whatever appears most practical and most useful to Ireland.

‘For my own part there never lived a being who would less than myself claim any species of infallibility. I would yield, for the sake of co-operation, everything but principle. I would follow in the track of any man who seeks for the restoration to Ireland of the power of legislation.

‘Let me, then, state the principles upon which the “simple Repealers” desire to act; and let me show how far the “Federalists” concur in those principles.

‘The FIRST principle is founded on the determination, at all hazards, to preserve the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, through the means of the power of a sole executive, and the golden link of the Crown.

‘In this principle both “simple Repealers” and “Federalists” completely agree.

‘The SECOND principle results from the necessity of the Repeal of the Union Statute, 50th Geo. 3d, chap. 47.

‘That statute must be put out of the way legally and constitutionally.

‘In this principle “simple Repealers” and “Federalists” equally agree. Both, in fact, being *Repealers of the Union*—because Federalism can commence only after the repeal of that statute,

‘The THIRD principle arises from the necessity of a reconstruction of the Irish Parliament.

‘This principle belongs, in common, to both classes of Repealers, “simple Repealers” and “Federalists;” because, the mere repeal of the Union statute would not answer the purposes of either party. The mere repeal of the Union statute would revive the Irish Parliament, without the benefit of any reform schedules—it would give two members to the ruined abbey of Tulske, two members to the round tower of Kilcullen, two members to the SANDS of Bannow, and two members to the churchyard walls of Clonmines. This would never do. “Federalists” and “simple Repealers” agree that this would never do,

‘There must, therefore, be a reconstruction of the Irish House of Commons.

‘The FOURTH principle consists in the restoration of the Irish House of Lords in all its integrity.

‘Thus far, all parties, “Federalists” and “simple Repealers,” are agreed.

‘There is one distinction which should be clearly understood,

and all confusion avoided on the subject—that is, a distinction between the *MODE* of reconstruction of the Irish Parliament, and the *POWERS* which shall be vested in that Parliament when reconstructed—

‘First, reconstruct your Parliament ; and, secondly, decide what powers that Parliament shall have when reconstructed.

‘Upon the mode of reconstruction of the House of Commons, the “Federalists” and “simple Repealers” might and ought to agree. It is true that the “Federalists” have not, as yet, any official organ, and, therefore, there is no statement of their views as to that reconstruction. It is also true that Mr. Grey Porter has, on this subject, thrown out objections to popular plans for reconstructing the Irish House of Commons ; and these objections, coming from him, deserve the greatest weight, and merit the fullest and most deliberate consideration. He himself appears to be of that temper of mind, that he will patiently consider the arguments that may be used to solve his objections ; and whatever the result may be, the discussion of these objections shall be conducted in the most amicable way and in the best temper.

‘The simple Repealers, on the other hand, have long since laid their project before the public. They propose that the number of members should continue the same as the former number in the Irish House of Commons—namely, 300.

‘They propose that the representation should be based upon the numbers of the population—that being the basis adopted for the English counties by the English Reform Bill. Let this be kept in mind : population, exclusively, was the basis of the augmentation of the representatives of the English counties by the English Reform Bill.

‘Taking up this English basis, the “simple Repealers” submit that there ought to be in Ireland 173 County Members : of these, Antrim would have 6 ; Armagh, 6 ; Fermanagh, 5 ; Londonderry, 5 ; Tyrone, 6 ; Down, 7 ; Monaghan, 5 ; Cavan, 5 ; Donegal, 6—total for Ulster, 50. I mention these particulars regarding Ulster to show that in our proposal complete justice is done to the Protestant province of Ulster, upon the same scale, precisely, with the other provinces.

‘There being thus 173 members allotted to the counties, there remains for the towns and cities 127—of which, for example, four are allotted to Belfast, four to Limerick, and two to the Dublin University.

‘The schedule to the report presented to the Repeal Association, on the 4th of May, 1840, will give full details to anybody who takes the trouble of examining our suggestions for the reconstruction of the Irish House of Commons.

‘The Repeal Association has also suggested that the franchise should be based on household suffrage, and that the mode of voting should be by ballot. But these are particulars perfectly open to discussion between the “simple Repealers” and the “Federalists.”

‘As to the vote by ballot, however, I, for the present, shall offer but one observation, and that is, that whatever objections may be started to this mode of voting, it is in its nature a *peaceable* mode of giving the vote, and one that excludes the possibility of violence or rioting.

‘It is now for the “Federalists” to suggest their plan of reconstruction of the Irish House of Commons. It is not unlikely that the “*Federalists*” and “*simple Repealers*” might agree amicably upon the mode of reconstruction; at all events, the discussion upon such points can be, and I doubt not will be, conducted in a fair, impartial, and amicable manner, and in the absence of heat or violence; discussion, instead of being shunned by the “simple Repealers,” is anxiously invited by them; they do not desire to dictate to anybody.

‘The Irish House of Commons being legally constructed, a question of great importance arises: the real question between the “*Federalists*” and the “*simple Repealers*.” That question is, what shall be the extent of the powers of the Irish Parliament?

‘Both parties are agreed that these powers should be sufficiently extensive to enable the Irish Parliament to protect the lives, liberties, and properties of the Irish people; that it should have power to enact all laws to be of force in Ireland; in short, that it should be an efficient parliament for all legislative, financial, and judicial purposes, within her Majesty’s realm of Ireland.

‘The “simple Repealers” are of opinion that the reconstructed Irish Parliament should have precisely the same power and authority which the former Irish Parliament had.

‘The “Federalists,” on the contrary, appear to me to require more for Ireland than the “simple Repealers” do; for, besides the local parliament in Ireland, having full and perfect local authority,

the "Federalists" require that there should be for questions of Imperial concern, colonial, military, naval, and of foreign alliance and policy, a Congressional or Federative Parliament, in which Ireland should have her fair share and proportion of representation and power.

'It is but right and just to confess, that in this respect the "Federalists" would give Ireland more weight and importance in Imperial concerns than she could acquire by means of the plan of the "simple Repealers."

'If there were such a congressional parliament as the "Federalists" propose, one-third, or thereabouts, of the members ought to be Irish; giving to Great Britain the other two-thirds.

'But as yet the "Federalists" have not spoken out; Mr. Grey Porter has promised his project, but the time within which he was to produce it has not arrived. It is to be wished that some authentic statement should be made on behalf of the "Federalists." This, at least, is certain, that any such plan will be received with deferential respect, and canvassed by every honest Repealer, with perfect candour and earnest solicitude to arrive at a just and beneficial conclusion.

'For my own part, I will own, that since I have come to contemplate the specific differences such as they are between "simple Repeal" and "Federalism," I do at present feel a preference for the Federative plan, as tending more to the utility of Ireland, and to the maintenance of the connection with England than the mode of simple Repeal. But I must either deliberately propose or deliberately adopt from some other person a plan of a Federative Union, before I bind myself to the opinion which I now entertain.

'I have laid my thoughts upon this subject before the Association at greater length than I intended; but the importance of the topics I have discussed justifies the length of my commentary.

'I invite my countrymen of every class and persuasion to join us. I invite, in particular, all those who lean to Federalism to propound their plans, and to discuss with us amicably and candidly the respective merits of a "Federative" or "simple Repeal" connection with Great Britain.

'The Federalists cannot but perceive that there has been, upon my part, a pause in the agitation for the Repeal since the period of our liberation from unjust imprisonment; they must

perceive that, on the part of the Repealers, every passion has been hushed, and all the energy of complaint suppressed, in the expectation of a Federal movement. This calm has been made in compliment to the friends of Ireland who have not as yet joined the Repeal standard. We anxiously await their patriotic co-operation.

‘But, should they allow the present favourable occasion to escape, they may hereafter regret not having obtained that influence in the Repeal cause which everybody is now ready to give them; but which they may hereafter find it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to obtain.

‘This, therefore, is the propitious moment, especially for the wealthiest classes, to join in the struggle for Irish independence. They can *now* take their natural station at the head of the movement. They can *now* model and regulate proceedings in which they may not, hereafter, find an opportunity to take the part which they would wish and be naturally entitled to.

‘There are two propositions perfectly clear—

‘FIRST—That matters cannot remain as they are in Ireland, but that the Repeal movement must accumulate in power and force, in spite of every obstacle.

‘SECONDLY—That the British Minister cannot conduct the affairs of Ireland upon a Protestant or Orange principle.

‘Violent anti-Poperyism, or violent Protestantism, can no longer be the road to emolument and promotion.

‘The Government can no longer connect itself with a sturdy or active No-Poperyman. On the contrary, the Government must necessarily be driven to prefer renegade or courtly Catholics to over-active and over-zealous political Protestants.

‘In short, the hypocrisy of impartiality towards all will necessarily exclude all the violent amongst the remaining Orange party from Government favour.

‘The government, by or for a mere Protestant party, is at an end; there must be what may be called a “practical pretence” of liberality, which will necessarily exclude from patronage the over-zealous or over-active amongst the late ascendancy party.

‘In the meantime, everything bids fair for the prospects of the Repeal Association. The people of Ireland perceive that the game is nearly won, and that success, though it may be postponed, cannot be prevented. The Irish people also perceive that if ALL the Non-Repealers do not join us, many are daily

acceding to our ranks ; and by our combining conciliation with firmness, sincere kindness with unremitting determination and activity, the Repeal must be carried, and Ireland become a nation again.

‘ Let us, then, be active, energetic, conciliatory. Let us, if possible, combine all classes ; but let us not forget that we have already more than moral force enough to render a long resistance to a peaceable and legal Repeal of the Union impossible. It is a mere question of time—the Repeal itself is certain. Hurrah, then, for the Repeal !

‘ I have the honour to be, your faithful Servant,

‘ DANIEL O'CONNELL.’

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