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THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.
FROM A MINIATURE BY AUBRY IN PARIS, 1803

THE
EMMET FAMILY

WITH SOME INCIDENTS

RELATING TO IRISH HISTORY

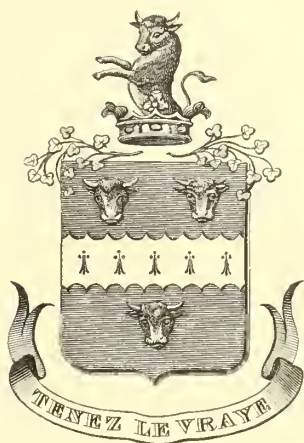
AND

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF PROF. JOHN PATTEN EMMET M.D.
AND OTHER MEMBERS

BY

THOS. ADDIS EMMET M.D. LL.D.

—
QUOD POTUI PERFECI
—



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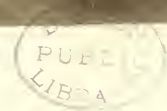
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THOS. ADDIS EMMET, M. D.



With my love
I dedicate this volume
to my children
and

do so with the hope

that they may realize a just pride
in the record of those who, in the past, have so
honestly filled their places in life.

A sentiment which, if properly
appreciated, must needs bear good fruit
from the example
thus set forth for
emulation —

Thos Addis Comstock M.D.

PREFACE.

A great portion of this material was collected years ago to form a work intended only for the children of the writer, and with the hope on his part of encouraging the sentiment set forth in the dedication.

But recently, having been requested to prepare, for the Bulletin of the University of Virginia, a sketch of his father, Dr. John Patten Emmet, who was for many years a professor in that institution, the author found it necessary to enlarge the original plan. It was then realized that a number of letters of the greatest family interest, which he had collected, could not be used for the proposed sketch. Therefore the present work was finally undertaken for their preservation, and also for the purpose of placing on record a mass of material relating to the family, and closely connected with Irish history, which was alone known to the writer, and which in time must otherwise have been lost.

When the task was nearly completed the journal kept by Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, during his sojourn in Paris, was accidentally found. This record was not known to have been in existence by any member of the family now living, and it is believed that Mr. Emmet's sons were equally ignorant of it. This diary, notwithstanding its length, is of the greatest historical importance, showing the true history of the Irish movement and its connection with the French Government under Napoleon. It thus fills a most important gap in history, as it exposes the full degree of treachery shown by the French Government to the Irish people. Furthermore, the statements made in this record relating to Mr. Arthur O'Connor will prove of interest to the future Irish historian. We, moreover, find in this diary the reason why Mr. Emmet remained so long in France, without any apparent object, after he had made every preparation to emigrate with his family to America.

Some biographical sketches, of greater or less length, have been prepared for the work, with a genealogical record of the Emmet family now living in the United States. The history of some of the families connected with the Emmets has also been written, and in addition a mass of material will be found relating to the general history of those bearing the name of Emmet, with its varied orthography.

This material was only gathered together after the expenditure of much time and money, the value of which could not be estimated until after its collection. It has, unfortunately, proved, to a great extent, of negative value for a sketch of the family, but it may be found useful for further reference.

To his old friend, the late Dr. Richard R. Madden, the writer has been greatly indebted for information relating to the different members of the Emmet family while in Ireland, as well as for much concerning many of the actors and events of this portion of Irish history. The author can recall no incident of his life which is associated with more intense satisfaction and pleasure than his acquaintance with this estimable old gentleman, and he deems it both a privilege and an honor to have known him.

No other man possessed the knowledge that Dr. Madden did in relation to the Irish troubles of 1798 and 1803, for he devoted his whole life to this study, and he was essentially the only reliable authority. It was, therefore, necessary in this work to make frequent reference and to quote freely from his "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," in which is contained his sketches of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet.

But this would have been done with some hesitation had the writer not known that, after the death of Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, his sons, Robert and Thomas, wrote out the information they possessed and placed at Dr. Madden's command all the material possessed by the family. Every paper was sent to him, with the exception of the diary, which seems to have been somehow overlooked, and is now for the first time given to the public. Therefore, as the original material was no longer available to the writer, it became necessary to quote freely from the record made by Dr. Madden of the information thus furnished him by the family.

The reader will notice in relation to Irish events that instances occur where the subject has been treated in a superficial manner, and an explanation is necessary.

The author realized at the beginning that either the text had to be elucidated with copious notes, which would have sacrificed the object and utility of the work, or an introductory chapter on Irish history was necessary. It was thought, moreover, that a lucid sketch on Irish affairs would be appropriate, as a vindication of the course pursued by the millions of Irish people who during the past three centuries and a half have sacrificed their lives, have suffered torture and imprisonment, or have been driven into exile for maintaining the right of self-government, or who have fled from starvation due to misrule.

At the first step in the investigation the fact was realized that no

truthful history of Ireland's suffering from the misrule of the British Government had ever reached the public, and that all so-called history had been written in the English interests, while from the beginning the public press of Great Britain had either been subsidized by the Government or had been silenced from fear of the consequences.

It was, therefore, necessary to seek for the truth among the records of those writers who gave the Irish version, and whose works are seldom found outside of some special private library of Irish history.

In corroboration of the information thus obtained the effort was made to verify each statement by the testimony of other writers who were known to have been bitterly opposed to the Irish people. This was found to be a comparatively easy task, since those among the English sympathizers who had been able on some special occasion to put the greater number of men, women and children to the sword, who had been able to rob to a greater degree, or who had become notorious for their fiendish cruelties to defenseless women and children, seldom neglected to place on record, by some boastful memoir, their wonted deeds.

The records of the British Parliament and of the so-called Irish Parliament, in which only those who conformed to the Established Church could hold a seat, show that the interests of the majority of the Irish people were never considered. For a long period no measure could be presented to the latter body until the approval of the English Government had been obtained. During the course of centuries, from the beginning to the end, when the so-called Union with England was said to have been LEGALLY brought about, the purpose of the English Government in Ireland was accomplished by bribery in some form.

Wherever the searchlight of honest investigation is employed to seek the truth in Irish history the one prominent feature is brought into bold relief, showing that England, from the beginning to the present day, has pursued one settled policy in her efforts that Ireland should never prosper. In this unhappy country England's deeds have often seemed clothed in the garb of charity, but her course has been not unlike that of the inkfish, where she has obscured her motives, and England has always forced the world to accept her version. But investigation will show that not a single instance can be cited where England during the past six centuries has ever given thought alone to the best interests of Ireland.

The investigations of the writer resulted in the production of a bulky volume. After a large portion of the history of the Emmet family had been printed, it became evident that the original plan had to be abandoned. It was found impossible, with doing justice to the subject, to condense the

necessary information within the limit of an introductory chapter. Hence the text in this work, which would otherwise have been fully explained, had to remain as originally prepared.

The writer, from early manhood, has taken an active interest in Irish affairs, but, as an American, he never felt justified in seeking membership in the Irish secret societies, the supposed purpose of which was to bring about the independence of Ireland. He has, nevertheless, honestly desired such a separation, and is fully convinced that some future time will place Ireland in the only position needed for her greatest prosperity. But her reduced condition of population and want of all resources bear the conviction that sentiment must be laid aside that we may deal to the best advantage with the present, leaving the future to take care of itself. The majority of the Irish people and of those in sympathy believe that Ireland could not maintain the responsibilities attached to an independent nation of the present day, and that her interests can be best served by obtaining for her the management of her own domestic affairs.

When the Land League ceased to hold the confidence of the majority of the Irish people abroad, and the organization of the present Irish National Federation was effected to bring about Home Rule for Ireland by constitutional measures, the writer was elected the president of that organization in this country. This placed him for years past in a position where he obtained an intimate knowledge of Irish affairs, which was utilized, by one means and another, to give support as far as possible to the Irish National members of Parliament, and to create public opinion in this country favorable to the redress of Irish wrongs. He has held relatively the same position as his uncle Judge Robert Emmet did in support of the "Repeal Association," which was likewise an organization for securing a repeal of the "Union" and Home Rule for Ireland.

Since the so-called "Union" was forced by England at the beginning of the present century, and by means which will not bear honest investigation, some such organization has existed among the Irish people throughout the world, and will be actively maintained, as occasion presents itself, until England's crime has been atoned for and Ireland has gained Home Rule, in which all of her people shall be fairly represented.

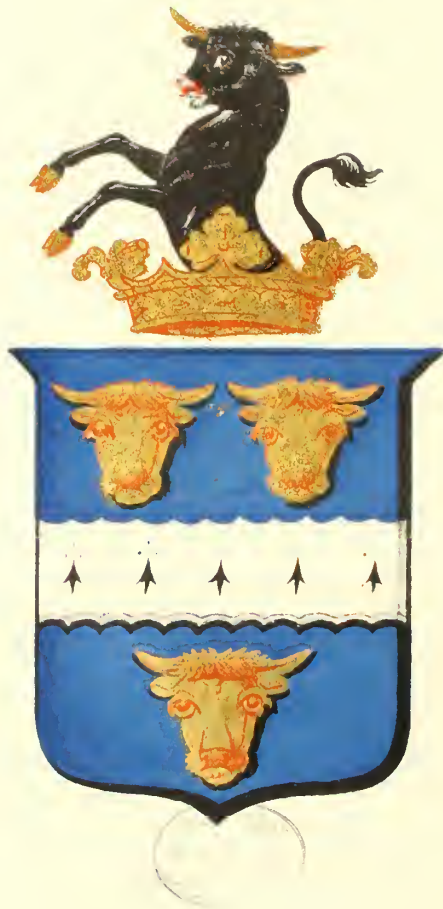
The attention of the writer has been naturally directed to an investigation of Ireland's past history, and, with his knowledge of the present political situation, he formed very decided views, which he has not hesitated to express throughout this volume whenever the necessity seemed to exist, and he has done so with the conviction of truth.

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ARMS OF THE EMOTT. EMMOTT. EMETT.
EMMETT AND EMMET FAMILIES.

CHAPTER I.

DOCUMENTARY AND TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE EMMET FAMILY.

The name of Emmet has existed in England for centuries. The records of Oxford show that in one of the colleges of that university Henry Emmet received the degree of Doctor of Music, in the time of Henry II.

Burke, in his "Landed Gentry," claims that members of the family bearing the name of Emot and Emmott have been landholders in Lancashire since the days of William the Conqueror; and the name, variously spelled, is not infrequently found at the present day in that portion of England, as well as in the adjoining county of Yorkshire.

Burke states: "Of this family, established in England at the Conquest, the first on record is Robert de Emot, who held lands in Colne, 4 Edward II, as per inquisition; he built the mansion of Emot and died 1310."

The Shakespearean Society of England has published a document showing who were Shakespeare's neighbors in "Chapel-street Ward, Stratforde Borrough, Warwick." At a certain time of great scarcity this document was doubtless made as an inventory for ascertaining the quantity of grain held by each family in the town. It is indorsed: "The noate of Corne and Malte, taken the 4th of February, 1597, in the 40th year of the raigne of our most gracious soveraigne Ladie, Queen Elizabeth, &c."

"William Shackespere" is credited with "ten quarters," and "Wm. Emmettes" stock on hand is given as "eight quarters of corne." As there were but four other persons in the town who held a larger quantity, and but little in excess, it is apparent from this fact, and from the locality of his residence, that this Wm. Emmett in 1597 was a man of means and position in Stratford-upon-Avon.

The writer recalls a statement made to him in boyhood by one of his aunts, that she had heard her father speak of a family tradition by which it was held that the first settlers in Ireland bearing the name of Emmet came from Co. Kent, England, and were in Cromwell's army. Yet, positive evidence has been obtained to show that while there were several of the

name in Cromwell's army, settlement had been made in the country by individuals bearing the name prior to Cromwell's invasion. But it has been impossible hitherto to connect any Irish branch of the name with any English source, and in fact the relationship between the different families in Ireland has been equally difficult to trace.

Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-at-Arms, Dublin, was employed by the writer through a series of years to obtain from the public records in England and Ireland information pertaining to the different families bearing the name of Emot, Emott, Emmot, Emmott, Emet, Emmett, Emmet, Emmett, Emmit, Emmitt, or otherwise spelled. As a result of this investigation it was found that there had existed no standard mode of spelling the name, and it was equally evident that in many instances the same individual had frequently varied his orthography at different periods of his life.

All the public records to which access could be had were carefully and systematically examined under Burke's direction, and copies were made of every document in which the name appeared. This procedure was necessary to insure the obtaining of the needed information, for nothing could be left to the discretion of the searcher. The investigation was persevered in, although it was soon realized that the greater portion of the material thus collected would prove of little value and would not even be worthy of preservation.

After copies had been obtained from every available source, Sir Bernard Burke was then requested to condense this material, setting forth the most important points. On this report has been based the documentary portion of the Family History now presented by the writer.

It appears that during the reign of Charles I there were members of the Emmet family settled in four different counties of Ireland, viz.: 1, Waterford; 2, Limerick; 3, Tipperary; and 4, Kildare—between whom, it would seem, no relationship can be now traced. But it is worthy of note, in this connection, that there existed a similarity in the Christian names of these several branches, and that these names had been continuously used by the immediate ancestors of the extant family of Emmet:

I. CO. WATERFORD. A Robert Emmet was residing at Dungarvan (in that county) in 1661, and had then living two sons, John and Robert. He died that same year, as appears by his nuncupative will in the following words:

“The last will and testament of Robert Emmet of Dungarvan, in ye diocese of Lismore, is according to ye testimony of John Emmet, son of ye said Robert, and Charles Geary, souldiar, being sworn upon ye holy

Evangelist ye 21 day of November 1661, as followeth—The said John Emmet and Charles Geary doe say that Robert Emmet left unto him, ye said John Emmet & Robert Emmet his sons, two brewing pots worth about three or four pounds sterl^g.”

In the Patent Rolls of the precinct of Dungarvan appear the following words in a patent dated “22 May 1666,” which most probably refer to the John Emmet above named :

“A cabbın, backside, & garden, now or late in the possession of John Emmet, and so returned, the property of John House, the yearly quit-rent thereof is one shilling & sixpence.”

No further reference to this branch or of any other in connection with the town of Dungarvan appears in the public records.

II. CO. LIMERICK. This branch was possessed of fee-simple property in the Co. Limerick, and appears to have become extinct in the male line about 1709, when the lands devolved upon Thomas Moore, the nephew of the last Emmet proprietor. The branch was founded in Limerick by William Emet, who was a debenture-holder under Oliver Cromwell’s government, and served in the army subsequent to the Rebellion of 1641. He married Katherine, daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Aldwick, and had at least three children :

A. Thomas, son and heir, was joined with his mother in a Chancery suit against [Col.] Hugh Massy in 1698. He married Jane Godsell, and died intestate in 1709, when his property seems to have then become vested in his sister’s son. He made a settlement on his marriage, February 2d, 1690, a copy of which is not now to be had, but the original is referred to in a deed of April 5th, 1711, to be hereafter given.

B. A daughter, married a Mr. Moore, and had three children :

1. Thomas Moore, of Cregg, Co. Cork, in 1711 was in possession of Bulgadeen, the Emet estate, when he sold it to the ancestor of Lord Carbery.
2. Katherine Moore, married Mr. Nebane, and is mentioned in his brother’s deed of sale of Bulgadeen.
3. “Maryanne” Moore, also mentioned in her brother’s deed of sale.

C. Martha, married Lewis Farrell, and is mentioned in her nephew’s deed of sale of Bulgadeen.

The following statements are fully proved by documentary evidence, from which the following are extracts :

1. The Chancery bill, filed May 20th, 1656, Wm. Emet and Katherine his wife, *v.* Waterhouse, states that about eighteen years previous [1638]

Mrs. Elizabeth Aldwick, deceased, mother to said Katherine, lent Charles Waterhouse, deceased, one hundred pounds, whose widow, Ethelread Waterhouse, acknowledged the said debt. That Maryanne and Sarah Waterhouse, sisters of the said Charles, are his executors, &c., &c.

2. Chancery bill filed June 19th, 1656, *Emet v. Howard*, states that William Emet of Bulgadmeedy, Co. Limerick, gent., did lend Edward Howard, of Athboy, Co. Meath, clerk, forty pounds, for which he passed his bond May 8th.

3. Chancery bill filed July 4th, 1698, *Emet v. Massey*: "The plaintiffe, Katherine Emet, widow of William Emet, and Tho^s. Emet, eldest son and heir of said William Emet, of Bulgadmeedy, Co. Limerick, state that this William Emet was entitled in fee to fifty-two acres of Bulgadmeedy and other lands in said Co., which were set out and distributed to him for his debentures and services in the Rebellion of 1641. That to save expense he allowed his lands to be included in the patent of Hugh Massy, that he enjoyed said lands until his death in 1682. That by his will he devised the said lands to his wife and children. That the said Hugh Massy, by his lessee John Harrigan, has brought an ejection in Common Pleas against the plaintiffe, &c., &c."

4. Prerogative Court of Ireland, Feb. 18th, 1709. A commission to swear Anne Emmett, widow and relict of Thomas Emmett, late of Bulgaddeen, Co. Limerick, deceased, intestate, issued, directed to Connell Verekar, Amos Godsell, and James Webb, gent.

5. Administration of the goods, &c., of Thos. Emmett, late of Bulgadin, Co. Limerick, deceased intestate, was granted March 20th, 1709, to Anne Emmett, his widow and relict.

6. "Deeds of Lease and Release 4 and 5 April, 1711, Moore to Evans, Reg. Deeds, B 6, fo. 415, No. 2362." Thomas Moore, of Cregg, Co. Cork, gent., to George Evans, the younger, of Ballyadinfox, Co. Limerick, in consideration of nine hundred and fifty pounds. A grant, bargain, sale, &c., &c., two hundred and twelve acres of the Castle, Town, and Lands of Bulgadinedy and Ballykeine, in Barony of Cashlea, Co. Limerick, the lots and interest formerly of Capt. Hugh Massy, Lieut. Richd. Grice, Corporal William Emet, Katherine his wife, Lewis Farrell, Martha Farrell his wife, daughter of said William Emet and said Katherine, Thomas Gaven and Martha Cravidge, and lately the possession and inheritance of Thomas Emet, deceased, saving to the said Katherine Emet for her life the benefit reserved in Art^e dated Feb. 2nd, 1690, made between said Thomas Emet deceased, and Anne his wife, daughter of Amos Godsell, gent., and saving to said Anne the yearly rent of eight shillings per acre secured to her by the said

Thomas Moore by deed dated March 25, 1710, indemnified against Katherine Nebane and Mary Moore, sisters of said Thomas Moore, and all others.

7. Deeds of Lease and Release, April 21 and 22, 1710, Wear to Evans, Reg. Deeds, B 5, fo. 50, No. 1275. Christopher Wear of Bulgadinedy, same co., in consideration of three hundred pounds, grant, bargain, sale, &c., &c., of the Castle, Town and Lands of Bulgadinedy and Bally Kline, Barony of Cashlea, and Co. Limerick, as same were lately held by Corporal Wm. Emet, deceased.

8. Deed August 20th, 1711, Emet, alias Aldwick, to Moore, Reg. Deeds, B 6, fo. 419, No. 2371. Katherine Emet, alias Aldwick, of Bulgadinedy, Co. Limerick, widow, to her grandson, Thos. Moore, of Creg, Co. Cork, gentⁿ, in consideration of her natural love and affection for her well-beloved grandson, gave, granted, &c., &c., to the said Thos. Moore, all goods, chattels, leases, debts, right, title, &c., &c., of the estate of her son Thos. Emet, of Bulgadine, Esq^r late deceased, reserving unto her, the said Katherine, for and during her natural life, twenty-two acres and the house she lives in and houses in the town of Kilmallock.

Every endeavor to trace the male descendants of Wm. Emet, the grantee of Bulgadeen, has failed. Thos. Moore, his grandson, appears to have inherited the lands as heir-at-law of his maternal uncle, Thomas Emet, in 1709, and then to have sold the land to George Evans in April, 1711, and to have got an assignment from his grandmother, the following August, of whatever interest she had in the lands, so as to make the title to Evans.

III. CO. TIPPERARY. The first of the name to be found connected with this county, which adjoins Co. Limerick, was William Emet, of Capon Garon, or Cappanagarron, Co. Tipperary, whose will, dated February 3, 1671, was proved July 22d, 1672; so that he was a cotemporary of William Emet of Bulgaden. He married Katherine ——, who was executrix of his will, and to whom he bequeathed for life his leases, Capon Garon being one of them. But he does not mention any children, and probably had not any, as it is disclosed by his will that he "ordered" his kinsman Henry Emet, residing in England, to come over to Ireland, and bequeathed to him the leases after the death of his wife. Cappanagarron was probably the fee-simple of Thos. Clear, of Drangan, in the same county, one of the overseers of William Emet's will, and he had a son, John Clear, also mentioned in the will. The lease ran out and expired in 1724, for in that year John Clear, of Newborn, in the same county, made a fee-farm grant of the lands to one William Nicholson.

Although William Emet refers to Henry Emet as "his kinsman," it appears very probable that he was his nearest relative, and possibly a nephew, for William settled his lands on Henry, and *not* on his brother George, to whom he only made a small bequest. The following refer to the foregoing:

I. Will of William Emet of Capon Garon, in the Co. Tipperary, dated Feb. 3, 1671, codicil 14th of same month, probate July 26th, 1672. Wife, Catherine Emet, to be executrix, and to enjoy testator's leases during her widowhood. Mr. Thos. Clear, of Drangan, and Mr. John Read, of Slanestown, both in Co. Tipperary, to be overseers. Bequests to John Clear, son of Mr. Thos. Clear, and Elizabeth Read, daughter of Mr. John Read.

"As I expect out of England a kinsman of mine to come hither, according to my order, whose name is Henry Emet, &c." Reversion of the leases of Capon Garon after the death of the testator's wife. Kinsman Henry Emet not to have power to dispose of the leases of Capon Garon "to any Irishman whatsoever, or to any other person without the consent of the overseers."

2. Deed of lease, 3rd Nov., 1724, Clear to Nicholas, Reg. Deeds, B 43, fo. 47, No. 2768.

John Clear, of Newborn, Co. Tipperary, and Elizabeth his wife, to William Nicholson. Fee-farm grant of the lands of Cappanagarron, Co. Tipperary.

The next of the name of Emmet who appeared in this county is Christopher Emmet, who describes himself in his will dated April 20th, 1743, as "Christopher Emmet, of the town of Tipperary, in the Co. Tipperary, Gent^r." He held leases of the fairs and markets of Tipperary, *id est*, of the tolls or customs of the fairs and markets. His wife, Rebecca Temple, daughter of Thos. Temple, Esq., was born about 1700, and died in Molesworth Street, Dublin, November 24, 1774. She was buried at St. Anne's Church. By her he had two sons:

I. Thomas, who died intestate. Administration was granted to his widow, 1754. He married Grace, daughter of William Russell, and had one child, who died young and was buried with its father in Tipperary. His widow survived him many years, and by her will, proved in 1787, entailed property in Co. Limerick on her brother-in-law, Robert Emmet, and his sons.

II. Robert, Doctor of Medicine, resided first in the city of Cork, afterwards in Molesworth Street and on St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, and finally at his country place, Casino, Co. Dublin. He was born 1729, and died December 9th, 1802, aged seventy-two. He married (settle-



DR. CHRISTOPHER EMMETT.



MRS. REBECCA TEMPLE EMMETT.

November 15th, 1760) Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. James Mason, of Cork, who died September 9th, 1803, and was buried the 11th of September, in St. Peter's Church, Dublin; and had issue:

1. Christopher Temple, born 1761, married, 1781, his second cousin, Anne Western Temple, daughter of Robert Temple, Esq. Died 1789, leaving one child.
2. Henry, died shortly after birth and not mentioned in the family Bible record.
3. William, born April 24th, 1763. Died young.
4. Thomas Addis, born in Cork April 24th, 1764. Married Jane, daughter of Rev. John Patten, and had issue. Died Nov. 15th, 1827.
5. A stillborn child in 1765.
6. Catherine, born July 3rd, 1766. Died young.
7. James Mason, born June 15th, 1767. Died young.
8. Rebecca Harriet, born July 30th, 1768. Died young.
9. Anne, born August 8th, 1769. Died young.
10. Elizabeth, born August 8th, 1770. Died young.
11. Robert, born Sept. 8th, 1771. Died young.
12. John, born Sept. 3rd, 1772. Died young.
13. Mary Anne, born Oct. 10th, 1773. Married Robert Holmes, Esq. Died 1804. Had one daughter, Mrs. Lenox-Conyngham.
14. Robert, born 1774. Died soon after birth.
15. Robert, born 1776. Died soon after birth.
16. Robert, born 1777. Died soon after birth.
17. Robert, born March 4th, 1778. Executed September 20th, 1803, for participating in the uprising of the people in Dublin, July, 1803.

In one of the church records of Cork it is shown that Henry, a son of Dr. Rob^t Emmett, died shortly after birth and was buried there. He was doubtless the second child, and born between Christopher Temple and William, but this birth is not recorded in the Bible which belonged to the widow of Thomas, the brother of Dr. Rob^t Emmet, and from which the above was copied. But as the record was evidently made during the latter portion of her life the omission might have readily occurred.

Christopher Emmett, or Emmett, of the town of Tipperary, had brothers and sisters living at the time of his making his will, but he did not mention any of them by name except his brother William, to whose son Christopher he left a bequest.

The following extracts from wills, etc., refer to this Tipperary family:

1. Will of Christopher Emmett, or Emmett, as he varied the spelling, of

the town of Tipperary, in the Co. of Tipperary, gent., dated April 20th, and proved Nov. 14th, 1743. Mentions leasehold and freehold estates and interest in the fairs and markets of the town of Tipperary.

Wife, Rebecca Emmet; sons, Thomas and Robert Emmet, both under age, leasehold and freehold estates. Sisters-in-law, Elizabeth Temple, of Dublin; Agnes Cuthbert, of Castlebar. His brothers and sisters, not named, to have residue of his property. His brother, Wm. Emmet, and nephew Christopher Emmet, son of his brother William, were also mentioned.

His sons were not to marry before they attained the age of twenty-two years, without the consent of his wife, Joseph White, and Ambrose Harding.

The executors were his wife, Joseph White, Ambrose Harding, and Samuel Taylor of Waterford.

2. Prerogative Court, Ireland, Commission to swear Grace Emmet, widow and relict of Thomas Emmet, deceased, intestate, issued June 8th, 1754, directed to Richard Sadlier, Alexander Hoops, Rudolph Hoops, and —, June 19th, 1754. Administration of the goods, &c., &c., of Thos. Emmet, deceased, intestate, was granted Grace Emmet, his widow, and relict.

The will of Grace Emmet, or Emmett, of Tipperary, widow of Thomas, dated April 9th, 1788, and approved June 18th, 1789, directed that she be buried in the churchyard of Tipperary, in the grave of her husband and their child, and that she be placed over them. It mentions the following persons:

Her Cousins—Elizabeth Smithwick and Anne Neave.

Other Legatees were Anne Pope, Charlotte Grades, John Power, and Felix Prichett.

Nieces—Elizabeth Butler and her children, Richard, Mary and Elizabeth Butler, and Margaret Baillie and her daughter Frances Baillie.

Cousins—Solomon Delane and his daughter Grace Delane, Samuel Delane and James Sadlier, of Cork.

Sister-in-law—Mrs. Elizabeth Emmett, was to receive a gold watch, and also mentioned

Nieces—Mary Power and Hannah Prichett, and her

Maid—Mary Hogan.

To Thomas Addis Emmet, her nephew, she gave a ring to be marked T. A. E., and a bequest to his sister Mary Anne Emmet. She also made a bequest to Richard Sadlier of Tipperary, to Mrs. Frances Allen, Anne Taylor, Jane Western, and Susannah Bowes.

The residue of personal property was bequeathed to Mary Power, Hannah Pritchett, and to Robert Emmet, M.D.

The lands of Raheen, Kyle, Crossoil, Bakercron, and Keelogress, Co. Limerick; Dromline Castle-Corr, Lafolly, Templenehurney, Ballyca, Coolnedrisga, Lismacrec, Shaghmacevel, and Corrogleepoor, Co. Tipperary, were left to Robert Emmet, M.D., for life, in consideration of one hundred pounds he was to pay the child of Temple Emmet, deceased, and fifty pounds to Mary Anne Emmet, and the remainder went "to Thomas Addis Emmet for life, rem^r to his heirs male, in default remain^r to Robert Emmet, jun^r."

3. Will of Robert Emmet, of Casino, near Miltown, Co. Dublin, Doctor of Medicine, dated February 3d, 1800, and proved January 10th, 1803. He gave to the eldest son living, Thomas Addis Emmet, the lands of Knockena, Co. Kerry, charged with two thousand pounds. To his wife, Elizabeth Mason, the lands of Ballydoune, Co. Kerry, as settled on her marriage, to go to his daughter, Mary Anne Emmet, wife of Robert Holmes, and his son, Robert Emmet. The following is in relation to his granddaughter, Katherin Emmet, daughter of Christopher Temple Emmet:

"Whereas, Harriet Temple, widow of Robert Temple, was entitled to retain till her death, part of the fortune of Anne Western Temple, now Emmet, daughter of Harriet, and mother of my said granddaughter."

IV. CO. KILDARE. The only member of the family appearing in this county is John Emmot, whose will, dated at Ballymorane, Co. Kildare, January 17th, 1694, was proved in the diocese of Kildare on the 23d of the same month.

To his brother, William Emmot, of Dublin, he left a score of ewes and lambs, to be chosen shearing time by Samuel Watson and John Bancroft.

To his kinswoman Elizabeth Taylor he made a small bequest; and he acknowledged a debt of two guineas to his brother, Robert Taylor.*

These were some of the names living in Dublin cotemporary with Christopher Emmett, of Tipperary, and they intermarried with persons

* This Robert Taylor made a will October 6th, 1705, appointing his wife executrix, and William Emmott and John Howard, of the city of Dublin, executors. He gave to his sons John and William Taylor one hundred pounds each, and to his daughter Elizabeth fifty pounds, and fifty more after her marriage, under certain conditions—"but if my daughter Elizabeth Taylor shall put my executors to any trouble about John Emmott's legisie, that then I doe cut her off." "Item, I give to my brother William Emmott twenty foot of land on the key and ninety foot deep during his natural life."—Prerogative Will Book, 1703-6.

From these wills it is made evident that Robert Taylor had married Elizabeth, the sister of John Emmott, of Dublin, and of William Emmott, of Co. Kildare. The name of this family is found spelled both Emmott and Emmett.

of the name of Taylor. The following extracts of deeds and wills refer to them:

1. Deed dated July 19th, 1734. Reg. Deeds, B 77, fol. 341, No. 53910. Recites a deed dated July 11th, 1715, the parties to which were William Taylor, of Dublin, cabinet-maker; Francis Taylor, of Nenagh, talloe chandler; John Emmett, William Coates and Thomas Coates, all of Dublin, merchants, and Elizabeth, alias Taylor, of Blackpit, Co. Dublin, widow of Joseph Coates, late of Blackpit. Being a settlement made of the marriage of the said Francis Taylor and Elizabeth Coates.

2. Will of William Emmet, of Dublin, "formerly in the Battle Axe Guards," dated the 23d of September, 1757, and proved the 5th of October, 1762. All his valuables were left to be equally divided between his wife Isabella and his son Thomas Emmet, when he attained the age of twenty-one years. His estate consisted of personal property and no lands.

3. Will of Thomas Emmott, clerk of George Simpson, Esq., dated the 17th of January, 1760, and proved on the 3d of September, 1764. He directed that he should be buried at the north side of St. Doolack's churchyard in Fingall. He mentioned his

Nephews—George Emmott, Daniel Parker, and John Parker.

Nieces—Sophia Emmott, Jane Morgan, and Jane Emmett [sic], wife of James Plant. His *Friend and* Master, George Simpson, as residuary legatee and executor.

In answer to an application made to the rector of the Church of England in Tipperary, it was ascertained that the parochial register of that town did not go further back than 1779. But in relation to the Emmet family the rector, however, sent a copy of an inscription found on a headstone in the churchyard, viz.:

Here Lyeth y^e Body
of Christopher Em
ett, who departed
this Life y^e 26th of
August anno Dmi
1743. In y^e 41st year
of his age.

This inscription has been reproduced in facsimile, and will be found in the chapter on the Emmet family in the United States of America.

The following notices of the Emmet family were extracted from the parochial register of St. Peter's parish church, Cork:

1746, Oct. 29th. Mary Emmet, baptized [unknown].

1761, Oct. 28. Christopher Temple [son of Rob' and Elizabeth Emmett] baptized.

1764, May 20th. William Emmett, buried [unknown].

From the register of St. Fin Barr's parish church, Cork :

1769, August 15th. "Infant child of D^r Emmet," buried.

1769, Dec. 26th. Mason, "son of D^r Emmett," buried.

Amongst the assignments in the Auditor-General's office is an appointment dated January 29th, 1711, by the Marquis of Hardwick, son and heir of the third Duke of Schomberg, to Henry Emmet and John Loudon, merchants, both of London, contractors for "clothing and accoutrements" for the regiment commanded by the Duke, authorizing them to receive from the Irish Establishment two thousand eight hundred pounds, the amount of their account.

In 1726 a Privy Seal, dated the 17th of September, directing Letters Patent to pass in Ireland granting a pension of one thousand pounds per annum for eight years, charged on the Irish Establishment, to John Emmett, Esq., and pursuant thereto Letters Patent passed the Great Seal September 17th, 13 George II. This John Emmett, Esq., resided subsequently in London, as appears by a power of attorney dated January 7th, 17 $\frac{26}{7}$, from John Emmett, of London, Esq., and of St. Andrew's parish, to Theophilus Clements, Teller of the Exchange in Ireland, to receive his pension of one thousand pounds per annum. He died some time in the year 1727, and, as can be seen by the list to be given of wills admitted to probate in London, administration of his will was granted to his widow August 23d of that year. He divided his effects equally between "Elizabeth my wife and my son Henry." The following year, on September 17th, "Elizabeth Emmet, widow and executrix of John Emmet, of London, Esq.," "gave a power of attorney to John Balagher, of Dublin, to receive her 'late husband's pension of one thousand pounds per annum.'"

February 4th, 1782. A grant was made to Robert Emmet, Doctor of Physic, of Dublin, in trust for Harriet Temple, widow of Robert Temple, and her three daughters, Anne, Mehatable, and Harriet, of the yearly pension of fifty pounds each. This was probably granted by the British Government as compensation for the loss of property sustained by Robert Temple, as a loyalist, at the beginning of the American Revolution.

April 17th, 1788. A grant was made to Thomas Addis Emmet, Physician to H. M. State in Ireland, of one hundred and sixty-five pounds per annum additional salary. This was for a short time while Dr. T. A. Emmet filled the position of State Physician previously held by his father.

January 30th, 1817. A grant was made to Mary Sadlier of the estate of Robert Emmet, attained.

This property had been bequeathed by Grace Emmet to her brother-

in-law, Dr. Robert Emmet, a residuary legatee, and on the death of the father it should have been inherited by Thomas Addis Emmet, but his political disabilities were a bar, so it passed to the younger brother, Robert, and after his execution it was held by the British Government. Doubtless influence was brought to bear so that it reverted to one of the Sadlier family, who was a relative of Mrs. Grace Emmett, the original owner of the property.

A special search was made in the Prerogative Court of England through the wills and administrations granted under the name of Emmet, from 1699, to connect, if possible, John Emmett, the pensioner of one thousand pounds per annum in the Irish Establishment, or some other English branch, with Christopher Emmet of Tipperary, the father of Dr. Robert Emmet, but no connection could be traced.

At a subsequent date a more extended search was undertaken for the same purpose, and the list of wills examined indicates the portions of England visited and where these were recorded. The following wills and administrations appeared on the evidence, under the various modes of spelling the name, from 1699 to 1751, inclusive, and all the individuals were connected directly or indirectly with London :

- 1704. Emmett, Benjamin, London.
- 1704. Emmett, George, admin. to wife, London.
- 1708. Emmett, George, Middlesex.
- 1710. Emmett, Thomas, Kent.
- 1713. Emmett, Edward, Devon.
- 1717. Emmett, George, Devon.
- 1718. Emet, Benjamin, London.
- 1718. Emmet, Theophilus, London.
- 1718. Emet, Mary, Bucks.
- 1719. Emmet, Maurice, Surrey.
- 1720. Emmet, Edward, died abroad.
- 1723. Emmet, Edward, Middlesex.
- 1727. Emmet, John, London, admin. to wife.
- 1727. Emmet, Harriet, Middlesex.
- 1727. Emmet, James, London.
- 1734. Emmet, Thomas, Middlesex.
- 1734. Emmet, Maurice, Surrey.
- 1735. Emmet, Stephen, Middlesex.
- 1736. Emmet, Henry, Middlesex.
- 1738. Emmet, John, Middlesex.
- 1738. Emmet, William, Middlesex.

- 1738. Emmet, Thomas, Middlesex [see uncle's will, 1734].
- 1739. Emmet, Mary, Middlesex.
- 1746. Emmet, Anne, Herts.
- 1746. Emmet, John, Herts.
- 1751. Emmet, John, Middlesex.

The following is a list of all wills and administrations which appeared under the name of Emet, or varied orthography, in the Index of the Prerogative Courts, from 1600 to 1705, both inclusive. The indices of the separate jurisdictions of the Bishop of London, the Commission, and the Consistory Court of London were searched, but it was found that the name did not appear in either of these.

- 1612. Emmett, Anthony, alias Taylor, of Malmesbury; his will cites as legatees Jane his wife and his son Thomas.* Also mention is made of Mabel and Alice, daughters of the said Thomas, Alice his daughter, wife of Robert Archer, and their son Anthony, and "my kinsman Anthony Emmett, alias Taylor."

List of wills inspected and on record in different parts of England:

- 1641. Emmett, Alexander, Southampton.
- 1642. Emmett, Alexander [no place given].
- 1645. Emmott, William, Southampton.
- 1646. Emmett, William, Surrey, administration.
- 1647. Emmott, William, London.
- 1648. Emett, Elizabeth [no place given].
- 1650. Emmott, Robert, Kent.
- 1651. Emott, James, York.
- 1652. Emott, John, Middlesex.
- 1654. Emmott, William, York.
[Mentions his widow Margaret, and no other name.]
- 1654. Ematt, William, Surrey.
- 1656. Emott, Nicholas, Middlesex.
- 1657. Emmatt, Robert, Surrey.
- 1657. Emmet, George, Pymford.
[This will mentions Susan Bullen, his daughter, "My natural son Robert," and Mary and Agnes, his other daughters, besides John and Sarah, children of his daughter Susan Bullen, and his wife Agnes.]
- 1658. Emmott, George, York, administration.

* A curious relation is again found existing in connection with the two names, and where one of the families of Emett, evidently for some special reason, assumed the name of Taylor, and another instance is given in 1677 of an Emmott, alias Taylor.

- 1659. Emott, Nicholas, Kent.
- 1659. Emmett, *alias Taylor*, Thomas [no place given], administration.
- 1675. Emmat, William [no place given], administration.
- 1677. Emmott, *alias Taylor*, Alexander, Gloucester.
- 1682. Emmett, Lancelot, administration.
- 1690. Emmett, George, Middlesex.
- 1690. Emmett, Anthony [no place given].
- 1690. Emmott, William, Middlesex.
- 1691. Emmott, John, Middlesex.
- 1692. Emmett, Maurice, Middlesex.

The register of St. Peter's Church, Cornhill, London, records the following marriage: "Robert Emmet, of St. John Wopping, Middlesex, and Bethca Parsons of the same place, on 16th December, 1734. Licence."

The chief difficulty met with in being able to trace a relationship between the different individuals whose wills were placed on record, and who were doubtless more or less closely connected by family ties, is due, as already stated, to the varied modes of spelling the name; not only among different members of the same family, but individuals even frequently followed no fixed rule. We shall see hereafter that Dr. Robert Emmet, of Dublin, varied the mode of spelling his name not less than four times in the latter portion of his life.

It would seem, after looking over these wills, that William Emmett, of Surrey, whose will was admitted to probate in 1646, was the father of William Emmatt, of the same county, whose will was proved in 1654, and of his brother, Robert Emmatt, whose will was placed on record in 1657.

So far as we can rely upon circumstantial evidence, we are justified in the belief that all those bearing the name, and who, during the seventeenth century, were living in Co. Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, and London, were all closely connected, and that from some of these families the Irish settlers of the same name came. Appreciating fully the importance of the statement made by Mr. Emmet, the grandfather of the writer, that the first settlers of the name in Ireland came from Co. Kent, especial search was made in that neighborhood. But no trace of the name was found there previous to the record of the will of Robert Emmott in 1650, and of Nicholas Emott, of the same county, in 1659; and we find the will of Nicholas Emott (evidently a relative) offered in 1656, and of John Emott in 1652, both of the County of Middlesex. Robert Emmott was apparently the father of Nicholas, of Co. Kent, and the grandfather of Nicholas and John, of Middlesex; or he may have been the grandparent of Nicholas and the father of John. This Robert Emmott was probably a settler in Co. Kent

from Lancashire, as may be inferred from a pedigree of the Emmott family to be given hereafter.

The only family of the name in London at this period was that of a William Emmott, whose will was admitted to probate in 1647, and it is not improbable that he was a near relative, if not a son, of Robert, of Co. Kent. No further trace of the name was found in London until the visitation was made in 1687, when the return was made of the family of Maurice Emmet, who had five sons—William, Maurice, Richard, George and Henry. This return was signed by Henry Emmet, who stated that he was descended from Emmet of Emmet Hall, in Lancashire. He claimed, as granted by the Herald, the right to use the arms which he exhibited, and these are the same as were at that time borne by the Emmott family of Emmott Hall, Lancashire. This London family had an estate in Middlesex, where Maurice Emmet died and where his will was offered for probate in 1692. In this connection it is of interest to trace the recording of the wills of other members of the family in this county. It is possible that this estate was inherited from John Emott, already referred to, of Middlesex, whose will, as shown, was proved in 1652.

With the statement of Mr. T. A. Emmet, and the testimony of Henry Emmet, of London, which will be treated of at greater length in a subsequent chapter, it is by no means improbable that the Emmet family of Ireland, which settled in the United States, was descended from the Emott or Emmott family of Lancashire through Robert Emmott, of Co. Kent, and his son, John Emott, of Middlesex, or from William Emmott, of London, who may also have been a son of Robert.

CHAPTER II.

DOCUMENTARY AND TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE EMMET FAMILY—*Continued.*

On the 3d of October, 1619, Thomas Emmott, of Emmott Hall, died in the parish of Colne, Co. Pal. Lancashire, England, where he had been for many years the head of a family whose ancestors had lived for centuries on the same lands. The eldest son generally bore the name of William, while Thomas, Robert, John and Christopher were the Christian names most frequently used. This family has twice been reduced to a single female member, whose husband adopted the name. By special act of Parliament, about 1745, Richard Wainhouse, the husband of Mary Emmott, took the surname of Emmott, and within a few years a similar change of name took place, so that the present head of the family is Richard Greene-Emmott, Esq. This family for an indefinite period—certainly previous to the seventeenth century, as shown by monumental remains—has borne the same arms.

In the Somerset Herald Office, London, is to be found the record of an Emmet family living in London at the time of the Herald's visitation in 1687. The right of this family to bear arms was then both recognized and recorded by the Herald. These arms are identical with those granted several centuries before to the Lancashire family of Emmott, and they are, moreover, the same arms that were used in Ireland by the ancestors of the American branch of Emmet. But "Edmondson's Heraldry," 1780, gives the arms of "Emmett, Emmott [Westminster] and of Emmot in Lancashire—Per pale az. & sa. : a fesse engrailed, erm., between three bulls' heads cabossed, or," and the crest, "out of a ducal coronet, or, a bull salient, ppr."

The arms used by the Emmet family in Ireland are well shown on a silver salver in the possession of the writer. This was given in 1783 to Dr. Robert Emmet by the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin, an institution founded by Dean Swift in 1745 for the insane, and it was the first public asylum for insane ever established in Ireland. After a service of many years Dr. Emmet resigned his position, and was then made the recipient of this piece of plate, which is thirty-one inches in diameter, and

on which is engraved the following inscription: "Presented by unanimous consent of the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin, to Robert Emmet, Esq., State Physician, as a Memorial, not compensation, of the many services rendered by him to that institution, as Governor, Physician, and Treasurer thereto.—Feb. 3, 1783."* The Governors of this hospital were, *ex officio*, as a body composed of the chief officials of the city of Dublin.

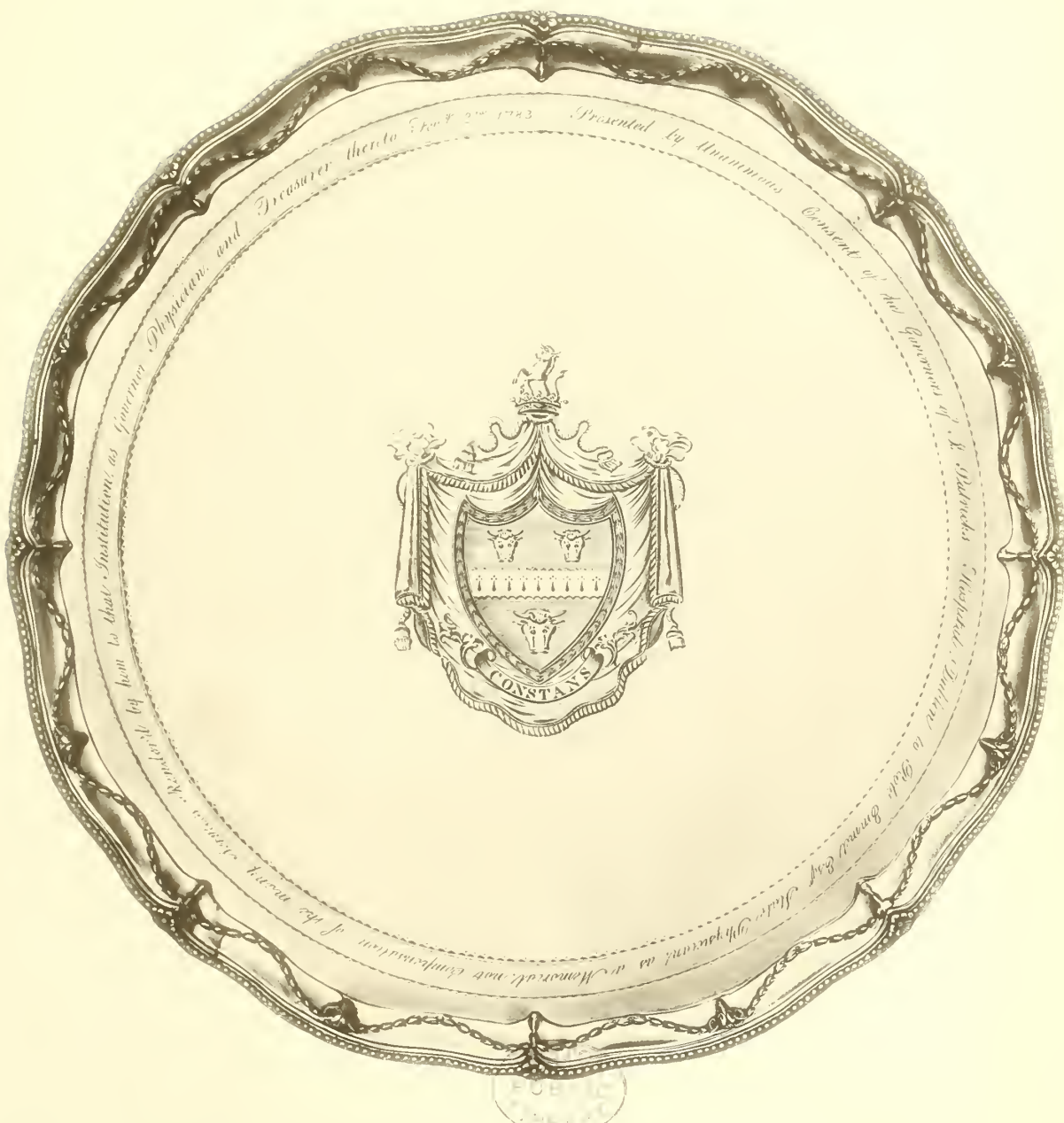
At that time great importance was attached to the use of heraldic arms, and so much so that no one was allowed to bear them in Great Britain or Ireland, unless entitled to do so. Therefore, under the circumstances, the presence of these arms engraved on this salver, and the fact that they were placed there by direction of this Board of Governors, prove beyond question that Dr. Emmet was entitled to use them. This is an important circumstance in its bearing on the history of the family, and in the inference to be drawn from it, that this branch at least came from the Emots of Lancashire.

It has also a more general bearing from the fact that wherever a branch of the family has been found entitled to bear arms, and without reference to the different modes of spelling the name, the arms have been essentially the same, or very similar to those which were used by the Emot family of Colne, Lancashire, and were in all probability the same as those granted, or borne, by Robert de Emot in the fourteenth century. The three bulls' heads cabossed have been found with generally a fesse engrailed, erm.; but in one instance, as borne by a London family of Emmet, a chevron engrailed was used. In the first grant of the arms it is supposed the color on the shield was azure, from the fact that this tincture appears on the earliest rendering found. The same is still used by the Emmott family, and generally by the Emmet branches, but a party per cross, as well as per pale, has been used with azure and sable.

The greatest variation has been found in the crest and motto, as the choice of either or both rested with the individual. In the original grant the crest was—"Out of a ducal coronet, or, a bull rampant, ppr," and not "salient," as given by Edmondson. The oldest motto, and the one still borne by the Emmotts of Lancashire, is "Tenez le Vraye," while Dr. Robert Emmet used "Constans."

The only exception met with in the use of the bulls' heads was found in the granting of arms to a Peregrine Emmit, of Spilsby, Co. Lincoln,

* The late Mr. John P. Emmet, shortly after his marriage in 1880, employed Tiffany & Co., of New York, to make a reproduction of this testimonial. At his death in 1894 it passed to his nephew, Robert Temple Emmet.

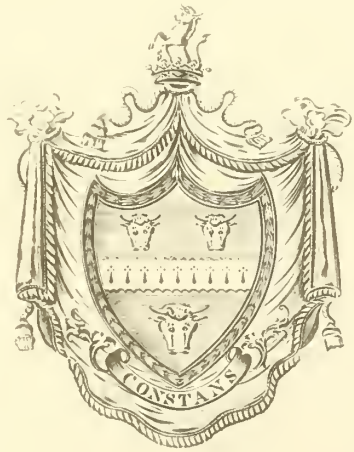


Presented by the Government of the Kingdom of Prussia to the Trustees of St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin, in 1843

Präsentirt dem Vorstande des St. Patricks Hospitals in Dublin durch die Königl. Preussische Regierung im Jahre 1843

Presented to Dr. Robert Emmet by the Trustees of St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin.

Präsentirt Dr. Robert Emmet durch den Vorstand des St. Patricks Hospitals in Dublin.

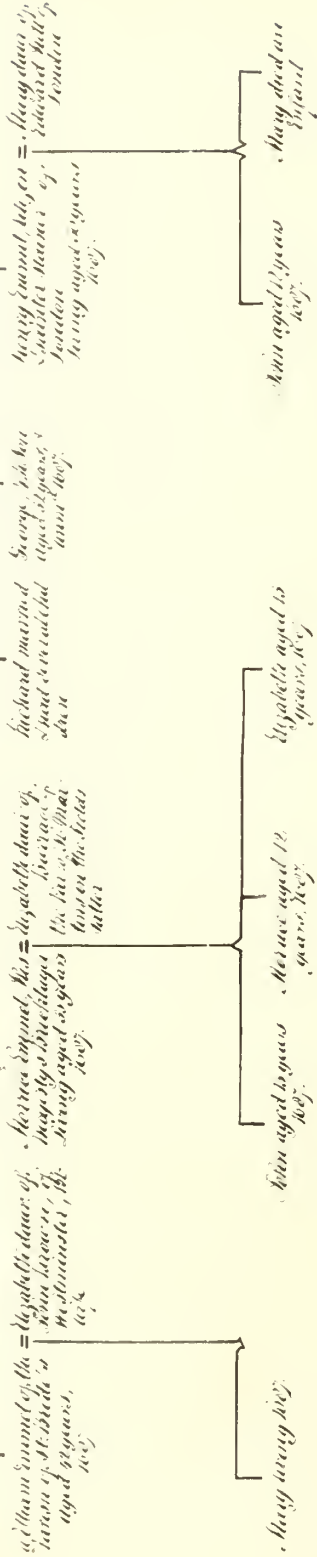


PRESENTED TO DR. ROBERT EMMET BY THE TRUSTEES OF ST. PATRICK'S HOSPITAL, DUBLIN.



*As names from a above were
 in 18th century already
 known as they are the
 and the of the name
 are connected from
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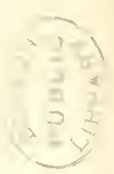
**Morrice Emmet of London = Fur and the hair of
 time**
Morrice aged 20 years



Morrice Henry Emmet

*Elizabeth from the
 of the
 of the
 of the*

FROM THE VISITATION IN 1687 OF THE FAMILY OF MORRICE EMMET, LONDON, ENGLAND.



about the middle of the last century. In this instance the two bulls' heads in the upper part of the shield were placed on an engrailed chief of ermine, with two crossed thighbones and four ants on the base in azure, and with a different crest.

From the circumstantial evidence collected it seems probable that the immediate ancestry of Christopher Emmet, of Tipperary, may have been connected with the following branch of the family, and who had connections in Kent and Middlesex, living in London, bearing the same arms, and claiming to have been from the Lancashire stock:

Maurice Emmet married a Miss Pynes, and was living in London in 1687, at the time of the visitation of the Herald-at-Arms, and was then in his sixty-eighth year of age. They had the following children at this visitation, and their ages were then recorded:

1. William Emmet, of St. Bride's Parish, married Elizabeth, a daughter of John Browne, and had one child, Mary.

2. Maurice Emmet, "His Majesty's Bricklayer," married Elizabeth Burrage, of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and in 1687 he was then thirty-five years of age. His children were John, aged fifteen, Maurice, twelve, and Elizabeth, thirteen.

3. Richard. He had several children, but the particulars could not be obtained.

4. George Emmet, unmarried, and at the age of thirty-two years.

5. "Henry Emmet, citizen," "His Majesty's Glass Painter and Stainer." He was at the time thirty years of age, and had married Mary, the daughter of Edward Hill, also of London. Their children were John Emmet, then twelve years of age, and Mary, who died in infancy.

The visitation is signed by "Henry Emmett," with the following marginal note made at the time by the London Herald: "The arms, from a silver seal, and Mr. Emmet alleged the colours as they are here marked. He affirmeth that he is descended from Emmet of Emmet Hall, in Lancashire, but nothing found of that family in the visitation of that county."

"Emmott Hall," as we have shown, existed at that time, and the family were recorded by the Visitation Herald, and they bore these same arms. It is, therefore, possible, as the original mode of spelling the name was Emot, that in a previous generation the name of this branch had been spelled Emmott; or, it is quite possible that the residence of another branch in the same county had been called "Emmet Hall," for the evidence is conclusive that the ancestors of all of the name, whatever the mode of spelling, came originally from this neighborhood.

It will now be well to consult the will of William Emet, of Tipperary,

who expected his "kinsman," Henry Emet, to come from England according to his order. As William left a bequest to his brother George, Henry was probably the son of another brother. The eldest brother of Henry, of London, was named William, and he also had a brother George.

But for the facts that William, of Tipperary, died in 1671, and William, of London, was possibly living in 1687, it might be held that they were one and the same person. On the other hand, if William, of London, was living at the time of the visitation, it is remarkable that his age was not recorded in consequence of being the eldest son. In the same connection should be considered the notes relating to "John Emmet of London, Esq.," who received a pension of one thousand pounds per annum in 1711, and left his property at his death to his wife and his son, Henry Emmet.

Notwithstanding that Maurice Emmet is styled "His Majesty's Brick-layer," and his brother Henry "His Majesty's Glass-stainer," it is not believed that either of them followed so humble a calling.* This family was evidently well off at the time, possibly wealthy, with an estate in Middlesex County, and had doubtless rendered some service to the Government. At that time no greater service could be rendered to the King than by making him a loan of money, which he was never expected to repay in any other manner than by a grant of some position or office, which afforded his creditors an opportunity to recoup with interest from the public purse and by methods not to be too carefully inquired into. "His Majesty's Brick-layer" and "His Majesty's Glass-stainer" doubtless received some stipend from their nominal offices until something better presented itself; and it might be readily assumed that, with some like existing obligation, Henry Emmet was given the contract for furnishing "clothing and accoutrements" for the regiment commanded by Schomberg, and that John Loudon, as copartner, was in all probability the man-of-straw selected to do the work in the most profitable manner. The circumstance of being entitled to bear arms renders the supposition impossible that either Maurice or Henry Emmet could have followed a trade under the then existing social code.

Henry showed by his seal that he used the arms in 1687, and at that time he satisfied the London Herald-at-Arms that he was entitled to bear them, and, as has been stated, the right was officially recognized and recorded at the time. On the other hand, if he had not fully satisfied the Herald as to this right, the seal would have been seized and destroyed.

Henry Emmet and his son John were for some reason closely con-

* The one was no more "His Majesty's Brick-layer" than Queen Victoria's present Equerry is her stableman.

nected with the town of Plymouth, England, in their business relations with Ireland, and at the same time with a Mr. White, a merchant of that place. Unless for some special reason the town of Plymouth had been selected, this circumstance becomes the more worthy of note, as many other ports in England were more favorably situated for commercial relations with Ireland. Dr. Christopher Emmet, of Tipperary, also had some connection with the same town, as one of his sisters married a Mr. White, of Plymouth, and his wife, Rebecca Temple, had an uncle, Mr. Nathaniel White, a merchant, who was living there in 1717. This fact is shown in a letter written at the time by Capt. Robert Temple, her brother. A copy of this letter was obtained by the writer from Capt. Temple's great-grandson, the late Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston. It is also known that Thomas Temple, the father of Robert, sailed from this port when he first went out to settle in New England, during the early part of the eighteenth century. No trace, however, of the Emmet family has yet been found in connection with the town of Plymouth, though a family bearing the surname of Emmetson once resided there, and a Dr. Remmetson was a very distinguished physician in the town during the early part of this century. The writer possesses a large folio engraving of this physician, which most probably was published by a dealer, for under ordinary circumstances it would have proved too costly for a private individual to have had it engraved for a limited circulation.

There exists a possible clue to some connection between the family of Dr. Christopher Emmet and Thomas Emet, who was supposed to have died without children, and whose estate passed to Thomas Moore through his grandmother, Katherine Emet. The social relations of these two families were with the most prominent in the county, and they were more nearly the same than of any of the other branches then living in Ireland; and they seem to have been associated with the same families in their neighborhood which were known to Dr. Robert Emmet and his children a generation later.

Many years ago a young man named Moore, from the south of Ireland, got into some pecuniary difficulty while in this country, and was aided by an uncle of the writer, Mr. T. A. Emmet. Moore knew nothing of the early history of his family, but came to Mr. Emmet for assistance on the strength of a tradition that in some manner Robert Emmet, "the patriot," was related to his family. In proof he promised to send to Mr. Emmet, on his return, a Bible which had belonged to some one of the name of Emmet, but none of *his* family knew how or when it came into their possession. Moore kept his promise, and shortly after the book was received

by Mr. Emmet it was presented by him to the writer. This Bible is an octavo volume, printed in London, 1638, and it contains a record of the birth of five children, placed, as usual, on the record sheet between the Old and the New Testament. The first two entries are made in the handwriting of an educated man in middle life, while the last three were written by a female who wrote with some difficulty; but, from the propinquity and order of the dates it is evident that the whole record was one of the same family of children. At the back of this book there had been written what seemed to have been an extensive family record, but apparently a child had seized these leaves and in an attempt to get them into its possession they were pulled out, leaving just enough along the binding to indicate the nature of the manuscript. Eighty-seven years after this record had been made, some one (possibly one of the sons mentioned), in 1734, wrote in the tremulous hand of old age: "I desire this leaf may not be taken out."

On going through the Bible, page after page, was found, written in a child's hand, "Mary Moore's," along the margin, as if it were done to mark the chapter which she had to memorize. The whole interest in the book turns on this name, and the possibility that it may have belonged to Mary Moore, the sister of Thomas, who inherited the property of Thomas Emet. The family tradition held by the Moores, that they were connected with Robert Emmet's family, cannot be accepted or be relied upon alone as evidence, since the origin of the tradition may have been due entirely to their possession of the book.

The following is the Bible record:

"1647. My daughter Deborah Emmet was borne ye 7th day of November 1647,—being Sunday, and was baptized ye Sunday following, being the 4th day of November.

"1650. My daughter Mary Emmet was borne and Baptized upon Fryday, being ye 22nd day of November, 1650.

"My sonn Honri [Henry] Emott was borne upon Sunday, being the 25th of November, 1653.

"My daughter Elossoboth Emott was borne the 21st day of November, 1655.

"My son John Emott was borne the 21st of November, 1658."

"I desire this leaf may not be taken out.—1734."

As early as 1685 the name of James Emott appears among the first settlers in Amboy, N. J., and in 1686 he was appointed Secretary of that Province. There have been several distinguished men of this family, the most prominent being the late Judge James Emott, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.,

who died in 1850. Some years ago an uncle of the writer inquired into the early history of this family. Judge Emott, of Poughkeepsie, then stated that little was known of his ancestor, the first Emott settler in Amboy, and that he was ignorant of the date of his arrival; nor could he tell whether James Emott had emigrated from Holland with the first Dutch settlers, or had come from England at a subsequent period.

New Perth, on Ambo Point, hence in time Perth Amboy, was named after James, Earl of Perth, one of the proprietors of East Jersey, and it was settled by Scotch and emigrants from the north of England. Under the circumstances that James Emott came originally from either Lancashire or Yorkshire, in the north of England, is a natural inference, connected as he was with the early settlement of Perth Amboy.*

Dr. Wm. J. Macneven was one of the United Irishmen during the troubles of 1798, and was confined in Fort George, Scotland, with Thos. Addis Emmet. He married a Mrs. Tom, née Riker, of Bowery Bay, Long Island, who lived to an advanced age. The writer, when a young man, learned from her the history of a member of the Emmet family, who came with his brother to New York about the middle of the last century. She also stated that towards the close of the Revolution her family returned to their country place, which had been abandoned for some years, as the English held New York and the neighborhood. It was then found that the British soldiers in seeking for plunder had broken open the family vault and had left the coffins broken and open. As a child Miss Riker was particularly struck by the dark hue of the bones in one of the coffins, in such marked contrast with the blanched appearance of the other skeletons. Her father told her they were the remains of a young Irishman, named Emmet, a great favorite with everyone who knew him, who had come to this country with his brother some years before the Revolution. Mr. Emmet had begun as a teacher, but later studied law. During one of his frequent visits to Mr. Riker's house he was struck by lightning while mending a pen at an open door. The history of this young man interested her so much that she frequently got her father to repeat the story, and it apparently made an indelible impression on her, for she never forgot its details. Shortly after Thos. Addis Emmet's arrival in this country Mrs. Macneven made his acquaintance and told him the story of this young Irishman. Mr. Emmet then recalled having heard his father mention that, when a boy, one of his uncles, a brother of Christopher Emmet, had come into possession of a farm near New York, and that he

* The name Emott is quite a common one at the present time in Yorkshire, England, and the reader will recall in the list of wills given one of James Emott, who died in York, 1651.

had sent two of his sons out to look after it. They were never heard of after their arrival in America, not an infrequent occurrence in the early settlement of this country, owing to the uncertainty of any intercourse by letter, which could only be transmitted by one individual to another. The coincidence in dates would lead to the inference that this young Emmet and his brother were these two nephews of Christopher Emmet; and, moreover, Mrs. Macneven had the impression that Mr. T. A. Emmet believed that such was the fact. Nothing is known of the subsequent history of the brother.

James Emmet, of the Hillsboro' District, was appointed Captain in the Third North Carolina Regiment on April 16th, 1776, and served throughout the war. The writer has in his possession a copy of a letter written by Col. James Emmet on April 27th, 1781, to General Greene, and Mr. James A. Garland, of New York, has in his possession a number of others, showing that Col. Emmet was an active and trusted officer. The writer also recalls seeing among the list of officers of the North Carolina Confederate troops, who surrendered at the end of the late war, a Col. Emmet, who was, no doubt, a descendant of the Revolutionary officer. So far it has been impossible to discover the existence at the present time of this family in North Carolina. But the query here presents itself: Was this Col. James Emmet of the Revolution the other nephew of Christopher Emmet, of Tipperary, Ireland, or was he a descendant of James Emott, of Perth Amboy?

The name of Emmet seems to possess some special attraction for the struggling play-actor, the negro minstrel, and the clog-dancer. The writer has known of three instances in this country, and of one in England, where persons on the stage have assumed the name. One of the most noted instances was the late clog-dancer, "J. K. Emmet," whose real name, it is said, was Kline, and who had not the slightest claim whatever to the name of Emmet; moreover, his family still continues to use it.

Among the early settlers in the neighborhood of Frederick, Md., was a family of Emmitts, and their place was the site of the present Emmittsburg. The writer has been unable to obtain any information of the early history of this family.

It is most remarkable that, occupying so prominent and influential a position as did the progenitors of the American branch early in the eighteenth century, a break could exist in the family record which obscures entirely all previous history. It is well known that the Church records, as well as those in private hands, were frequently burned or otherwise destroyed in Ireland by the British troops; in fact, both public and private property

was wantonly destroyed whenever the pretext of a possible rebellion could be made. This is one reason for the obscurity which surrounds this portion of the family history, but the lack of traditional information in the family is to a still greater degree responsible for it. This condition must to some extent be attributed to Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, who had suffered so much during the troubles of "'98," and had so little pleasure associated with the past in Ireland, that after his arrival in this country neither he nor his wife ever referred to Irish affairs or to the family history if it were possible to avoid doing so. He felt bitterly about the tragedies of this portion of his life—so much so that in a large number of his letters which have come to the notice of the writer, and which cover many years of his life in America, in but three instances did Mr. Emmet make any allusion to his family or past history. In one letter to his daughter, Mrs. Le Roy, he made reference to the fortitude with which his wife had borne the privations of her prison life. In another letter he expressed the hope that "no one of the name would ever put foot on the soil of Ireland while she remained under British Rule." And the other instance was to the effect that he wished the past forgotten, and that the history of the family should begin with its settlement in this country.

Dr. Richard Madden, in his life of T. A. Emmet, gives a letter of Mr. Emmet written November 19th, 1806, to Mr. Peter Burrows, an old associate in Ireland, in which we find reference to the same sentiment: "There is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet, I do not wish that there ever should while it is connected with England, and yet it will perhaps be remembered in its history."

In a letter written by Thomas Addis Emmet to Rufus King, of New York, and given in full hereafter, he writes, "and even in those matters which I consider as trivial, but upon which aristocratic pride is accustomed to stamp a value, I should not be inclined to shrink from competition. My birth certainly will not humble me by the comparison, my paternal fortune was probably much greater than yours; the consideration in which the name I bear was held in my native country was as great as yours is ever likely to be, before I had an opportunity of contributing to its celebrity."

Dr. Madden states that "Emmet's vanity was of a peculiar kind; he was vain of nothing but his name." Robert Emmet when answering, at his trial, the accusation that he was an emissary of France that he might advance his own ends, repudiates the charge as follows: "Oh, my country, was it personal ambition that influenced me! had it been the soul of my action, could I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and

consideration of my family, have placed myself among the proudest of your oppressors."

In the history of the family a series of letters will be given which were written to T. A. Emmet while in prison. Frequent reference is made in these letters to prominent persons in Ireland, and in a manner to show clearly what had been the social relation of the family before the political troubles of the day had overwhelmed its members.

The writer recalls seeing his grandmother, Mrs. Emmet, burn a large mass of letters, or other papers, during the winter of 1841, while on a visit to one of his uncles, then living in Broome Street; in fact, as a thoughtless boy, he aided her in doing so by gathering up what had fallen from the grate. But one single record seems to have been preserved, and that is a Bible containing the family record of the grandfather and father of T. A. Emmet; but for this nothing would be known beyond the name of his father.

It has, unfortunately, been only within the past twenty-five years that any attempt has been made, and only by the writer, to ascertain anything of the family history. While this search has been essentially an exhaustive one in both England and Ireland, it has been productive, so far, of little result beyond the accumulation of a mass of material bearing only on a part of the general history of the family.

But from these papers it was made evident that there were certain striking peculiarities or facts strangely associated almost everywhere with the name of Emmet. We may recall the circumstance stated in relation to the close resemblance of the arms borne by the different branches of the family for centuries past, and without relation to the different modes of spelling the name. It has also been found in nearly every generation, and in every branch, that the Christian names of Christopher, Robert, William, Thomas and John have been those most commonly used. Again, the records of England and Ireland show, during the past three hundred years, that an unusually large proportion of the Emmets, with the various modes of spelling, have been professional men, generally "married well," and evidently to superior women, as a rule, who were able to train their children to the best advantage.

So far as could be judged, from a large number of wills examined, there is no evidence that the Emmets at any time possessed great wealth, but all seemed to have been in comfortable circumstances, as, with a single exception, no one of the name was found on the records of the Bankruptcy Courts. This would indicate a prudent, thrifty race, with little taste for show, and one inclined to live within its means. But the most remarkable

circumstance noted was the fact that the family has occupied essentially the same social position from our earliest records to the present day—a fact doubtless to be attributed to the training of professional life and to the consequent development and maintenance of the intellectual faculties. Medicine seemed to have been a favorite profession, and many were successful at the Bar, but not a trace of a single clergyman bearing the name has been found in Ireland. In the north of England there have been several clergymen of the Established Church of the name of Emmott, and at a more recent period the Rev. M. Emmet became prominent in England as a Methodist minister.

Spooner, in his "History of the Fine Arts," etc. (New York, 1865), mentions Wm. Emmett, "an English engraver, who flourished about 1710. He engraved a number of prints for the booksellers, among which is a large view of the interior of St. Paul's Church, executed with the graver in a neat, clear style."

In O'Hart's "Irish Pedigrees" it is stated from Agnew's "French Protestants" that an individual bearing the name of Emet was naturalized in Ireland between 1689 and 1701. It would seem that he was of Huguenot descent from Holland, and came over to Ireland among the followers of William, Prince of Orange.

FOR RECORDING ADDITIONAL FAMILY HISTORY.

CHAPTER III.

A CURIOUS LEGAL DOCUMENT. THE MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THOMAS A. EMMET AND JANE PATTEN, EXECUTED JANUARY 11TH, 1791.

Among the family documents we find the marriage settlement made between Thomas Addis Emmet and Jane Patten, his intended wife. It must seem to all but the legal expert to be a most curiously voluminous and wordy document. To save the time of the reader, who may not be particularly interested in making an effort to ascertain its purpose, it may be stated that the object was a settlement of some two thousand pounds on Jane Patten, at her marriage, and with a provision for disposing of the same after her death for the benefit of her children.

MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT.

THIS INDENTURE, Made the 11th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1791, Between Robert Emmett, of the City of Dublin, Esq., State Physician, and Thomas Addis Emmett, eldest son of the said Robert Emmett, of the 1st part, Jane Patten, of the city of Dublin, Spinster, Daughter of Margaret Patten, otherwise Colvill, widow, of the second part; the said Margaret Patten and William Colvill, of the City of Dublin, Esq., Executor of the last will and Testament of Elizabeth Colvill, deceased, of the third part; and James Patten, of the city of Dublin, Doctor in Physic, and Charles Hamilton, of Hamwood, in the county of Meath, Esq., of the 4th part. WHEREAS, a Marriage is intended shortly to be had and solemnized between the said Thomas Addis Emmett and the said Jane Patten, And Whereas, by Indented Deed of Lease bearing date the 13th day of Sept, in the year 1724, made or mentioned to be made between Richard Nutley, of the city of Dublin, Esq. of the one part, and James Ellard, Sen^r. of Barndaragh, in the county of Tipperary, Gentⁿ., of the other part, the said Richard Nutley for the consideration therein mentioned granted and demised unto the said James Ellard, in his actual possession then being by vertue of the Bargain and Sale therein recited and of the statute for transferring uses into possession, and to his Heirs and Assigns, all that part of Cressoil formerly held by Robert Hobbs, Gentⁿ., Containing according to a Survey then lately made thereof by John Foster, Gentⁿ., therein named, 151 Acres, be the same more or less, situated, lying, and being in the Barony of Kilenamanagh and county of Tipperary, and all houses, edifices, buildings, gardens and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining. To Hold the same premises with the Appurtenances unto the said James Ellard, his heirs and assigns for ever, at and under the yearly rent of £62 1.3, sterl^g., payable half-yearly as therein mentioned. And Whereas,—by Indenture of Lease bearing date the 22nd day of April in the year 1727, made between John Damer, of Tipperary, in the county of Tipperary, Esq^r., of the one part, and Thomas Grove, of the Town and County of Tipperary, aforesaid, Gentleman, of the other part, the said John Damer, for the consideration therein mentioned, did demise and Let unto the said Thomas Grove All That and

Those the lands of Ragheen, part of Kyle, in as large and ample a manner as the said Thos. Grove then enjoyed the Same, Containing 149 Acres and 16 Perches, Situated lying and being in Barony of Clanwilliam and County of Tipperary, with all and every rights members and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining. To Hold the same unto the Said Thos. Grove his heirs and assigns for the three lives therein named and the Survivors and Survivor of them, at the yearly rent of 7^s per Acre for the first seven years and 7s. 6d, per acre for the remainder of the said Term, in which said Indenture of Lease is contained a Covenant for perpetual renewal thereof, on paying a fine of £25 sterling on each renewal. And Whereas all the estate right title and interest of the Said James Ellard by virtue of and under the said recited Fee Farm grant and Also one moiety of the right title of the said Thos. Grove by virtue of and under the said recited freehold Lease, by several mesne assignments and descents came to and were legally vested in Mrs. Elizabeth Middleton, deceased, and Grace Emmett, late of Tipperary, aforesaid Widow, as the co-heiresses of James Russell, late of the Town of Tipperary aforesaid, Esq, deceased, and the said Grace Emmett being so seized and possessed, did in and by her last Will and Testament, bearing date the 9th day of April in the year 1788, Give devise and bequeath unto the said Robert Emmett all and every her freehold messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments Situate lying and being in the county of Tipperary, commonly called or known by the names of Raheen, part of Kyle and Crossoyl each and every of them To Have and To Hold all and every the said Messuages, Rents, Tenements and hereditaments with their and every of their rights Members and Appurtenments to the use of the Said Robert Emmett for and during the term of his natural life. He paying thereout to the child of Temple Emmett, Esq. deceased, the sum of £100 sterling, and to his Daughter Mary Anne Emmett the sum of £50 sterling, and from and after the decease of the said Robert Emmett or other Sooner determination of his Said life estate, to the use of the said Thos. Addis Emmett and the heirs male of his Body with other remainders over.

And Whereas—the said Jane Patten under and by virtue of an Indented Deed of Settlement or Articles Made upon the Intermarriage of the said Margaret Patten with the Rev. John Patten, deceased, Father of the said Jane Patten, and bearing date the 4th day of January in the year 1770 is entitled to a certain Provision or Portion herein particularly specified. And Whereas the said Jane Patten under and by virtue of the last Will and Testament of the said Elizabeth Colvill her aunt is entitled to a certain Legacy bequeathed to her in and by the said Will. And Whercas a Marriage is, with God's permission, intended to be speedily solemnized between the said Thomas Addis Emmett and the Said Jane Patten, and in consideration of the said intended Marriage and of the Settlement and Provision hereinafter made or agreed to be made upon the said Jane Patten, and the Issue, if any, of the said intended Marriage. She the said Margaret Patten and the said William Colvill, the Exccor. of the Said Will of the Said Elizabeth Colvill have agreed to secure the portion or provision to which the said Jane Patten is as aforesaid entitled under the aforesaid Settlement and Will, And for that purpose the said William Colvill hath this day, by and with the privity consent and approbation of the said Jane Patten and Thomas Addis Emmett, her intended husband, testified by their being executing Parties to these Presents, perfected his Bond with Warrent of Attorney for confessing Judgment thereon unto the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton in the penal sum of £2000 ster. conditioned for the payment of the Principal Sum of £1000 with lawful Interest on the 11th day of January next. And the said William Colvill together with the said Margaret Patten have also this day by and with the privity consent and approbation of the said Jane Patten and Thos. Addis Emmett in like manner testified perfected their joint and several Bond and Warrent unto the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton in the penal sum of £2.000 slg. conditioned for the payment of the farther principal Sum of £1000. on the day of the death of the said Margaret Patten, which said sum of £1000 and £1000 so secured as aforesaid are the whole of the Marriage Portion of the Said Jane Patten. And which said two Bonds and Warrents, it is intended and agreed by and between all the said Parties to these Presents shall be in lieu and full satisfaction of the Portion and provision secured to the said Jane Patten by the aforesaid in part recited Settlement and Will respectively, and in full satisfaction of the entire Marriage Portion of the said Jane Patten, and it is hereby declared and agreed by and between the said Parties to these presents that Said two Bonds and Warrents have been so

perfected to the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton upon the Trusts, and to and for the intents and purposes hereinafter mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning the same and none other.

Now This Indenture Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the said intended Marriage and of the said two several Sums of £1000 and £1000 s^g. each, Making together the sum of £2000 s^g., the Marriage portion of the said Jane Patten secured as aforesaid and for providing a competent Jointure and provision for the said Jane Patten in case she shall after the said intended Marriage had survive the said Thos. Addis Emmett, her said intended husband, and settling and assuring the Towns, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments herein after granted and released and for docking and barring all and every quasi Estate tail and remainder of and in the Town and Lands of Ragheer, part of Kyle, And also for vesting the said two sums of £1000 and £1000 in the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton upon such Trusts and to and for such intents and purposes and under and subject to such Provisoos, limitations and agreements as are hereinafter mentioned, expressed and declared of and concerning the Same and for and in consideration of the sum of 10s. s^g. apiece to the Said Robert Emmett and Thomas Addis Emmett in hand paid by the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton at or before the ensembling and delivery of these Presents, the Receipt and Payment whereof is hereby acknowledged and for divers other good and valuable causes and considerations, them the said Robert Emmett and Thos. Addis Emmett thereunto moving, they the said Robert Emmett and Thos. Addis Emmett have and each of them hath, according to the nature of his Estate and Int. therein granted, bargained, sold, released, and confirmed, and by these Presents do and each of them doth as aft. grant, bargain, sell, release, and confirm unto the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton their Heirs and Assigns in their actual possession now being by virtue of a bargain and sale to them thereof made by the said Robert Emmett and Thos. Addis Emmett of the Term of one whole year by Indenture bearing date the day next before the day of the date of these presents in consideration of 5s. s^g. and by force of the Statute for transferring uses into possession and to their heirs and assigns All That and Those the undivided Moiety of that part of the lands of Crossoil, formerly held by Robert Hobbs, Gent, containing according to a Survey formerly made thereof by John Foster, Gentleman, 151 acres, be the same more or less, situated lying and being in the Barony of Kilenemanagh and county of Tipperary aforesaid, together with all houses, edifices, buildings, gardens, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, or in any wise appertaining, and also All That and Those one undevidd Moiety or half part of a divided moiety or half part of the said hereinbefore recited dimised and devised Lands of Ragheen, part of Kyle, in as large and ample manner as the said Thos. Grove formerly enjoyed the same, containing 149 Acres 16 Perches situated lying and being in the Barony of Clanwilliam and county of Tipperary, with all and every the rights members and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, or in any wise appertaining, and the reversion or reversions remainder and remainders yearly and other the Rents, Issues, and profits of the same and every part and parcel thereof, and all the Estate right title interest Property claim and demand whatsoever either at Law or in Equity of them the said Robert Emmett and Thos. Addis Emmett or either of them of in and to the same and every part and parcel thereof, To Have and to Hold the said undivided Moiety of the said Town Lands, tenements hereditaments, and premises of Crossoil, and every part and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances unto the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton and their Heirs and Assigns Subject to the Rent and Covenants in the said fee recited farm grant thereof reserved and mentioned. And To Have and To Hold the said one undivided Moiety or half part of the said Lands of Ragheen, part of Kyle, unto the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton their heirs and assigns for and during the lives now in being thereof and the survivor and survivors of them and for and during the life and lives of such other persons as shall for ever be added pursuant to the covenant for perpetual renewal in said Lease mentioned and contained at under and subject to the Rents and Covenants therein also mentioned and contained, To such uses Nevertheless upon such Trusts and for such interests and purposes and with and under such provisoos, limitations, and agreements, as are hereinbefore mentioned, expressed and declared, of and concerning the same, that is to say—As to for and concerning the said undivided Moiety of the said Town and lands of Crossoil In Trust for and to the use and behoof of the said Robert Emmett, party to these, and Thos. Addis

Emmett, according to their several and respective Estates and Interests, therein at the time of and immediately before the execution of these Presents until the said intended Marriage shall be had and solemnized and from and immediately after the solemnization thereof, then in trust for and to the use and behoof of the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett, and his Assigns, for and during the term of his life, without impeachment of waste and with full liberty to do and commit waste and from and after the determination of that Estate in the lifetime of the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett. To the use and behoof of the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton and their heirs during the life of the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett upon trust to support and preserve the contingent Uses and Estates herein-after limited from being defeated or destroyed, and for that purpose to make entries and bring actions, as the case shall require, But nevertheless to permit and suffer the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett and his Assigns during the term of his life to take and receive the Rents, Issues and profits thereof and of every part thereof to and for his and their own use and behoof and from and immediately after the decease of the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett, in case the said Jane Patten should happen to survive the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett, Then in Trust for and to the use and behoof of the said Jane Patten and her Assigns for and during the term of her natural life, without impeachment of waste and with full liberty to do and commit waste and from and after the determination of that Estate in the life time of the said Jane Patten To the use and behoof of the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton and their heirs during the life of the said Jane Patten In Trust to support and preserve the contingent uses and estates hereinafter limited from being defeated or destroyed, and for that purpose to make entries and bring Actions, as the case shall require. But Nevertheless, to permit and suffer the said Jane Patten and her Assigns, during her life, to take and receive the rents issues and profits thereof, and of every part thereof to, and for her and their own use and behoof, and from and immediately after the decease of the said Jane Patten, In trust for and to the use of such child, or children, issue of the said intended Marriage, as the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett shall by and Deed or Investment in writing executed by him, and attested by three or more credible witnesses, or by his last Will and Testament in Writing, and in like manner attested, limit direct and appoint, and for default of such appointment In trust for and to the use of the first second third and of all and every other the son and sons of the Body of the said Tho^s Addis Emmet to be begotten on the Body of the said Jane Patten his intended wife, severally successively and in rem^t one after another as they and every of them shall be in priority of Birth and seniority of Age, and of the several and respective heirs Male of the Body and Bodies of all and every such Son and Sons lawfully issuing, the elder of such Sons and the Heirs Male of his Body issuing being always to be preferred and to take before the younger of such son and sons and the Heirs Male of his and their Body and Bodies issuing, and for default of such Issue then in trust and to the use and behoof of all and every the Daughters, if more than one, of the Body of the said Tho^s Addis Emmctt, to be begotten on the Body of the said Jane Patten his intended Wife, as tenants in common and not as joint tenants and of the several and respective Heirs of the body and bodies of all and every such Daughters lawfully issuing, and if one or more such Daughter or Daughters shall happen to die without Issue of her or their Body or Bodies then as to the share or shares of her or their so dying without Issue to the Use and behoof the Survivors of said Daughters as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants, and of the several and respective heirs of the bodies of such survivors, And if all such Daughters save only one shall happen to die, without Issue of their bodies, or if there shall be but one such Daughter then to the Use and behoof of such only Daughter, and the heirs of her body issuing, and for default of such Issue, then in trust for and to the use of the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett, and the Heirs of his Body lawfully issuing And for default of such Issue then in trust for and to the use of Robert Emmett, the Younger Brother of the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett, and the heirs of his body lawfully Issuing, and in default of such Issue, then in trust for and to the Use and behoof of the said Tho^s Addis Emmett, his Heirs and Assigns for ever, And as to for and concerning the said undivided Moiety or half part if a divided Moiety or half part of the said Town and Lands of Ragheen, part of Kyle In Trust for and to the use and behoof of the said Robert Emmett party to these Presents, and the said Tho^s Addis Emmett according to their several and respective estates and interests therein at the time and immediately before the execution of these Presents until the said intended Marriage shall

take effect, and from and after the Solemnization thereof, In trust to permit and suffer the said Tho^s Addis Emmett and his assigns for and during the term of his life to receive and take the Rents issues and profits of the said undivided Moiety or half part of a devided Moiety or half part of the said lands and premises of Ragheen, part of Kyle, to and for his and their own use and behoof and from and immediately after his decease, in case the said Jane Patten shall happen to survive the said Tho^s Addis Emmett, her said intended husband, there in trust to permit and suffer the said Jane Patten and her Assigns for and during the term of her life to take and receive the said rents issues and profits of the said last mentioned Lands and premises for her and their own proper use and behoof, and from and immediately after the decease of the said Tho^s Addis Emmett and Jane Patten there In trust to permit and suffer such child or children, issue of the said intended Marriage, as the said Tho^s Addis Emmett shall by any Dced or Instrument in Writing executed by him and attested by three or more credible Witnesses or by his last Will and Testament in writing as aforesaid direct and appointed to receive and take the rents issues and profits of the said lands and premises And in trust to grant and convey all the said freehold premises to him her or them on his or her or their respectively attaining to the Age of twenty one years To Hold to him, her, or them, his her and their Assigns and for default of such appointment In trust to permit and suffer the first, second, third fourth and all and every other Son and Sons of the Body of the said Tho^s Addis Emmett, on the body of the said Jane Patten his intended Wife, to be begotten and the Heirs Male of the body and bodies of such Son and Sons lawfully Issuing to receive and take the rents, issues, and profits of the said last mentioned Lands and premises severally successively, and in remainder one after another, as such son and sons shall be in Seniority of Age and priority of Birth, the elder of such son & sons and the Heirs Male of his body always to be preferred and to take before the younger of said son and sons and the heirs male of his and their body and bodies issuing, and when and so soon as he or they shall respectively attain the full age of 21 years On Trust to grant and convey all the said freehold premises and the whole of the before mentioned Estates and Interests therein to such first second third and every other son and sons his and their heirs and assigns and for default of such issue then in Trust to permit and suffer all and every the Daughters of the body of the said Tho^s Addis Emmett on the Body of the same Jane Patten, his intended wife, to be begotten, if more than one, and the several and respective heirs of the bodys of such Daughters to receive and take the rents issues and profits of the said last mentioned lands and premises as Tenants in common and not as joint tenants, and if one or more of such Daughter or Daughters shall happen to die without issue of her or their Body or Bodies, then as to the share or shares of her or them so dying without Issue to permit and suffer the Survivors of such Daughters and the respective heirs of the Body of such Survivors to receive and take the rents issues and profits of the said lands and premises as tenants in common and not as joint Tenants And if all such Daughters save only one shall happen to die without issue of their bodies, or if there shall be but one such Daughter then In trust to permit and suffer the said Tho^s Addis Emmett and the heirs of his body lawfully issuing to receive and take the rents issues and profits of the said last mentioned Lands and for default of such issue then In trust to permit the said Robert Emmett, the younger, and the heirs of his body lawfully issuing to receive and take the rents, issues and profits of the said last mentioned lands and premises, and in trust to grant and convey the said leasehold premises according to the aforesaid several last mentioned limitations when and so soon as the person or persons entitled thereto under and by virtue of the said limitations shall respectively attain to his or their age of 21 years, and for default of such Issue of said Robert Emmett, the younger, then In trust to grant and convey the said last mentioned Lands and premises unto the said Tho^s Addis Emmett his heirs and assigns for and during all the rest residue and remainder of the aforesaid estate and interest in said last mentioned Lands and premises, And it is hereby declared and agreed by and between all the said parties to these presents that all renewals or new Leases of the said last mentioned Towns Lands and premises shall from time to time remain, continue and be subject to be liable to the same trusts as are herein declared of and concerning the said Leasehold premises Provided always and it is hereby further declared and agreed by and between all the said parties to these presents and for their true intention meaning and agreement is that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Tho^s. Addis

Emmett and every other person and persons when & as often as he or they shall respectively be in possession of or entitled to receive the rents issues and profits of the said first and last mentioned Towns, lands and premises limited to them resp'ly under and by virtue of the limitations aforesaid to Demise and Lease the said Towns, lands, tenements, hereditaments and premises aforesaid, as well as those which are Estates of Inheritance as those which are held by the said recited Lease for lives renewable for ever, or any and every part and parcel thereof for one two or three lives, or for any number of years not exceeding 31 years, or for any number of years determinable upon one two or three lives in possession and not in reversion remainder, or expectancy so as upon every such Lease there be reserved and made payable during the continuance thereof the most and best improved Yearly rent that can be reasonably had or obtained for the same, at the time of making thereof without taking any sum or sums of Money, or other thing by way of Fine, for or in respect of such Lease or Leases and so as none of such Leases be made dispunishable of waste by an express words therein and so as every of the said leases be made by Indenture and not by Deed Poll, and in every of the said Leases there be contained a clause, or clauses of distress and Reentry, for non-payment of the rent or rents to be thereby respectively reserved and so as the Lessee and Lessees to whom such Lease or Leases shall be made Seal and deliver counterparts of such Lease or Leases respectively anything herein contained to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding And as to for and concerning the said two several Sums of £1000 and £1000. each herein before mentioned to be secured by the said two recited Bonds and Warrants It is hereby declared and agreed by and between all the said Parties to these presents that the same are hereby vested and shall be and remain vested in the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton and the Survivor of them his Executors and Administrators and shall be laid out applied and disposed of by them in such manner and for such purposes as are herein after mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning the same, that is to say, As to for and concerning the same first mentioned principal sum of £1000 so secured as aforesaid by the Bond and Warrant of the said Wm. Colvill In trust that they the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton or the Survivor of them his Executors or Administrators do and shall permit and suffer the said Tho^s Addis Emmett and his assigns from time to time for and during the term of his life to receive and take the yearly Interest of the said first mentioned principal Sum of £1000. to and for his and their own use and behoof And upon this further trust in case the said Jane Patten shall survive the said Tho^s Addis Emmett, her said intended husband to permit and suffer the said Jane Patten and her Assigns from time to time for and during the term of her life to receive and take the yearly Interest of the said first part mentioned Sum of £1000. to and for her and their own use and behoof and from and immediately after the decease of the Survivor of them the said Tho^s Addis Emmett and Jane Patten upon this further trust to call in and pay and hand over the said first mentioned principal Sum of £1000 and the Interest then due thereon to and amongst all the Issue of the said intended Marriage, in such shares and proportions as the said Tho^s Addis Emmett shall by Deed or Instrument in Writing execute by him in his lifetime and attested by two or more credible Witnesses or by his last Will and Testament direct and appoint And for default of such appointment to be equally divided amongst all such Issue, if more than one child, share and share alike. And if there shall be but one child Issue of the said intended Marriage then the whole of the said first mentioned principal sum of £1000 and all Interest to accrue and grow due thereon, after the death of the Survivor of then the said Tho^s Addis Emmett and Jane Patten to go and be paid to such one child and in case there shall not be any child Issue of the said intended Marriage then upon this further trust that they the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton and the survivors of them his Executors or Administrators do and shall immediately after the decease of the said Jane Patten without Issue of the said intended Marriage as aforesaid call in and hand over and pay the said first mentioned principal sum of £1000 and all Interest due and to accrue thereon after the Death of the said Jane Patten to the said Tho^s Addis Emmett his Executors Administrators and Assigns to and for his and their sole use benefit and behoof And as to for and concerning the said other or second principal sum of £1000 secured as aforesaid by the said Bond and Warrant of the said Wm. Colvill and Margaret Patten In Trust that they the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton or the Survivors of them his Executors or Administrators do and shall after the decease of the said Margaret Patten

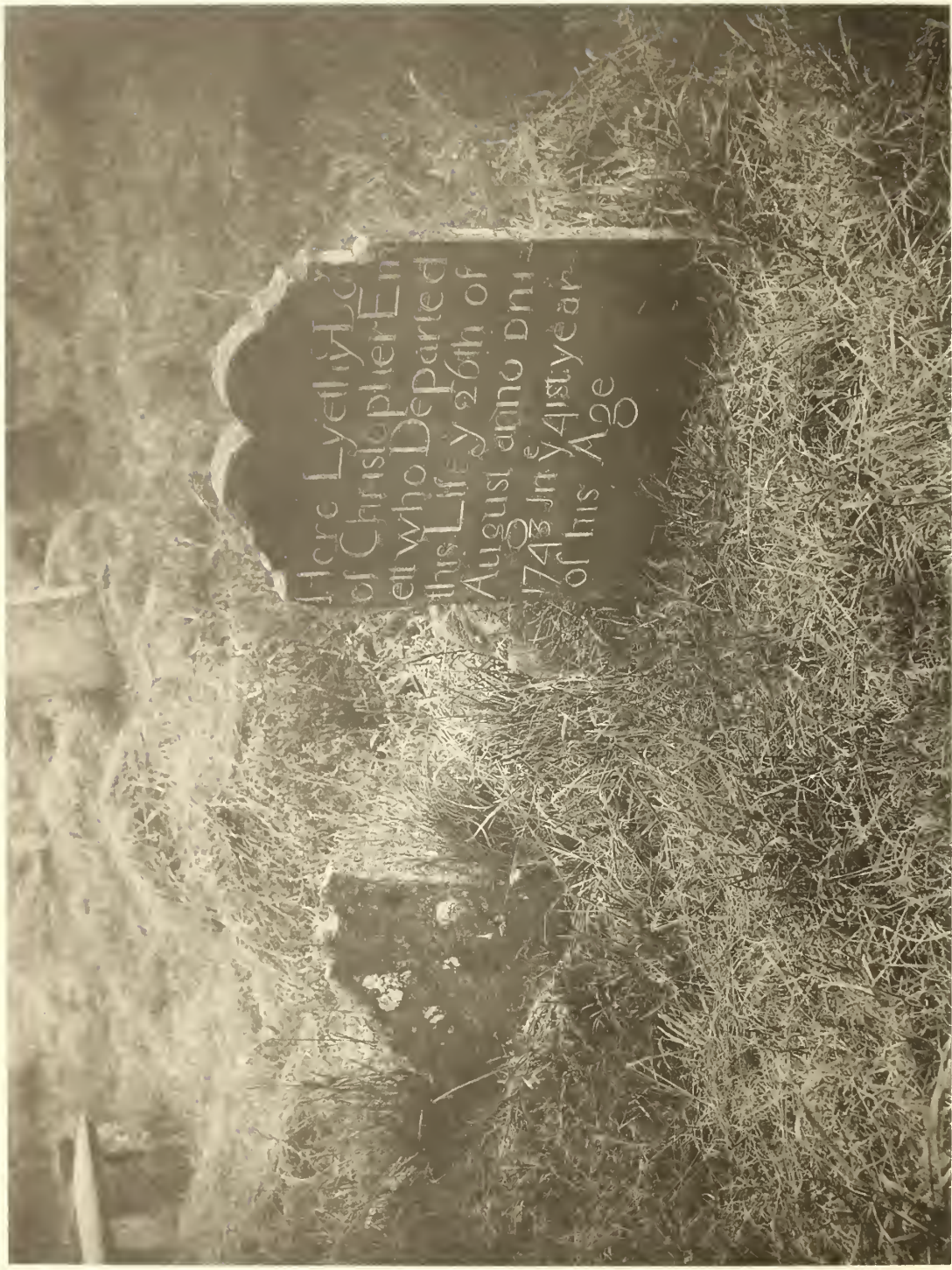
permit and suffer the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett, in case he shall survive the said Margaret Patten, and his assigns from time to time during the term of his life to receive and take the yearly Interest thereof to grow due and be computed from the day of the Death of the said Margaret Patten to and for his and their own use and behoof and upon this further Trust in case the said Jane Patten shall survive the said Margaret Patten and Tho^s Addis Emmitt her intended Husband to permit and suffer the said Jane Patten and her Assigns from time to time during the term of her life to receive and take the yearly Interest of the said other or second principal sum of £1000 to and for her and their own use and behoof and from and immediately after the decease of the survivor of them the said Tho^s Addis Emmett and Jane Patten, Upon this further Trust to call in and pay and hand over the said other or principal sum of £1000 to and amongst all the Issue of the said intended Marriage in such Shares and proportions as the said Tho^s Addis Emmett shall by any Deed or Instrument in writing executed by him in his life time and attested by two or more credible witnesses or by his last Will and Testament direct and appoint and for default of such Appointment to be equally divided amongst all such issue, if more than one child, share and share alike And if there shall be but one child, issue of the said intended Marriage, then the whole of the said other or second principal sum of £1000 and all interest to accrue and grow due thereupon, after the death of the Survivor of them the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett and Jane Patten. to go and be paid to such one child and in case there shall not be any child issue of the said intended Marriage then upon this further Trust that they the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton or the Survivor of them his Executors and Administrators do and shall immediately after the decease of the said Margaret Patten and Jane Patten, in case the said Jane shall die without Issue of the said intended Marriage as aforesaid, call in and hand over and pay the said other or second principal Sum of £1000 and all Interest to accrue and grow due thereupon after the death of the said Margaret Patten and Jane Patten as aforesaid to the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett his Executors Administrators and Assigns to and for his and their own sole use benefit and behoof. PROVIDED ALWAYS and it is hereby further declared and agreed upon by and between all the said parties to these presents that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton and the survivor of them and his Heirs at any time after the solemnization of the said intended Marriage by and with the consent of the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett testified by some Deed or Writing under his hand and seal to sell and dispose of all or any part of the said Towns and Lands of Crossoil and Ragheen, part of Kyle, with the appurtenances herein before granted limited and assured for the most money and best price that can be had or gotten for the same and with the like consent to call in the said first-mentioned principal sum of £1000, and from and immediately after the death of the said Margaret Patten to call in the said other or second principal sum of £1000, and for that purpose to revoke and determine all and every the uses limitations and trusts hereinbefore declared of and concerning the same, PROVIDED NEVERTHELESS that when all or any part of the said premises shall be sold in pursuance of these Presents, all and every sum and sums of Money to arise by such Sale together with the said two principal sums of Money of £1000 and £1000 or such part thereof as shall then be called in shall with such consent as aforesaid be laid out and invested in the purchase of Towns lands, tenements and hereditaments in fee simple or fee farm grants, or Leases for lives renewable for ever in possession to be situated in Ireland, free from incumbrances, which said Towns lands tenements hereditaments when purchased shall be settled and conveyed to such and the same uses upon such and the same Trusts for such and the same ends intents and purposes and under and subject to such and the same Provisoes limitations and agreements as are in and by these Presents limited expressed and declared contained and mentioned of and concerning the said premises hereby granted and released & of and concerning the said two principal sums of £1000 and £1000 or as near thereto as the Death of Parties and other circumstances will admit of And the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett and Jane Patten his intended wife in consideration of the said Marriage Portion secured and settled as aforesaid and for several other considerations, them thereunto respectively moving Do and each of them Doth hereby for them and each of them their and each of their Executors Administrators and Assigns release, acquit, and discharge, the said Wm. Colvill and Margaret Patten and their respective heirs, Executors and Administrators for ever, of and from the payment of all and every or any sum or sums of money

which she the said Jane Patten ever was or at any time hereafter can or may upon any contingency or event be entitled to receive or be paid by the said W^m Colvill, as Executor of the last Will and Testament of Elizabeth Colvill deceased, the said two sums of £1000 and £1000 so secured and settled as aforesaid be and being hereby agreed to be taken as the whole and full amount of any Portion or Fortune which the said Jane Patten or the said Tho^s. Addis Emmett in her right now or hereafter may be entitled to by virtue of or under the said last Will & Testament of the said Elizabeth Colvill deceased or by virtue of or under said before mentioned Indented Deed of Settlement bearing date the 4th day of January 1770 made upon the intermarriage of the said Margaret Patten with the Rev^d John Patten deceased, father of the said Jane Patten And it is hereby further declared & agreed by and between all the said Parties to these Presents that the Provision herein before made for the said Jane Patten in case of her surviving the said Tho^s Addis Emmett, her intended husband, shall be in lieu barr and full satisfaction of all Dower and thirds which the said Jane Patten might or could be entitled to at Common Law or by Virtue of the Statute of distributions out of the estate or effects, real or personal, which the said Thos. Addis Emmett shall or may be seized possessed of or entitled unto at the time of his decease or at any time during the Coverture of the said Jane, anything therein contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding And for the considerations aforesaid and for barring all estates tail and all remainders and reversions expectant and depending of and in the undivided Moiety of the said lands of Crossoil hereby granted and released or mentioned to be hereby granted and released, they the said Robert Emmett the elder and Thos Addis Emmett for themselves respectively and for their respective Heirs Executors and Administrators do & each of them doth Covenant Promise & Grant to & with the said James Patten & Charles Hamilton their Heirs, Executors & Administrators that they the said Robert Emmett and Thos Addis Emmett shall and will before the end of Hilary Term next ensuing the date of these presents at the costs and charges of the said Thos Addis Emmett either by one or more fine or fines or by such Deed or Deeds as counsel learned in the law shall advise, grant release and convey the aforesaid undivided moiety of and in the aforesaid Town and Lands of Crossoil by such apt and convenient names quantities number of Acres and other descriptions to ascertain the same as shall be thought meet unto Mathew Dowling Esq^r one of the Attornies of his Majesty's Courts of Law in this Kingdom and his Heirs and Assigns to the intent and purpose that the said Mathew Dowling may by virtue of the said fine or fines Deed or Deeds be and become perfect Tenant of the Freehold of and in the said undivided moiety of the Town and Lands of Crossoil, to the end that one or more good and perfect common recovery or recoveries may be thereof had and suffered in such manner as is herein after for that purpose mentioned for which purpose it is hereby declared and agreed by and between all the said parties to these Presents that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton, or the Survivor of them, at the costs and charges of the said Thos. Addis Emmet before the end of Hilary Term now next ensuing to sue for and prosecute out of his Majesty's Court of Chancery one or more Writt or Writts of Entry Sur Disseizin en le post returnable and to be returned before his Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, at Dublin, thereby respectively demanding by apt and convenient names quantities qualities number of acres and other descriptions the same undivided moiety of and in the said Town & Lands of Crossoil against the said Mathew Dowling to which said Writt or Writts of Entry the said Mathew Dowling shall appear Gratis, either in his own proper person or by his Attorney, thereto lawfully authorized and vouch over to warrenty the said Thos Addis Emmett who shall also appear in his own proper person or by his Attorney, thereto lawfully authorized and enter into the Warranty and *vouch over to* Warranty the common Vouchee of the same court who shall also appear and upon Impar lance make default so as to Judgement shall and may be thereupon had and given for the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton or the Survivor of them to recover the said undivided Moiety of and in the said Town and Lands of Crossoil against the said Mathew Dowling, and for him the said Mathew Dowling to recover in value against the said Robert Emmett & for him the said Robert Emmett to recover in value against the said Thomas Addis Emmett & for him the said Thos Addis Emmett to recover in value against the said Common Vouchee and that Execution shall and may be thereupon had and awarded accordingly and all and every other act and thing done and executed needful and

requisite for the suffering and perfecting of such common recovery or recoveries with Vouchers as aforesaid And it is hereby further declared and agreed by and between all the said parties to these Presents that immediately from and after the suffering and perfecting of the said recovery or recoveries so as aforesaid or in any other manner or at any other time or times suffered or to be suffered as well these Presents. and the assurance hereby made and any fine or fines to be levied as aforesaid. as also the said recovery or recoveries and also all and every other time and times recovery & recoveries conveyances and assurances in the Law whatsoever had made levied suffered or executed of the said undivided Moiety of and in the said town and lands of Crossoil, or any part thereof by, and between the said parties to these Presents or any of them or whcreunto they or any of them are or shall be parties or privies shall be and enure and shall be adjudged deemed construed and taken and so are and were meant and intended to be, and enure and the Recover or Recoveries in the recovery or recoveries named or to be named and his and their Heirs shall stand and be seized of the said undivided Moiety of the said Town and Lands of Crossoil and of every part & parcel thereof to the uses upon the trusts and to and for the intents and purposes and under and subject to the provisos limitations and agreements hereinbefore mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning the same and none other. And the said Robert Emmett party hereto and Thos Addis Emmett do and each of them doth for him his Heirs Executors and Administrators by these presents covenant promise, grant, and agree to and with the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton their Heirs and Assigns in manner and form following that is to say that for and notwithstanding any act Matter or thing whatsoever by them the said Robert Emmett and Thos Addis Emmett or either of them or by any other person or persons whatsoever made done, committed or executed or Wittingly or Willingly suffered to the contrary, they the said Robert Emmett and Thos Addis Emmett are or one of them is at the time of sealing and delivery of these presents lawfully rightfully and absolutely seized of or in and well and sufficiently entitled unto the said Towns Lands and premises hereby granted and conveyed with the appurtenances without any manner of condition Use Trust, power of revocation, Equity of Redemption, Remainder, or limitation whatsoever to alter charge change defeat Incum^r or make void the same, And that for and notwithstanding any such Act, Matter, or thing, they the said Robert Emmett and Thos Addis Emmett have or one of them hath good right full power, and lawful and absolute. authority, to grant Settle and Assure all and singular the said premises with the Appurtenances in manner aforesaid according to the true intent and meaning of these presents and that the same shall and may from time to time, and at all times, after the Solcmnization of the said intended marriage continue and be to the uses upon the trusts and to and for the intents and purposes aforesaid and be peaceably and quietly held and enjoyed accordingly without the lawful let, suit, trouble, denial, or eviction, whatsoever of or by the said Robert Emmett and Thos Addis Emmett or either of them their or either of their Heirs or of or by any other person or persons whatsoever lawfully claiming or to claim by from or under them or any of them and that free and clear and freely and clearly acquitted exonerated and discharged or otherwise by them the said Robert Emmett and Thos Addis Emmett their Heirs Executors Administrators saved defended kept harmless and indemnified of from and against all and all manner of gifts, grants, bargains, sales, Mortgages, Jointures, Dowers, Right, and title of Dower, uses, trusts, wills, entails and off from and against all other Estates titles, troubles, charges, and incumbrances whatsoever already had made done committed suffered or executed or hereafter to be had made done committed suffered or executed by them the said Robert Emmett and Thos A. Emmett or either of them or their heirs or any person or persons lawfully claiming or to claim by from or under, or in Trust for them or any of them other than and except such Leases of the said premises or any part thereof as are now really and bona fide is being and said charge of £100 thereon to the child of Temple Emmett Esq^r deceased & one further charge of £50. for Mary Ann Emmett, daughter of the said Robert Emmett, and Lastly that they the said Robert Emmett and Thos Addis Emmett and their heirs and all and every other person or persons claiming or to claim by from or under or intrust for them, or either of them shall and will from time to time and at all times after the said intended Marriage shall be had and Solemnized at the reasonable request of the said James Patten and Charles Hamilton their Heirs or Assigns but at the proper Costs and charges in the Law of the

said Thos. Addis Emmett or his Heirs do make acknowledge suffer and execute or cause or procure to be made done acknowledged levied suffered and executed all and every such further and other lawful and reasonable act and acts Deeds conveyances and assurances in the Law whatsoever for the further better more perfect and absolute granting conveying settling and assuring all and singular the said hereby granted and released premises with the appurtenances to the uses upon the trusts & to & for such intents and purposes herein before expressed & contained of & concerning the same according to the true intent & meaning of these presents as by the said Jas Patten & Charles Hamilton their Heirs or Assigns or their col^d learned in the law shall be reasonably, devised & required so as such further assurances contained in them no further or other Co^t than against the person or persons who shall be required to make or execute the same and so as the partie or parties who shall be required to make such further assurances be not compelled or compellable to go or travel Above the space of five Miles from his or their usual place or places of abode. IN WITNESS whereof the parties aforesaid have hereunto put their hands and seals the day and year first in these Presents Written.

ROBT EMMETT [SEAL]	THOS ^s ADDIS EMMETT [SEAL]	JANE PATTEN [SEAL]
Signed, sealed and delivered		JAMES PATTEN [SEAL]
in the Presence of us.	MARGARET PATTEN [SEAL]	W. COLVILL. [SEAL]
THOS. DOWLING, JOHN LAVES, W ^M FLEMING.		CHARLES HAMILTON [SEAL]



GRAVE OF CHRISTOPHER EMMETT IN THE PARISH CHURCH YARD, TIPPERARY, IRELAND.

(PUBLIC)

CHAPTER IV.

IRISH RELATIVES AND ANCESTORS OF THE EMMET FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

It has been shown that different branches of the Emmet family were in Ireland for nearly three hundred years, and in England for centuries before they came to Ireland, yet between them and the ancestors of the family now in the United States no direct connection could be traced, nor is there any record of this branch earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The American family came from Christopher Emmet. He was born in 1700, as was ascertained from the headstone over his grave in the yard of the Tipperary parish church. He was a physician or surgeon, and, according to Dr. Madden's statement, had a large practice at the time of his death. He probably practiced surgery chiefly and did not take the degree of Doctor of Medicine, which would explain why he had never styled himself "Doctor," and in fact nothing more than "Christopher Emmet, Gnt^o," as his signature appears upon several documents. He married, February 9th, 1727, Rebecca, only daughter of Thomas Temple, Esq., and granddaughter of Sir Purbeck Temple, Bart. Her father resided for the greater portion of his life in America, as did his son Robert, and his grandsons Robert and John Temple. They married in New England, and their descendants, as will be shown, became afterwards more closely related to the Emmet family.

Christopher and Rebecca Emmet had but two children :

1. Thomas Emmet, who was born in 1728, married Grace Russell, and had one child. He died of smallpox June 27th, 1758. His child expired on the following day from the same disease, and both were buried in the same grave in the town of Tipperary. Mrs. Emmet died in Dublin, about 1788, at the house of her nephew, Dr. Robert Emmet, and in her will she directed that she should be buried in the same grave with her husband and child.

2. Robert Emmet was born in Tipperary, November 29th, 1729, and the details of his life will be given hereafter.

Christopher Emmet died in Tipperary, leaving the following will :

In the name of God, Amen. I, Christopher Emmet, of Tipperary, in the County of Tipperary, being at present in a bad state of health, but of sound mind and memory, thanks be to God, do make and declare this be my last Will and Testament, revoking all former wills by me made and declaring this and no other to be my last Will and Testament, in manner following :

First, I give to my dearly beloved wife Rebecca Emmet the sum of fifty pounds, and my plate and household linen, which fifty pounds I desire she may be paid first, the debts justly due of me having been discharged. I farther bequest unto my wife, during her widowhood, the use of her choice Room, and the furnature thereof, in the House we now dwell in, together with the Interest I now have in the Fairs and Markets of this Town, she discharging, paying, and fulfilling the several Articles which I am subject to in the Lease which I have of the same, and if my said wife should think proper to marry after my decease, my will is that both my sons pay her two hundred and fifty pounds sterling over and above the fifty pounds first given and bequeathed to her, or if my said wife and all, or any, of my Executors, jointly with her hereafter named, shall think proper to lett or sell all or any of my Freehold Leases, real or personal Estate, which I hereby empower them to do, my Will is that She receives the said fifty pounds as in case of such marriage.

The remainder of my worldly substance to go and be equally divided between my two sons Thos. Emmet and Robert Emmet, and in case of the death of both before arriving at the lawful age, then my Will is that if my wife be living that she may be paid two hundred pounds more than heretofore given her, but if she should not be living my Will is that one hundred pounds of the above two hundred pounds intended for her be paid to my sister in law Elizabeth Temple, of the city of Dublin, if she should be then living, and fifty pounds to my sister in law Agnes Cuthbert, of Castlebarr, if she should be then living, and not otherwise, and if not, that and the remainder of my Substance to be equally divided between my brothers and sisters, or as many as shall be living of them, except fifty pounds which I leave to my nephew Christopher Emmet, son of William Emmet, and forty pounds to my nephew John Mahony, in case of such contingencies as hereinbefore expressed ; and it is further my will and desire that neither of my sons should marry before they arrive at the age of twenty-two years without the consent of my wife first had, and the consent of Joseph White, Esq., or of Ambrose Harding with hers, and in case either of them should, then he to receive twenty-five pounds and no more, and the Legacy herein intended for him to go to his brother. But in case they should both marry before they arrive to such age, then their legacies to be disposed of between them, as my wife, Ambrose Harding, Esq, and Joseph White, Esq., see proper, and it is my will that if any dispute arise between my sons on account of the legacy herein intended for them, that the same may be determined by Ambrose Harding, Esq., Joseph White, and my wife, or any two of them, and in case of them refusing, then to any other three honest gentlemen, of which James Reardon, of the town of Tipperary if living be one, which determination shall be final to such dispute, and in case either of them shall not abide by such determination, then to receive twenty pounds and no more.

I nominate, constitute and appoint the aforesaid Ambrose Harding, Joseph White, Rebecca Emmet, my wife, and Samuel Taylor, of Waterford, Gentⁿ., executor of this my last Will and Testament ; I appoint my said wife Rebecca and said Samuel Taylor guardians of my said sons Thomas and Robert during each of their minorities.

In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this twentyeth day of April, in the year of our Lord God one thousand and seven hundred and forty-three.

CHRISTOPHER EMMET [SEAL].

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Testator to be his last Will and Testament in presence of us who have signed our names as Witness in his Pressence, the words "and I appoint my said wife Rebecca and Samuel Taylor, guardians of my said sons Thomas and Robert during each of their minorities" being first above interlined between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth lines.

Witness :

John Armstrong, Saml. Corbett, Rudolph Hobb.

The last Will and Testament of Christopher Emmet, late of Tipperary, in the county of Tipperary, Gent., decd., leaving and so forth, was proved and approved in common form of law and registered in his Majesty's Court of Prerogative and the Burden of the Executive of the said Will and administration of the goods of the said decd were granted by the Most Rev. Father John and soforth, also Judge and soforth, to Rebecca Emmet, widow and relict of the said decd., and Samuel Taylor, of the city of Dublin, Gent., two of ye Exeers. named in ye said Will, they being first sworn. Saving the right of Ambrose Harding and Joseph White, Esqs., the other Exec^{rs}. and soforth. Dated the fourteenth day of November in ye year of our Lord 1743—and they have to exhibit an Inventory on or before the last day of May next ensuing.

Christopher Emmet evidently had a number of brothers and sisters, as is shown by the provision made in his will that under a certain contingency the property should "be equally divided between my brothers and sisters, or as many as shall be living of them." He mentions by name only his brother George, and so far no clue has been obtained to indicate the names of his other brothers or their place of residence, consequently it is impossible to trace the relationship between those of the name known to have been living at that time in Ireland. Possibly Christopher's other brothers were without male children, or if this was not so their male descendants, as well as those of their nephew Christopher, died out in the next generation.

In proof of this supposition the reader will see hereafter the statement made by Thos. Addis Emmet, shortly after settling in this country—"there is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet." This positive assertion must be accepted without question, as it cannot be supposed that Mr. Emmet could have been either ignorant of the facts or indifferent to the truth of such an important statement.

It seems not unlikely, from evidence to be presented, that one of Christopher's sisters married a Joseph White, who was probably of the same family as Nathl. White, the Plymouth merchant, and that the Joseph White who was executor to Christopher Emmet's will was the son of Nathaniel. It is also likely that one of the sisters of Christopher married a Mr. Taylor, and that he was the father of Samuel Taylor selected by Christopher Emmet as one of his executors and to be the guardian of his children. It is also likely that still another sister of Christopher married Thomas Addis, a merchant of Cork. It is thought that Mr. Addis married twice, Joana being his first wife and Jane his widow. His will was dated May 19th, 1719, and it was proved June 6th, 1724. It may be inferred from the date of proving the will that Mr. Addis died in the spring of 1724.

He left one son, Fenton Addis, who was an only child and by his first wife. Fenton Addis was a lawyer by profession and practiced in Cork for

many years. While we have no positive proof of the exact degree of relationship, it is known that one did exist. Mr. Addis lived well past the middle of the last century, and his connection with Dr. Emmet's family could only have been based on some relationship. Fenton Addis's wife died in 1744; he had no children, and evidently on his death his effects passed to Dr. Robert Emmet. In proof of this surmise the writer has a number of books which he inherited from his father and which doubtless originally formed part of the library of his grandfather, T. A. Emmet. These books contain the bookplate or signature of Fenton Addis, and from the date of publication of some of them it is evident that he was alive as late as the birth of Thomas Addis Emmet. In precisely the same manner the family inherited a silver snuffbox with a large bloodstone on the top set around with Irish garnets. On the inside of the cover is inserted what is supposed to be a rare form of bloodstone, perfectly white, with a blot in the center resembling a fresh drop of blood. Around this stone is the inscription: "This Box to be kept in ye family of Thomas Addis for ye last of his male line, A.D. 1708.—Value 10 pds." At the time of Fenton Addis's death his immediate family had apparently died out, and this snuffbox naturally went to Dr. Emmet for his son bearing the name of Addis.

One of the bequests made in Christopher's will was to Elizabeth Temple, his wife's sister, and also "fifty pounds to my *sister-in-law* Agnes Cuthbert, of Castlebarr, if she should be then living, and not Otherwise." There is nothing to show who this "sister-in-law" could have been. The only possible explanation seems to be that she was his sister and not a sister-in-law, as stated in the will. This view is suggested from the reading of the will of Dr. Wm. Cuthbert, as follows:

In the name of God, amen. I William Cuthbert, of the city of Dublin, gent., being of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, do make my last Will and Testament in manner following,—that is to say I give, devise and bequeath unto my beloved wife Mary Cuthbert, otherwise Philbs, in addition to her marriage articles with me, which I hereby confirm, all my real and personal estate of what kind and nature so ever towards her better support and maintainance, except my books in physick and chirurgery, which I hereby devise to my former wife's nephew Dr. Robert Emmitt, and do nominate, constitute and appoint my said wife Mary sole executive of this my will, hereby revoking all former wills by me made and declaring this to my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal, this twenty-fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three.

WILLM CUTHBERT [SEAL].

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the Testator as his last Will and testament in presence of us who in his presence at his request, and in presence of each other, have subscribed our names as witnesses:

THOMAS TAYLOR, WM. BILL. ALEX^R. SPAROW.



DR. ROBERT EMMETT.

It is evident from this document that Agnes Cuthbert was a sister of Christopher Emmet and the first wife of Dr. Cuthbert.

Christopher Emmet also mentions his nephew, John Mahony, whose mother was Diana Emmet, another sister. John Mahony's sister married a Dr. Macaubry, of Anacloy, Downpatrick, Ireland. A letter from T. A. Emmet to his kinswoman, Mrs. Macaubry, relating to the birth of a son, and one from Dr. Emmet, referring to the arrest of his son, will be given hereafter, and reference to these letters is made, as through them the relationship to Diana Emmet was traced. Mrs. Macaubry's daughter, Diana, married Mr. John Gerdwood, originally of Edinburgh, but who settled afterwards in the north of Ireland. The widow of her son, Mrs. Sarah Gerdwood, presented the writer with these letters to Mrs. Macaubry, with an account of the family connection.

Another point of interest is presented in this last will. The testator designates himself as "Wm. Cuthbert, of the city of Dublin, Gent.," without making any reference to his profession, which he most likely would have done if entitled to the degree of "Doctor of Medicine." This explanation applies equally to Dr. Christopher Emmet, who was termed by others a physician, though he never used the title himself, notwithstanding that he no doubt practiced both medicine and surgery. The only explanation is the one already given, that he only obtained the degree of surgeon, and consequently would have been addressed, according to the English custom, as Mr. Emmet, while his social position entitled him to the designation "Gentⁿ."

Robert Emmet, the youngest son, became a noted physician. He received his degree of medicine from the University of Montpellier, France, about 1750, and began the practice of his profession in Cork, Ireland. In 1753 Dr. Emmet wrote a medical work * on some of the diseases of women, which was originally published in Latin and was afterwards translated into French, with two editions printed in Paris.

Dr. Emmet married Elizabeth Mason, in Cork, November 16th, 1760. She was the daughter of James Mason, Esq., of Ballydowney, Co. Kerry, by Catherine Power, a daughter of Pierce Power, Esq., of Elon Grove, Co. Kerry.

Up to this date the family of Emmet had had no direct connection with the Irish people, as they had been simply English people living in Ireland, and in all probability, as was generally the case, though living in the country, despised the Irish race as a conquered and inferior one. But by

* *Tentamina Medica, de Mensium Fluxu, et de Curatione Morborum Cephalicorum.* Autore, Roberto Emmet, Med. Bacc. è Societate Regiâ Scientiarum, Monspeliense, MDCCCLIII.

this marriage the children of Robert Emmet became affiliated with Irish blood through the Power, O'Hara, McLaughlin, Blennerhassett, Conway and Mason families. Nearly all English originally, they had freely intermarried with the Irish people of Co. Kerry and other portions of the west of Ireland, so that many of the descendants became more Irish than the Irish people themselves.

Shortly after this marriage Earl Temple, then the Marquis of Buckingham, became Viceroy of Ireland, and he advised his kinsman, Dr. Emmet, to settle in Dublin, and then appointed him "State Physician." Through the appointments thus afforded him Dr. Emmet soon became a prominent man and most successful in his profession. He took an active part in politics and acquired a reputation as a noted political writer of the day.

Christopher Emmett spelled his name with one *m* and double *t*, and so did his son Robert while studying medicine and for some time after he began the practice. It is not now known when he made the change or the reason for doing so, but he apparently adopted the present mode of spelling about the time of his marriage and while living in Cork. The first positive evidence we have is from the marriage contract made with Elizabeth Mason on November 15th, 1760, when he signs his name "Robert Emmet," but in the body of the instrument it is differently spelled. He again made a change within the next ten years, when he moved to Dublin. Dr. Madden writes: "In 1770, D^r. Robert Emmett, as he then wrote his name, appears to have commenced practice in Dublin. In 1771, the name of Robert Emmett first appears in the 'Dublin Directory,' and in the list of State officers as 'State Physician,' his place of residence 'Molesworth-street.'—the name is thus given with double *t* 'till the year 1781, when it appears in the Directory of that year 'Emmet,' and so continued to the last appearance of his name in the Directory of 1802."

It is thus shown that Dr. Robert Emmet changed the method of spelling his name no less than four times during his life—from Emmett to Emmett, then Emmet, again to Emmett, and finally to Emmet. Other like instances were noticed in looking over the public records, where the change was made at different periods of life, as in the case of Dr. Emmet. But the most remarkable variation in spelling the name has been found in several instances where the letters *o* and *e* seemed to have been used indiscriminately by the same individual.

Dr. Emmet was the father of seventeen children, but only four lived beyond childhood. These were Christopher Temple, Thomas Addis, Maryanne and Robert.

Dr. Madden states that "Dr. [Robert] Emmet was a man of warmth

of feeling, frank, upright, and steadfast in his opinions. His lady was a person of noble disposition, and of a vigorous understanding, fit to be the mother of three such children as Christopher Temple, Thomas Addis, and Robert Emmet." When giving the "Folk-lore of the Emmets," at the beginning of the second chapter in the Life of T. A. Emmet, Dr. Madden refers to the material which has been furnished as follows: "The notes of the sons of Thomas Addis Emmet, that have reference chiefly to the career of their illustrious father, leave many deficiencies to be supplied in the accounts given of the origin of this remarkable family—perhaps one of the most remarkable, in an intellectual point of view, of any family we have authentic account of."

During a visit to Ireland in 1880 the writer had the good fortune to meet Dr. Madden, and on one occasion he expressed the opinion, as one based upon his personal investigation, that the father and mother, the three sons and the daughter of this branch of the Emmet family constituted the "most talented family, in every respect, that he had ever known of."

Sir John Temple and his brother Robert were natives, it is believed, of New England, having at least lived there for the greater portion of their lives, and had by their marriage with the Shirley, Bowdoin and other families become connected with many of the prominent people of New England. When the American Revolution began they were rather in sympathy with the movement, and were personally acquainted with many of the leaders. But when separation was brought about by the passage of the Declaration of Independence, the Temples, as loyalists, left the country and went abroad.

Robert Temple and his family resided in Dublin for some eighteen months after their arrival with his cousin, Dr. Robert Emmet, after whom he had been named. Mr. Temple had been opposed to a separation of the colonies from the "mother country," but his views underwent a great change, and he became more of a sympathizer with the movement before his sudden death, which occurred towards the close of the struggle. While Robert Temple was residing in Dublin with his cousin, Christopher, Dr. Emmet's eldest son, married, as has been stated, Anne Western Temple. On the death of the father Dr. Emmet became the executor of Mr. Temple's will and the guardian of his two youngest daughters. Shortly afterwards the youngest, Mehitabele, married the grandfather of the present Marquis of Dufferin.

It is evident that Mr. Temple and his brother exercised a great influence in changing the views which must have been held by their kinsman,

Dr. Emmet. This is shown by the gradual withdrawal of Dr. Emmet from the associations which his family had always held with those still termed the "Castle people," who were in sympathy with the British Government. He gave up the different governmental positions which he had so long held in consequence of being the "State Physician," the salaries of which, it has been stated, aggregated over two thousand pounds a year. The last move was to sever, after so many years of service, in 1783, his connection with St. Patrick's Hospital, and then it was that he was presented with the silver salver, the history of which has already been given. From this period Dr. Emmet became an enthusiastic advocate of a republican form of government, and in time he fully indoctrinated his two sons, Thomas Addis and Robert, with his principles. Far-reaching, indeed, was his teaching. It is impossible to estimate its full bearing upon the immediate past and the future history of Ireland, but its influence upon the fortunes of his own family was indeed great.

Robert Emmet, in the course of his speech at his trial, referred in a most feeling manner to the teaching which he had received from his father: "If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns and cares of those who were dear to them in this transitory life, O ever dear and venerable shade of my departed father, look down with scrutiny upon the conduct of your suffering son, and see if I have ever for a moment deviated from those principles of morality and patriotism, which it was your care to instil into my youthful mind, and for which I am now to offer up my life."

Christopher Temple Emmet was the eldest son of Dr. Robert Emmet. Dr. Madden states, in the *Life of T. A. Emmet*, of his brother, Christopher Temple: "He was called to the Bar in 1781; he was appointed one of his Majesty's counsel in 1787, and during his short professional career,—a period not exceeding eight years, for he died in 1789,—his brilliant talents and eminent legal attainments obtained for him a character that in the same brief space was probably never gained at the Irish Bar." He also quotes from the testimony of Mr. St. John Mason, who stated: "He was certainly one of the brightest ornaments of the Irish Bar, and the most eloquent man of his day."

Mr. Grattan, in the life of his father, the celebrated Henry Grattan, gives it as his opinion that "Temple Emmet, before he came to the Bar, knew more law than any of the judges on the bench; and if he had been placed on one side and the whole bench opposed to him, he could have been examined against them, and would have surpassed them all; he would have answered better both in law and divinity than any judge or bishop



ANNE WESTERN TEMPLE EMMET.



CHRISTOPHER TEMPLE EMMET.

(BOSTON
PUBLIC)

in the land. He had a wonderful memory, he recollected everything, it stuck to him with singular tenacity."

Temple Emmet died, it is believed, from smallpox, after a short illness, in February, 1789, at twenty-seven years of age, and while absent from home on the Munster Circuit. He married his second cousin, Anne Western Temple, a daughter of Robert Temple, of Ten Hills, near Boston, Mass., and left one child, Catherine, who died unmarried. Nothing is now known of Catherine Emmet's life after the death of her grandparents, Dr. Emmet and his wife, beyond the fact that she once visited her uncle in America and there established a friendship with his two older daughters. It would seem that she did not preserve the acquaintance closely, as only one letter from her to her cousin, Elizabeth Emmet, has been found among the family papers. This letter, however, gives every indication that she was a talented woman, and we learn from it of her bad health, which was probably the reason that she was not able to keep up a correspondence with her relatives. It is also probable that Miss Emmet was an invalid for many years before her death, as she inherited a delicate constitution from her mother. The following is a copy of her letter :

COOMB DOWN, NEAR BATH,
27th February, 1817.

My beloved Elizabeth will not, I hope, reject a few lines from me to whom she is very dear, though various circumstances have for some time obliged that one to be silent towards her and the other members of the family. That every one of these members of the family is nevertheless as tenderly beloved as ever, she can, however, most sincerely assure them, and she trusts that they will not refuse their pardon for an offence which she could not in fact avoid, since the debility to which she was at one period reduced, rendered her incapable of writing to anybody whatever. Do not, therefore, my friend, condemn me without hearing, but rather grant me a generous pardon, and let me if possible soon hear from you, and hear too some particulars concerning my uncle and aunt, my dearest Robert, and all those other friends so dear to you as well as to myself, and in whose society you have the happy prospect of spending your days, a bliss of which I have given up even the remotest hope on this side of the grave. I have promised in this to give you some account of my health and of my present situation.

I must not therefore allow myself to run forth into fine speeches, but will begin with telling you that, persuaded by the arguments of Mrs. Tinton, who had paid me several visits since I came to Bath, and likewise by those of the excellent family in which I reside, I have entirely given up the system of Dr. Parry as it contributed only to weaken me without diminishing the complaint which it professed to eradicate. This you may suppose was to me no trifling disappointment, for if I had set my mind too earnestly upon any earthly object, it was upon getting free from a complaint which must render me a burden to those around me and prevent me from feeling that independence which nothing could otherwise deprive me of. Since however it is so ordained I must only remain satisfied, and most grateful do I feel for having met with a friend such as my dear Miss Hazlitt, who can feel and allow for all my weaknesses. We are now, together with her good Father and Mother, residing on Combe Down, near the town of Bath. The situation itself is most delightful, and the air is reckon'd uncommonly wholesome for all who have in their constitution anything of a consumptive tendency. My dearest Elizabeth Holmes* has more than half promised to pay me a

* Her cousin; afterwards Mrs. Lenox-Conyngham.

visit here in the course of the next summer, on her return from Devonshire, where she is now spending some time and where she has already derived some benefit from the mildness of the climate. I saw her as she passed through Bath on her journey thither, and was much shocked by the visible weakness of her frame, but I trust from the favorable accounts which I have received since that all may yet be overcome. She spoke to me much about those friends in America whom she so much long'd to see and from whom a few lines were, she said, to her more precious than anything besides. This I could easily believe, for I myself felt the same emotion. I look forward to some hours of enjoyment in the summer with this object of my fond affection, and I think that she too will enjoy herself amid the scenes about, and, what is more to be desir'd than anything, that each of us will become acquainted with the character and disposition of the other. Such are the hopes in which I at present indulge.

To any greater happiness I durst not look forward lest the whole should terminate in disappointment. Sometimes, when I think of you and those around you, I cannot help indulging in the wish that I could once more see you and converse with you, though for ever so short a space of time. But the idea vanishes from my mind, almost as soon as formed, for I quickly perceive its fallacy. My dear Miss Hazlitt could tell you how often our conversation is of New York, and how at such moments rather than any other, my tongue can discover the art of extending itself without fatigue in praise of those most dear to my heart. As to company, we see none. Our enjoyments are totally of the domestic kind. In strength I can perceive myself daily to be gaining something, and when again established to the same point of health which I enjoyed before I entered upon this unfortunate experiment, when able to use my limbs for myself and those around me, as I then did, I shall be thoroughly satisfied, for I shall then have it in my power to be useful, and you, my dear Elizabeth, do not know and cannot well form an idea of the horror of that sensation connected with the consciousness that you are of use to no one, and perhaps forgotten by those whom you best love.

Forgive me for saying this. The thought will sometimes enter into the soul, and it cannot always be banished just at pleasure. The way by which you will oblige me totally to dismiss it will be by writing soon and sending me even the most trifling particulars that relate to my belov'd aunt and uncle. To yourself, or my dearest Margaret, or to any other member of that Family which I so frequently reflect upon, and for whose happiness those lips daily offer up so many prayers, to all these you must remember me as if particularly named, and I hope that from some of you I shall soon hear.

In the meantime I can only assure you that whatever may be the distance that lies between us and however long the time of our separation, you will at all times and in every situation possess in me a most faithful friend and affectionate cousin.

C. EMMET.

Miss Elizabeth Emmet,
Care—Thos. A. Emmet, Esq.
New York, U. S.

Thomas Addis Emmet, the next son, was born in Dublin April 24th, 1764. He was educated in Dublin, and graduated from Trinity College. He studied medicine in Edinburgh, and obtained his degree in 1784 with unusual honors. His thesis* for graduation was written in Latin and dedicated to "Nobilissimo et intergerrimo vero, Georgio Grenville Nugent Temple, Comiti Temple, &c.," and it was deemed worthy of publication by the authorities of the university. It is stated by Dr. Samuel Mitchell, of

*Tentamen Chymico—Medicum, de Aere, Fixo, sive Acido Aereo. Edinburgh: MDCCLXXXIV. This thesis was selected on account of its great merit, and published by Smellie, the Naturalist, in the *Thasanrus Medicus*.

New York, a fellow-student, who wrote a memoir of Mr. Emmet at a subsequent period, that the velvet cap was placed on his head, at the time of receiving his degree, by the chief of the university, the noted Wm. Robertson. It is not known if Mr. Emmet pursued any preliminary portion of his studies in Dublin, but he passed the year 1785 and part of 1786 in Edinburgh, after receiving his medical degree, closely occupied in studying a post-graduate course. While in Edinburgh he became an active member of the chief literary and scientific societies connected with the university and was elected president of several of them. Dr. Mitchell vouches for his great popularity among his fellow-students, and mentions as among his most intimate friends the names of Sir James Mackintosh, Dugald Stewart, Mr. Hope, and several others, all of whom became in after life most distinguished men. Dr. Emmet, on leaving Edinburgh, went to London, where he entered Guy's Hospital as a Resident Physician and served the usual course in that institution. He then proceeded to the Continent for an extended tour, accompanied by an intimate friend, a Mr. Knox, from the north of Ireland, and a son of Lord Northland. On his return to Dublin he began the practice of medicine, and at once received the appointment of State Physician, in conjunction with his father, Dr. Robert Emmet.

Dr. T. A. Emmet had already entered on a practice which promised him a brilliant future, but on the sudden death of his brother Temple his father urged him to adopt the law. Without delay he acceded to his father's wishes, and within an unusually short period Dr. Emmet thoroughly qualified himself for the Bar. After he was admitted he rose rapidly and soon clearly showed that he would occupy the position his brother had held. Dr. Madden, in his *Life of Thomas Addis Emmet*, claims in the dedication that he was "a man of great worth and virtue, sound understanding, solid judgment, fine talent, and highly cultivated tastes; of singular equanimity of mind, urbanity of manners; and kindness of disposition; yet of inflexible integrity, steadfast principles, just views, and well-weighed opinions."

Mr. T. A. Emmet's career will be treated of at greater length hereafter.

Mary Anne Emmet, the only daughter of Dr. Robert Emmet, was born in Dublin, October 10th, 1773. She was a woman of remarkable intellect, and, as Dr. Madden states, "she shared in the talents which seemed to be hereditary in her family." During the political turmoil of several years, which eventually terminated in the Irish Rebellion of 1798, no one did more to rouse the people than Miss Emmet by her vigorous

writings on the political questions of the day. She was a thorough classical scholar, an accomplishment which she held in common with the other members of her family. The writer has in his possession several political pamphlets from her pen. These clearly show that she must have possessed a profound knowledge of political economy, a familiarity with history and the body politic, gained only after careful reading and to an extent few public men of her day possessed. She married Mr. Robert Holmes and they lived, for a long time after their marriage, with her father, Dr. Robert Emmet, and in a series of letters written to Mr. T. A. Emmet during his imprisonment, and to be given hereafter, frequent reference is made to them.

Mr. Holmes had been absent on business in England, and arrived in Dublin on the night of the outbreak, in 1803, which was led by his brother-in-law, Robert Emmet. Though entirely ignorant of the movement, he was arrested in the street before he could reach his home. Sir Bernard Burke in 1880 gave the writer the following facts connected with Mr. Holmes's arrest and the story of his wife's death, previously unknown to the members of her family now living :

He stated that Mr. Holmes had been confined in the same apartment which in 1880 was used as the office for the Ulster King-at-Arms. This room was situated alongside of John's Tower, in the Castle at Dublin. After a confinement of over a year in this room he was released without having had any charges preferred against him. Mr. Holmes walked directly home. In response to his ring his wife unfortunately opened the door, only to drop dead into his arms from the suddenness of the shock and the excess of her joy at seeing him. It is said that Mr. Holmes never recovered from the shock he thus received, and to the day of his death he was seldom seen to smile.

Mr. and Mrs. Holmes had but one child that reached adult life, a daughter, who became Mrs. Elizabeth Lenox-Conyngham. She was the mother of the present dowager of the late Viscount Doneraile, Co. Cork, Ireland.

Dr. Madden, in his *Life of Robert Emmet*, has presented the chief features of his early life in a few words, as follows :

“Robert Emmet, the youngest son of Dr. Robert Emmet, was born in Dublin March 4th, 1778. He was sent at an early age to Oswald's school in Dopping's Court, off Golden-lane, near Bride's-street; a rather celebrated school at that day for mathematics. Subsequently he was placed at the well-known school of Samuel White of Grafton-street, and was afterwards under the care of Rev^d. Mr. Lewis, of Camden-street. He entered



Robert Holmes

Member of the North East Bar

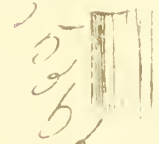
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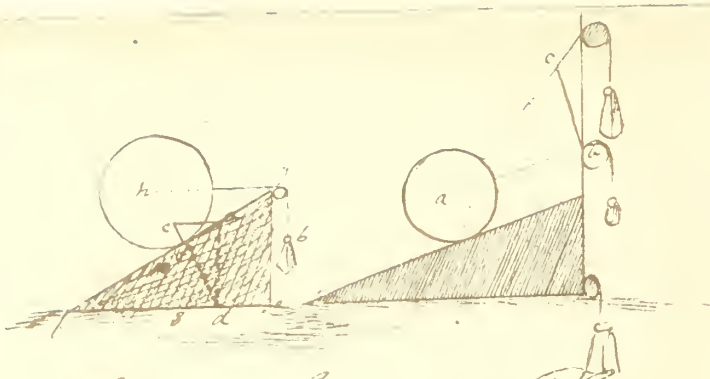
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Sunday



any Place ...



On any Inclined Plane if
 the power does not act
 in a direction parallel
 to the length of the
 Power which does act in
 that direction is dead
 the Base of another in-
 clined Plane whose
 elevation ^{is} to the angle which the
 oblique power forms
 with the parallel one
 then the former power
 must be to the latter
 as Radius to the sine
 of the angle of Inclina-
 tion —

The Parallel ~~force~~
 direction is the only
 one in which there
 is no force lost for in
 every other direction
 some of the force is lost
 either in overcoming
 the Coherence or Gravity
 of



Trinity College the 7th of October, 1793, at the age of fifteen years, according to the entry in the college book of admission. His tutor was the Rev. Mr. Graves. His college course, like that of his brother's, was brilliant. He obtained several prizes, and went through his studies with great *éclat*. He showed in early life great aptitude for the exact sciences, and his predilection for mathematics and chemistry continued during his life." While he had not yet finished his course at Trinity College, Madden states: "Robert Emmet, in the spring of 1798, was about twenty years of age; his brother, in the month of March of that year, had been arrested; many of his fellow-students were members of the Society of United Irishmen; and several of his brother's most intimate friends and associates were then his companions in misfortune. Whether Robert was a sworn member of the Society I have not been able to ascertain, but that he had adopted its principles early in that year, and had been freely communicated with on subjects connected with its affairs, by persons implicated in the latter, there is no doubt."

The political feeling existing among the students in Trinity College became known to the authorities and led to a "visitation" in April, 1798, where, after some investigation, a number of students were expelled and the spirit of dissatisfaction was completely suppressed. Robert Emmet was not among the number expelled, as he had resigned just previous to the action taken by the authorities.

Dr. Madden states: "Robert Emmet, in his early days and College career, is thus spoken of by a Protestant clergyman of great eminence as a pulpit orator in Dublin, some forty years ago—Rev. Archibald Douglas, nephew of Sir Edward Crosbie, in a letter to me dated 6th November, 1842:—'With Robert Emmet I was most intimate before he entered College and after. Indeed in his young days he almost lived in our house. So gifted a creature does not appear in a thousand years. The whole family were distinguished for talent of the highest order.'"

Thomas Moore, the poet, was both at school and at college with Robert Emmet, and in his "Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald" he writes: "Were I to number, indeed, the men among all I have ever known, who appeared to me to combine in the greatest degree pure moral worth with intellectual power, I should, among the highest of the few, place Robert Emmet. Wholly free from the follies and frailties of youth—though how capable he was of the most devoted passion events afterwards proved—the pursuit of science, in which he eminently distinguished himself, seemed at this time the only object that at all divided his thoughts with that enthusiasm for Irish freedom which in him, was an hereditary as

well as a national feeling, himself being the second martyr his father had given to the cause. Simple in all his habits, and with a repose of look and manner indicating but little movement within, it was only when the spring was touched that set his feelings, and through them his intellect, in motion, that he at all rose above the level of ordinary men."

Amongst his many accomplishments, Robert Emmet gave evidence at an early age that, in common with all the other members of his family, he had inherited a marked talent for poetics. His father left a volume of poems in manuscript which were never published, but which were quite worthy of that distinction. A large volume of the poems of his brother Temple was published in London about the time of his death, and his sister Mary Anne wrote with great facility. The writer has seen references made to the skill of T. A. Emmet, particularly in writing Latin verse, but nothing from his pen seems to have been preserved.

The following was published in *The Press* October 21st, 1797, and signed "Trebor," the letters of which if reverted would form Robert :

THE LONDON PRIDE AND SHAMROCK :

A FABLE.

Full many a year, close side by side,
 A Shamrock grew and London Pride:
 Together how they came to grow
 I do not care, nor do I know;
 But this I know, that overhead
 A laurel cast a wholesome shade.
 The Shamrock was of lovely green
 In early days as e'er was seen;
 And she had many a hardy son
 In days of old, but they are gone—
 For soon the other's creeping shoots
 Did steal themselves round Shamrock's roots,
 Then, thief-like, fastened in her soil,
 And sucked the sap of poor Trefoil;
 Until in time pert London Pride
 Got up so high as quite to hide
 Poor Shamrock, who could seldom see
 The Sun's bright face,—nor seen was she,
 Save when an adverse blast did blow,
 And laid her neighbour's honours low.
 Then, in the angry lady's spite,
 She drank the show'r, she saw the light,
 She bath'd her sicklied charms in dew,
 And gathered health and strength anew.
 She saw those joys had come from heaven
 And ne'er were by her neighbour given;

Yet, her good-nature aye to prove,
 She paid her jealous hate with love.
 But when once more kind zephyrs came,
 And raised the o'ergrown, storm-bent dame,
 The ingrate strove her all to take,
 And forced poor Shamrock thus to speak:
 "Neighbour, we're born with equal right
 To feel yon sun and see his light,
 T' enjoy the blessings of this earth—
 Or if right follows prior birth,
 In this still stronger is my claim—
 Long was I known, and great my fame,
 Before the world e'er heard thy name.
 But letting all these strong claims lie,
 Pray tell me, is it policy,
 To thwart my offspring as they rise,
 To break my heart, to blind their eyes?
 Sure if they spread the earth along,
 Grow handsome, healthy, stout, and strong,
 They will as usual happy be
 To lend that useful strength to thee:
 Thus would we keep each other warm,
 And guard us from all coming harm;
 We'd steady stand when wild winds blow,
 And laugh in spite of frost and snow,
 And guard the roots of our loved laurel,
 Grown sick and pale to see us quarrel."
 "No more!" the vex'd virago cries,
 Wild fury flashing from her eyes;
 "I'll hear no more—your bounds I'll mark,
 And keep you ever in the dark;
 Here is a circle—look you here—
 One step beyond it, if you dare!
 And if I hear you more complain
 I'll tear thy rising heart in twain;
 I've made thy sons kill one another,
 And soon they shall destroy their mother.
 I'll thus"—a flash of heavenly fire,
 Full fraught with Jove's most deadly ire,
 Scatter'd the London Pride around;
 The black clouds roar'd with horrid sound;
 The vivid lightning flashed again,
 And laid the laurel on the plain.
 But soon succeeds a heavenly calm—
 Soft dews descend and show'rs of balm—
 The sun shoots forth its kindest ray,
 And Shamrock strengthens every day,
 And, rais'd by heaven's assistance bland,
 Bids fair to spread over all the land;
 She guards the blasted laurel's roots,
 The nurtur'd laurel upward shoots,
 And grateful wreathes its dark green boughs
 To grace great Shamrock's aged brows.

MORAL :

Take heed, learn wisdom hence, weak man,
 And keep a good friend while you can ;
 If to your friend you are unkind,
 E'en Love will be against you join'd ;
 Reflect that every act you do
 To strengthen him doth strengthen you ;
 To serve you he is willing—able—
 Two twists will make the strongest cable,
 To bind a friend and keep him steady,
 To have him e'er in reach and ready.

TREBOR.

The moral of this poem is as applicable to-day as it was at the time it was written.

About the time of the arrest of Thos. Addis Emmet, and when a reign of terror existed throughout Ireland in consequence of the excesses committed by the troops holding the country, Robert Emmet, when but a youth, frequently indulged his poetical talents. Political subjects seem to have been his only theme, so far as we can judge from what is known to have been written by him, and all the poems attributed to him were composed between 1797 and 1799.

The following verses were written about the same time as "The London Pride and Shamrock," and are also given in Dr. Madden's memoir of Robt. Emmet :

ARBOUR HILL.*

No rising column marks this spot
 Where many a victim lies,
 But oh! the blood which here has streamed
 To heaven for justice cries.

It claims it on the oppressor's head
 Who joys in human woe,
 Who drinks the tears by misery shed,
 And mocks them as they flow.

It claims it on the callous judge
 Whose hands in blood are died,
 Who arms injustice with the sword,
 The balance thrown aside.

* Dr. Madden states in a note: "Arbour Hill, at the rear of the Royal Barracks in Dublin, was a place where a great number of executions took place, and the burial-place of those executed for treason. The spot chosen for their interment was 'Croppies' Hole'; it was a piece of waste ground where rubbish used to be deposited."

It claims it for this ruined isle—
 Her wretched children's grave—
 Where withered Freedom droops her head,
 And man exists—a slave.

O sacred Justice! free this land
 From tyranny abhorred;
 Resume thy balance and thy seat,
 Resume, but sheath thy sword.

No retribution should we seek—
 Too long has horror reigned;
 By mercy marked may Freedom rise,
 By cruelty unstained.

Nor shall a tyrant's ashes mix
 With those our martyred dead;
 This is the place where Erin's sons
 In Erin's cause have bled.

And those who here are laid at rest,
 Oh! hallowed be each name;
 Their memories are forever blest—
 Consigned to endless fame.

Unconsecrated is this ground,
 Unblessed by holy hands—
 No bell here tolls its solemn sound—
 No monument here stands.

But here the patriot's tears are shed,
 The poor man's blessing given—
 These consecrate the virtuous dead,
 These waft their fame to heaven.

The following poem is the only one written by Robert Emmet which he signed, and it was published with his initials:

GENIUS OF ERIN.

Genius of Erin, tune thy harp
 To freedom, let its sound awake
 Thy prostrate sons, and nerve their hearts
 Oppression's iron bonds to break.

Long and strong then strike the lyre—
 Strike it with prophetic lays,
 Bid it rouse the slumbering fire,
 Bid the fire of freedom blaze.

THE EMMET FAMILY.

Tell them glory waits their efforts—
 Strongly wooed, she will be won;
 Freedom, show, by peace attended,
 Waits to crown each gallant son.

Greatly daring, bid them gain her;
 Conquerors, bid them live or die;
 Erin in her children triumphs,
 Even where her martyrs lie.

But if her sons, too long opprest,
 No spark of freedom's fire retain,
 And, with sad and servile breast,
 Basely wear the galling chain;

Vainly then you'd call to glory,
 Vainly freedom's blessings praise—
 Man debased to willing thralldom
 Freedom's blessing cannot raise.

Check thy hand, and change thy strain,
 Change it to a sound of woe,—
 Ireland's blasted hopes proclaim,
 Ireland's endless sufferings show.

Show her fields with blood ensanguined,
 With her children's blood bedewed—
 Show her desolated plains,
 With their murdered bodies strewed.

Mark that hamlet—how it blazes!
 Hear the shrieks of horror rise—
 See—the fiends prepare their tortures—
 See! a tortured vietim dies.

Ruin stalks his haggard round,
 O'er the plains his banner waves,
 Sweeping from her wasted land
 All but tyrants and their slaves.

All but tyrants and their slaves!
 Shall they live in Erin's isle?
 O'er her martyred patriots' graves
 Shall Oppression's minions smile?

Erin's sons, awake!—awake!
 Oh! too long, too long, you sleep;
 Awake! arise! your fetters break,
 Nor let your country bleed and weep.

R. E.

Dr. Madden gives another poem, which was published in the Anti-Union periodical March 9th, 1799. It bears the signature "Trebor," the same as was attached to "The London Pride and Shamrock," of which there exists no doubt that Robert Emmet was the author. And while these two poems are written in a totally different style, it is evident that the same talented writer was the author of both.

HELP FROM HEAVEN.

The right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass—the Lord has chastened and corrected me: but he hath not given me over to death—Psalm cxviii, 16 and 18.

'Twas at the solemn midnight hour,
When minds at ease are sunk in sleep,
But sorrow's sons their wailings pour,
Teaching the woods and wilds to weep;

Beside a lake whose waters black
The pale-eyed moon doth dimly spy,
Scarce peeping o'er a mountain's back
That rudely lifts its head on high;

Where the wild willows green and dank
Their weeping heads wave to and fro;
And bending reeds upon its bank
Oft kiss the stream that runs below—

There, on a long-fall'n mould'ring mass
An ancient castle's crumbling wall,
That, now grown o'er with weeds and grass,
Was once gay mirth's and beauty's hall,

Ierne, lonely, pale, and sad,
All hapless, sighing, sat her down,
And sorrowing mused, 'till almost mad,
She snatched her harp her cares to drown.

Now wildly waved her auburn hair
In the unheeded blast that blew;
Fixed were her eyes in deep despair,
Whilst o'er the strings her fingers flew.

The sounds, at first so loud and wild,
Now slowly softened on the ear;
And e'en the savage blast grew mild,
Such soothing sounds well pleased to hear.

Her druid's ghosts around her throng—
For, ling'ring still, tho' seldom seen,
They fondly flit the oaks among,
And haunt the grove for ever green;

And list'ning fairies troop around,
 Whilst high upon the ivied tow'r,
 The long-haired banshees catch the sound
 And wrapt, forget their crying hour.

For, in the saddest, softest strain,
 She wail'd the woes of Erin's land—
 Ah! wretched Erin, rent in twain
 By some curs'd demon's hellish hand,

That eye inflames with deadly rage
 Sons against sons in foulest fight,
 And youth to murder hoary age,
 In nature's and in reason's spite.

The cottage now she sings in flames,
 Now the injur'd maiden dying,
 And now the burning body's screams
 To its mother's bosom flying:

Ah! luckless mother, vain you shed
 Thy tears or blood thy babe to save,
 For lo! poor soul, thy baby's dead,
 And now thy breast must be its grave!

Thy breast of life, where, as it slept,
 Thy song-sooth'd cherub oft would start;
 Then heav'd its little sighs, and wept—
 Sad sighs that rack'd thy boding heart.

The thought too deep Ierne stung—
 She started frantic from her seat,
 Her silver harp deep-thrilling rung,
 Neglected, falling at her feet.

Nor silver harp Ierne cheers,
 Nor the bright starry-studded skies;
 The light of Heaven 's unseen through tears—
 The sweetest sound 's unheard through sighs.

The withered shamrock from her breast,
 Scorch'd with her burning sighs, she threw,
 And the dark, deadly yew she pressed,
 Cold dripping with unhallow'd dew.

“Here, here,” she cries, “unseen I'll dwell,
 Here hopeless lay my tearful head,
 And fairies nightly in this cell
 Shall strew my dew-cold leafy bed.”

Then down she sinks with grief oppress'd,
 Her saffron sleeve thrown o'er her face,
 And soft-wing'd sleep lights on her breast,
 And sooths its heavings into peace.

But ah! too soon, fell Discord's cries,
 Borne on an eastern breeze's wings,
 Rude sweep her harp, that downward lies,
 And moan amongst its trembling strings.

Scared with a sound he did not know,
 Peace-loving sleep dared not to stay,
 But, sighing for Ierne's woe,
 He bent his noiseless flight away.

Ierne, starting, paused awhile:
 "Too true," she cries, "ye powers above!
 Dread Discord comes from that fair isle
 Where still I looked for peace and love."

Thought-rapt she stood in dumb amaze,
 When, on the western mountain's height,
 To sounds seraphic, rose a blaze
 Of mildly-beaming heavenly light.

There in the midst, loose-rob'd, was seen
 Sweet Hope, that soothes our ev'ry ill,
 Beck'ning with calm and smiling mien
 Poor, sad Ierne up the hill.

The woe-begone thus Hope address'd:
 "Lift up thy looks, Ierne, cheer!
 For know we come at heaven's behest
 To soothe thy sorrow, check thy fear.

"Thy cares, thy dangers soon shall cease,
 Thy days of tears and sighs are gone,
 Thy foulest feuds shall turn to peace—
 Thus shall the will of heav'n be done.

"Pluck from thy breast that yew away—
 Be steady, cool, collected, calm;
 So shall thou soon a wreath display
 Of shamrock woven with the palm."

Words so bland, as dew descending
 Lifts the drooping lily's head,
 Rais'd the fair Ierne bending,
 Fairest flow'r in Nature's bed.

"My fervent thanks, high heav'n," she cries,
 "Be ever, ever given to thee;
 Thou'st chas'd my sorrow, tears, and sighs—
 Thou'st sent me HOPE and LIBERTY."

It is not known that Robert Emmet had any active connection with the uprising of the United Irishmen in 1798, as has been already stated, and it is not believed that he ever took the prescribed oath of the organization. But, on the statement of his friend and relative, Mr. John Patten, it is known that he was frequently present at the meetings when held at his brother's house. It was stated by Mr. Patten to Dr. Madden that on one occasion the question was under consideration as to the necessity of confiding some token or insignia of his office to Mr. T. A. Emmet. The reader must know that in the early stages of the movement, before he became a member of the Directory, Mr. Emmet's special province had been to organize different branches of the society. But as the organization became enlarged it was necessary that he should have something which would identify him. Robert Emmet, being present, quickly made a pen-and-ink design on the fly-leaf of a medical notebook lying before him and belonging to his father, which is now in the possession of the writer. This drawing has been reproduced. It would seem to indicate an apparent want of balance, such as is often to be seen in the Irish character, as shown by a sudden shifting from the serious to the ludicrous, as if the individual were lacking in the sense of responsibility. Possibly it may be a natural consequence in the Irish character and the result of several hundred years of political and private suffering, with at times frightful uncertainty as to the future. With this condition of affairs it may have become second nature with the Irish people to follow a free interpretation of the advice of Horace—to enjoy the passing moment. Having drawn the figure, Robert Emmet immediately placed in front of it Paddy with his arms akimbo, as if in position to defend Erin. Afterwards he designed the seal, which has been reproduced and which was accepted by the Directory for the purpose.* The design is a beautiful figure, which was cut in Dublin on an emerald brought from India some years before by Sir John Temple and presented to his cousin, Dr. Robert Emmet. The English Government, it is said, obtained an impression and had it copied for use as a decoy. After the arrest of Mr. Emmet it is also said that a large reward was offered by the Government for this seal, and the house was several times searched to obtain it, but without success. During the whole time, and even throughout her imprisonment, Mrs. Emmet had it concealed on her person. The writer recalls an account given him by his father of one of these searches, made a year or more after the arrest of T. A. Emmet. While sleeping with his younger brother in the nursery, he was suddenly

*The seal of the whole organization was designed in the north of Ireland and was different from this one, which for a time was used in the southern portion of the country only.



SEAL OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN

awakened by a bright light in the room, and became greatly alarmed on seeing a soldier standing guard within the door. As soon as the man saw the child was awake, with the instinct of a brute he pointed his musket at him as if about to shoot. The two children naturally got under the bed-clothing as quickly as possible, and in their terror did not dare to move, being more dead than alive, until the soldiers had left the house and their grandmother could come to them. This seal, which has been reset in its present form as a ring, is in the possession of Lieut. Robert Temple Emmet, formerly of the United States Army, who inherited it from his grandfather, Judge Robert Emmet, the eldest member of the family.

Robert Emmet, after resigning from Trinity College, remained quietly in Dublin with his father and mother, but was evidently an object of suspicion to the police. Early in 1800 he visited his brother, T. A. Emmet, then a prisoner in Fort George, Scotland, and from thence he crossed over to the Continent. He continued to reside in Paris, as will be shown hereafter, until he was induced to return to Dublin to take part in the outbreak which resulted in his arrest and execution.



MRS. MARGARET THOMPSON COLVILLE.

CHAPTER V.

ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF THOS. ADDIS EMMET AND THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HIS PARENTS WITH HIM DURING THAT PERIOD.

We have seen that Thos. Addis Emmet gave up the practice of medicine, studied law and was admitted to the Bar, where he soon gave promise of filling the place made vacant by the death of his brother Temple.

On January 11th, 1791, Mr. Emmet married Jane, a daughter of the Rev. John Patten, a Presbyterian clergyman of Clonmell, Ireland, and Margaret, a daughter of Wm. Colvill, Esq., and Margaret Thompson. He devoted himself assiduously to his profession, but became identified with the United Irishmen as early as 1794, when this society was being reorganized. Until Mr. Emmet became a member of the Directory, in January, 1797, it was only known to a few persons that he had any connection with the political movement, but nevertheless he had been most actively engaged for several years in organizing branch societies in different parts of the country. This he had been able to do with the aid of a small number of individuals while "on circuit" in the practice of his profession. On the 12th of March, 1798, a number of deputies from different parts of the country met in Dublin to transact business connected with the organization, and were all arrested on some information given to the Government. Mr. Emmet, though not one of this body, was arrested on the same day at his own house and committed to Kilmainham, but was afterwards removed to Newgate. A few days after his arrest Mrs. Macaubry, living in the north of Ireland, writes to her kinsman, Dr. Robert Emmet, to ascertain if the report was true regarding his son's arrest. The answer makes it very evident that he was ignorant of the extent to which his son was implicated:

MY DEAR MRS. MCCAUBRY.

The account you read in the papers of my son's arrest is but too true! He is committed to close confinement, nor can his wife, or any of his family, be permitted to see him.

I have not, however, the least apprehension as to his conduct; so that a short time will terminate matters I hope to his honour and enlargement. I thank you for your very friendly feeling for him, and am your affect^e kinsman,

ROBERT EMMET.

Dublin, March 27th, 1798.

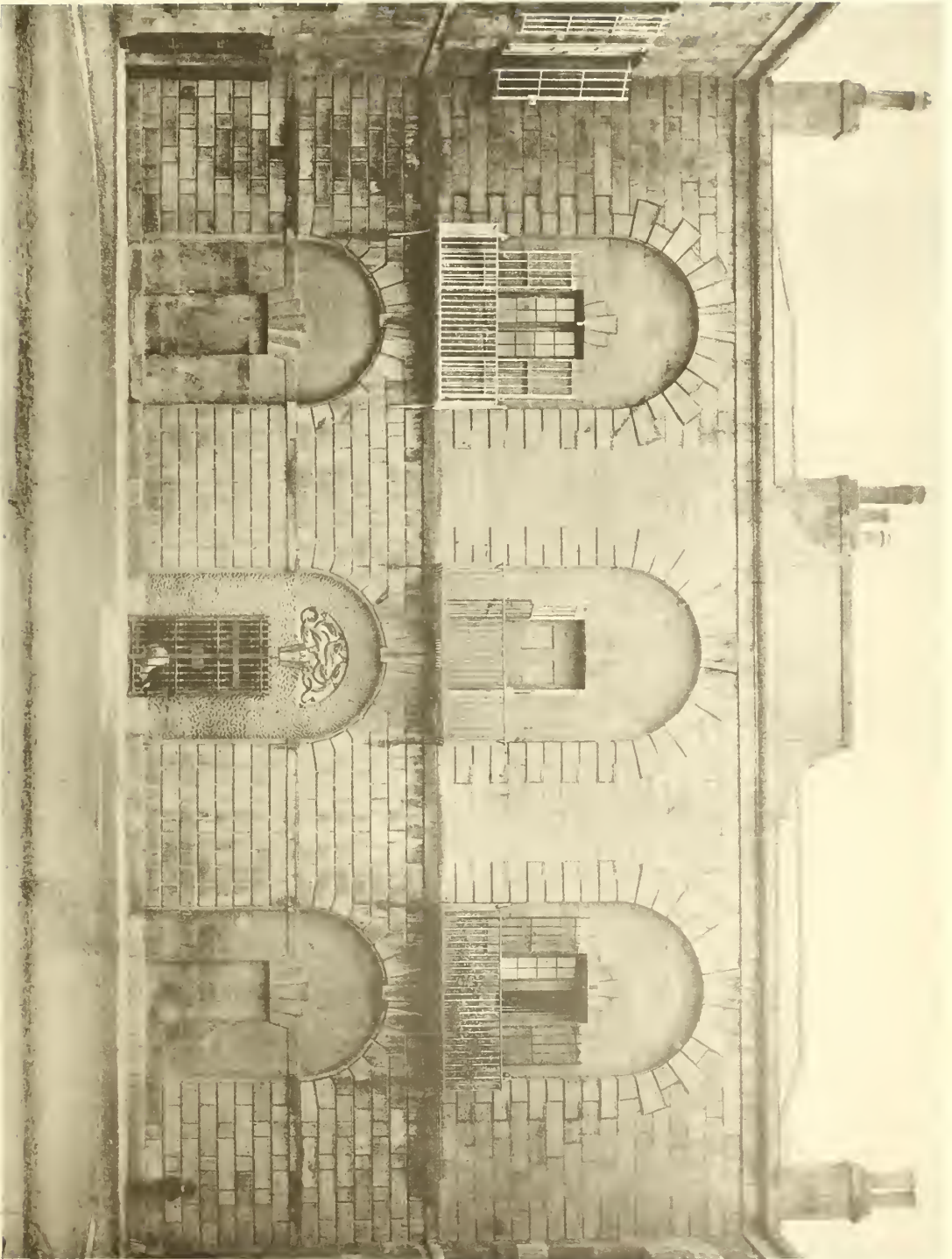
Martial law had been proclaimed and a reign of terror and blood existed throughout the land. A number of the insurgents managed to reach the mountains, and these carried on an irregular warfare which the British troops were unable to suppress. At length the authorities entered into a negotiation with the imprisoned leaders and offered them a general amnesty and permission to emigrate to any country of their choice if they would use their influence with those still in arms and put an end to the strife. The greater portion of the leaders selected the United States for their future home after having discharged their part of the compact. But Mr. Rufus King, the American Minister, protested against these persons being allowed to go to the United States, "on account of their dangerous republican views." As a consequence, the British Government, given an excuse to violate its pledge, held these men prisoners for some years longer.

After Mr. Emmet's release, and after he had settled in New York, he had occasion years later to address a letter to Mr. King on this subject. This letter will be given in full hereafter, and will undoubtedly be read with great interest as a most remarkable production.

It was a singular circumstance that the British Government was never able to obtain any legal evidence to prove that Mr. Emmet was connected with the revolutionary movement instituted by the United Irishmen. After his arrest he was kept in confinement merely on suspicion, but when under examination before the Committee of the Irish House of Lords, and asked if he had been a United Irishman, he answered, "I am one." This failure to obtain the needed proof on the sworn testimony of some witness engendered a vindictive feeling towards him, especially as every one connected with the Government seemed impressed with the conviction that he had been one of the most active of the leaders.

Mr. Emmet was confined in Kilmainham and in Newgate* prisons, Dublin, for nearly a year after his arrest, and was then removed with eighteen other leaders to Fort George, in Scotland, where they arrived April 9th, 1799. While a prisoner in Dublin he was frequently subjected to solitary confinement, deprived of the use of books, pen, ink and paper, and was often kept in darkness with an insufficient quantity of food. In short, every means was resorted to by his keepers to break down, if possible, both his health and spirit. Had they succeeded in causing his

* Newgate was the Bastille of Dublin, and likewise was pulled down on account of its infamous notoriety. Over the top of the door was a stout iron hook, to which Major Sirr and Trevor, the jailer, strung up many a patriotic Irishman to save the necessity of erecting a gallows. The window to the right just above the entrance opened into the cell in which Lord Edward Fitzgerald died.



NEWGATE PRISON, DUBLIN.

STON

death the British Government would have paid well to have been thus relieved of the dilemma of holding a man of Mr. Emmet's position under the charge of treason without proof and not daring to liberate him under the circumstances.

In Fort George Mr. Emmet was also kept for a time in close confinement, and he was the only one of the prisoners treated with the same severity. This was done notwithstanding, as has been stated, that the Government had been unable to formulate a charge to bring him to trial, even in Ireland, where among the hangers-on in the Government interest it had never been difficult to find some one both willing and able to swear to anything. Yet Mr. Emmet and others were held close prisoners for years after the honor of the Government had been pledged to permit these men to leave the country without delay after the movement had been finally suppressed through their aid. Truly, the charge against England attributed to Napoleon, of being "Perfide Albion," was a just one.

In Ireland, Great Britain certainly never has shown mercy to a political prisoner. All who have ever been intrusted to the custody of a Government official have, as a rule, been subjected to the same rigorous treatment, which might be truthfully termed barbarous. Many Irishmen have lost their lives in prison as a direct consequence of the cruelty and privation to which they were subjected by the Government and by some demon in human form vested with a little brief authority. It is a singular fact that the official generally employed to represent the British Government in the capacity of jailer is but one of a type, the one differing from the other only in the degree of his capacity for cruelty. It is true beyond cavil, and it is only as an exception to the rule, that an Irish political prisoner has ever been released before his bodily health has suffered and his mental faculties been greatly impaired. When one has had the good fortune to have been an exception, he has had good cause to be thankful for having possessed a physical and mental organization which the ingenuity of a British jailer could not destroy.

Doubtless, among the English people can be found as large a proportion of the benevolent and charitable as with any other race. But in Ireland the test of loyalty to the Crown seems to have ever rested upon a degree of prejudice and intense hatred of the people at large, as belonging to an inferior and conquered race, so that the exercise of brutality to the hapless seems a natural consequence. Time has accomplished nothing, as the Irish political prisoner is as great a sufferer to-day at the hands of the English Government as his countrymen were under the guise of justice in the time of Elizabeth and Cromwell.

Mrs. Emmet was not allowed to accompany her husband to Fort George. But subsequently permission was granted to see him, but only after great influence had been exerted by her friends to obtain it. The conditions, however, that were imposed transformed the privilege into a piece of refined cruelty, quite in keeping with the course of petty persecution which the Government had evidently wished and had directed to be inflicted on him from the beginning of his confinement. The fortress was under the command of Col. James Stuart, a brother of Lord Moray, who fortunately ignored or modified these offensive orders, and throughout took the kindest interest in the welfare of Mr. Emmet and his family.

During the first year of Mr. Emmet's imprisonment in Fort George, his wife made many ineffectual efforts to obtain from Lord Castlereagh, the Viceroy of Ireland, permission to visit her husband. She at length wrote to the Duke of Portland, the British Minister of State, but it was only after seeing him in person that she obtained, as a great concession, the following letter :

SIR,

Mrs. Emmet, wife of Mr. Emmet, one of the prisoners at Fort George, has obtained permission to see her husband; but as she is suspected of having imbibed his principles, you will take particular care that she shall not be the means of communication between him and the disaffected in Ireland. She is only to see him in the presence of a proper person, and you are to take such steps as that she may not carry any letters or papers in or out of the Fort.

I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

PORTLAND.

The Hon. Lt. Governor Stuart.

Mrs. Emmet and her three children proceeded to Fort George with this letter. On her arrival Governor Stuart kindly ignored the condition of the permit, and after placing her on her honor allowed her to see her husband freely, while he took the children to his own quarters. He then brought a sufficient influence to bear on the Government, and permission was finally obtained for Mrs. Emmet to remain with her husband. For many months she shared with him a small cell in a casemate. Here she was kept a close prisoner, which was the only condition on which she could remain with her husband. The Government directed that if by any chance Mrs. Emmet left the cell she was at once to be *ejected* from the fortress and not to be allowed to return. Col. Stuart took charge of the children as part of his own household, and allowed them free intercourse with their parents. In time, through Governor Stuart's influence, both Mr. Emmet and his wife were allowed the same privileges as were enjoyed by the other prisoners.

A number of interesting letters are now to be given which were written

to Mr. Emmet while at Fort George by his father and mother. It is evident that the correspondence is not complete, but the letters which have been preserved will be presented to the reader in chronological order. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Emmet's letters in answer, and those of his wife to her mother, have been lost.

The following extract from Madden's *Life of T. A. Emmet* will enable the reader the better to understand the conditions under which these letters were written: "Poor Dr. Emmet and his wife, from the time of the arrest of their son, Thomas Addis, gradually sank under the calamity which laid the proud hopes of their old age in the dust. They were no longer the same people. In their appearance, in their conversation, their mode of life consequent on the abandonment of their former enjoyments and the cessation of intercourse with those who formerly were the companions and associates of their imprisoned son, now 'all gone, and not a friend to take his fortune by the arm,' the change became obvious to the few who proved in the time of their adversity that they were friends indeed in their acts and thoughts, and not in name only."

The first of the series of letters preserved was written by his mother just one year after Mr. Emmet reached Fort George:

APRIL 10TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I know not what to say about your removal from Fort George. We are yet in a state of uncertainty and may say anxiety upon the subject. The reports about it seemed to have died away. Yesterday, however, Mrs. Patten told me that Mrs. Colville had a letter from Mr. Burleigh, who had seen the commanding officer at Carrickfergus Castle the day before, who told her that he was in daily expectation of your arrival, and that his regiment had been in readiness to change quarters, but were countermanded, and ordered to remain in their present quarters for the purpose of receiving the State prisoners from Fort George. He told her that his orders with respect to you were very strict. I am ignorant of how you feel about the matter, but to us I confess it to be a cause of uneasiness. We know that however strict your present confinement may be you are well treated, and that your accommodation is good, the latter of which would not be the case here; nay, I even doubt that it would be possible for Jane to remain with you; at all events her situation would be, I fear, unpleasant. Upon this and many other accounts our wishes are that while you are to remain a prisoner your prison may be at Fort George, where you have been treated in a manner different from what you met here, and I sincerely hope that Mr. Holmes' conjecture may be true, which is that as the Habeas Corpus Act does not, as we are told, operate in Scotland, the intention of bringing you over has been given up, and that these orders, which were given under the original idea, have not been recalled. My mind is at present so much occupied by this subject that I cannot write about any other, and in fact I have at any time but little to say; doing the same things, and almost saying the same things, every day, offers but little entertainment for a settled correspondence. Your father however desires me to tell you that he wonders how you can be surprised that he should find employment upon thirteen acres when Penelope could find so much upon a web.

He has as much perseverance, and has as great occasion to find work for himself as she had. His changes are not great, but they are constant and happy is it that they are productive of amusement to a mind that wants its natural props to support it. His health and spirits keep me from

sinking, for I am tired of looking at prospects, which in this uncertain climate are oftener overcast than otherwise, and therefore cannot afford satisfaction to a mind that has a great deal to wish for and can behold nothing but remote prospects. Your children are indeed often an amusement to us all, but tho' they are as good and as fine children as we could wish for, they are but bad substitutes for those they represent.

Mary Anne's happiness in consequence of having married a very worthy man, of whom she is very fond, and he equally so of her, is certainly a great source of comfort to us. She has grown so stout that scarce a day passes without her walking to town, about town, and out again. The pleasure of her husband's company has I believe wrought this change, and her health is greatly benefited by the exertion. Your friend Dr. Drennan has got a little heir, and he is so anxious about it that he is continually watching the cradle lest it should die. Lady Anne* is gone with her sister to spend the summer at Lord Farnham's, but not without paying a kind visit, and desiring to be remembered in the most affectionate terms to you and Jane. There has not been any account of the De Fontinays † since they left Lisle, and I suppose the prohibition to Montreal vessels has been the cause of their friends here not hearing from them.

Knowing as you must how much you possess the affections of all under this roof, it is needless for me to mention them. Jane also I hope is assured that she and the children have their full proportion, and therefore I trust it is not necessary to assure her and them of mine, any more than it is to assure you, my dearest Tom, how truly I am your much affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

JULY 6TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

As you have been made acquainted with Jane's going to England, you will not be surprised at receiving a letter from me, especially as Mary Anne is confined to her bed, having on Friday evening given you a nephew, who though not of the giant race is likely enough to do well, but what is more material, his mother is in as good a way as I could wish her to be. We have now eight grandchildren under our roof, but alas! (save Mary Anne) we have not their parents. We, however, must not murmur, but acquiesce in the dispensations of the Supreme Being for those he has left and for those he has taken away. Robert [the eldest child] has felt your rebuke; he rose early this morning in order to answer your letter and is now busily employed in manufacturing one to you, which I am sure will give you more pleasure for being entirely his own. He and the rest of your children are all in good health, and have all of them such dispositions as promises happiness to you and themselves. I have every hope that Jane will succeed in obtaining the object of her journey. Had she received your letter before she went I am of opinion that she would have gone direct to Scotland, instead of England, as it was only the apprehension of giving uneasiness to you that withheld her. It always was my opinion that she ought, for both your sakes, to go to Scotland, but it was a matter too delicate for me to broach, until her uncle mentioned it. And then I felt myself warranted in declaring myself and recommending the measure which she was upon the point of carrying into execution, had she not been dissuaded by St. John Mason's account of the extreme strictness which was observed with respect to the prisoners. However, I hope she will be able to get the same permission which Mrs. O'Connor has, and more she will not ask. Your old friend, Dr. Drennan, whose attendance on Mary Anne has given us an opportunity of seeing him oftener than we have of late, is married to a very amiable pretty young woman; he has waited to some good purpose.

Mr. William Colville [Mrs. T. A. Emmet's brother] has just been here; he read to us a paragraph in a letter from a friend who was applied to for the purpose of recommending Jane's business;

* A sister of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and daughter of the Earl of Kildare and Duke of Leinster. She married, in 1802, Admiral Sir George Foley.

† The Marquis de Fontinay and his family had been French emigrés in Ireland, and were friends of the Emmet family. Several letters from Robert Emmet to Madame la Marquise will be given hereafter.

it says that he will do everything in his power to serve her and hopes she will make his house her own during the negotiations. He is an intimate friend of the Colville family, who have all of them behaved in a very friendly manner, and especially young William, who is a very affectionate good young man. You know what breaches have been made in our family of late, not only by Jane's departure, but also that of Mrs. Patten and John. We could but ill bear such a diminution of our family, but patience is our only remedy for every ill. Your father, our only prop, is, thank God, well, may the Almighty Being, in mercy to us all, protect and prolong his life.

You will be hardly able to read this letter written in a dark room by Mary Anne's bedside. Were it to express to you the feelings of my heart it would convey to you an assurance of how truly I am, my dearest Tom, your unalterable affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Your father, Mr. Holmes, and Mary Anne desire me to assure you of their sincerest affection, and the juniors all join in love and duty to you.

Thos. Addis Emmet,

Fort George, Scotland.

The object of Mrs. Emmet's journey to England was to obtain from the British Government permission to join her husband in Fort George. This privilege was obtained, as has been stated, with some difficulty, but finally she was permitted to go and take several of her children with her. Her particular object in being with her husband at this time was in consequence of a report that the state prisoners were to be sent at an early day to Van Dieman's Land, and Mrs. Emmet felt that if she were with her husband at the time of departure there might be a possibility of being allowed to accompany him.

JULY 14TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

Mary Anne has received your letter of the 29th of June, and as she is not now quite strong enough to write, I sit down in her place to answer it, thinking that as Jane is not here, a letter from your old correspondent will not be unwelcome to you. Mary Anne is recovering fast, but the infant lived for only a week. This event has not given uneasiness; it was very small when born, and I am persuaded could not, from the many and great agitations its mother underwent, have grown up healthy. I suppose Jane gives you an account of herself in a less circuitous manner than we can. We had a letter from her, but it was written immediately upon her arrival in London, when she could not know anything about the success of her application, but should she fail in hers I am confident that success will be obtained through means of our dear worthy Lady Anne [Fitzgerald] who was here on Saturday. She did not know when Jane was going to London, or she would have written to you. She, however, while she was here, wrote to Sir John in such terms as you would expect from her warm heart. The manner in which she mentioned you and Jane is highly gratifying. She presses the suit very strongly, and begs that even if she should have left London unsuccessful, that he will nevertheless use his best efforts to get her request complied with. As much as we shall miss Jane and the dear children, it will afford us the greatest comfort that they should be permitted to go to you. I am very sorry that your hopes of embracing them must be so long deferred, but as your patience has never yet forsaken you, I hope it will not now abandon you. We feel, my dear Tom, very sensibly your kind solicitude about us in every action of a most affectionate and kind son, but who can fill the present vacancies in our family? Mary Anne is truly amiable, and Mr. Holmes very worthy, but it is not in either of their power to supply the places of those from whom we are separated.

Your father's fortitude is equal to his affection for his children, and I trust in a merciful Being that he will be rewarded, even in this life, no matter in what country, so we are blessed with the

presence of our children. I rest in a humble hope that the hand of the Almighty does not lie thus heavy upon us for our transgressions against him, and I place a confidence in his mercy that as he does not delight in the affliction of his creatures, he will, when his wisdom sees fit, restore happiness to us and to all who sincerely trust in him. Mr. Holmes has just received a letter from John [Patten]; he says that your letter which Mary Anne transcribed to Jane has given her the greatest pleasure.

The judge who directs in the affairs of Sir Edward Denny has intimated that he will give an annuity, which he will himself secure, to the amount of three thousand pounds and the interest thereof, which was given for Knockenagh; how much it will be I know not, but your father thinks, and so do I, that it will be better to accept it than to proceed in a law-suit, as we do not want a vexatious litigation.

Your father and all join in most affectionate love to you. Your children are all well. I am, my dearest Tom, with the most ardent feelings,

Your truly affectionate mother,

To Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

E. EMMET.

AUGUST 1ST, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

You may easily have more agreeable correspondents, but you cannot have a more punctual one than I am. Mary Anne is very much better, but you know of old that she has one complaint of which I have no hope that she will be cured: indolence has still, and always will have, domination over her, except when exertion becomes necessary; then indeed no person can exceed her in efforts. I wish, however, for her own sake, that her exertions were brought more into the practice of every day, and not reserved for great occasions. She has a very strong mind, and I think it would operate more upon the body if more frequently called forth. I fear you have felt some uneasiness from your being too early in your calculations about Jane's arrival; before now, however, I hope it is all over, and that you are happy in having your wishes and expectations realized. Your father and I are like the moon, enlightened by reflection, but the happiness we receive in this manner is sufficient to make us feel very comfortable, and makes us very often forget how far we are from the source of the secondary kind of happiness. In answer to one part of your letter I can only assure you that our gratitude has never been more excited than in feeling that we were able to give an asylum to your wife and children. Under this roof they should have been sheltered and shared the loaf with us; let what would have befallen us it is only to make you happy, but not without some reluctance, that we have parted with those who are gone to you. And as to the division of the children, it is just what we would have made if the appointment had been our own. We love Robert too well not to wish him under your care, and the girls could not possibly be so well anywhere as with their mother. The three that we have shall meet all the care that is necessary for them at present, and when they come to require instruction I trust in a merciful Providence that it will be under your own inspection. Strange indeed would it be if we thought your children an incumbrance; it is an idea of which I trust you think us incapable.

When I had written thus far I was agreeably surprised by a visit from Mrs. Patten, who came to spend a day with us; by this means you will receive this letter two days later than I intended. Mrs. Patten desired me to tell Jane that she had written two sheets of paper, and had burned them both, as she could not bear to write for the inspection of officers. This consideration, I confess, never disturbs me, as I feel it to be of no importance to have my style defective or my letters incorrect, provided you understand me and my feelings, and I am quite satisfied as to what the opinions of others may be. She desired to let John know that the message about the deeds did not reach her till the Tuesday after he had left. She is extremely well and in much more tranquil spirits than when Jane went away. I find you are disposed to shuffle me off upon Jane's hands whether she likes it or not, but it will not do. I shall always have the sincerest pleasure in Jane's letters, but I know she does not always like to write, and I would not have her correspondence with me imposed on her like task-work, but a voluntary act whenever she chooses to perform it.

I have, moreover, another cogent reason for having you my general correspondent, which is, that I have written more letters to you than to any other person alive, and therefore find I can write with more ease to myself than to any other person. Tell Jane that Mr. McCaubry* lamented that he had left Belfast before she arrived there, as he would have felt much pleasure in having it in his power to be of any use to her; they are a very feeling family. I long much to hear of the safe arrival of all the travellers; we must have a very minute account of the meeting, and whether the children were grown more or less than you expected. I fear Robert will not do me much credit, as he sometimes forgets what he has learned. He is, however, a charming child, a fine soil, and just fit for you to work upon; authority, but not severity, is very necessary for him. I suppose you lament that Elizabeth is not handsome.

Adieu, my dearest Tom, and believe me ever yours,

E. EMMET.

AUGUST 7TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have taken Mary Anne's place, as she seems somewhat lazy and not inclined to write. I would not, however, let you remain without hearing from us, tho' I have nothing to communicate further than that we are tolerably well, and very happy in the reflection that probably before this reaches you you will have the gratification of embracing your wife and three of your children. I need not tell you how we feel like two old oaks exposed to mountain storms and left almost leafless, but we still bear up trusting in the goodness of Providence that we shall in some country, before we sink into the grave, see our family re-established and happy. I am persuaded that when Governor Stuart sees your wife and children he will feel all those agreeable sensations that arise in generous minds upon finding that their humanity has been employed for worthy objects. I have perhaps calculated wrong in supposing that Jane would be with you before this letter shall reach you; should it not be so do not therefore be uneasy, as she may have unforeseen delays upon the road. She and the children were in perfect health and spirits when they left this. Your other three children are all well, and shall not be neglected. Your father is, thank God, extremely well; what a mercy it is that his health is so good. Mary Anne's recovery has been somewhat retarded by the loss of her little child and by Jane's departure. Tell Jane that Kitty [Temple's daughter] has with great ease accomplished that lesson upon the piano which seemed so difficult; she has good musical talents, and it would be a pity they should not be employed. All here join most cordially in love and every fond wish to you and your happy circle.

My dearest Tom, I am, your ever affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

SEPT. 4TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

The account of Jane's and the children's arrival gave us heartfelt satisfaction, and you may be assured that your present happiness is to us a source of the greatest comfort. You have indeed cause to be vain of your wife and children. Jane I hope is well convinced how favourable our opinion is of her conduct and how strong our attachments are to her, and I will add that not only her conduct but that of her entire family has been meritorious in a high degree, different from what we had expected on another melancholy occasion from another quarter; that Mrs. Patten and John should behave so is what I expected, because I am sure that they both love you almost as well as they do Jane.

But others of the family, whose interests and opinions were opposite to yours, have behaved with the utmost delicacy and liberality, and have shown a great cordiality about you and Jane. Mary Anne is very much better; she had had a variety of complaints; her feelings, tho' seemingly calm, have always fallen upon her constitution, which you know is naturally delicate. We do not think that her affection for Mr. Holmes, which to be sure is uncommonly ardent, has in any

* This Mr. McCaubry was the grandson of Diana, the sister of Christopher Emmet, as already stated.

respect diminished that which she has felt for her other friends. These things are possible, and you, my dear Tom, are an example that losing one object does not abate your affection for your other relations. I am very glad that you did not hear of Elizabeth's illness till the account was accompanied with one of her being better; she is certainly a very fine child; nature has been very liberal to her in disposition as well as in beauty. Margaret is undoubtedly her inferior, but she, however, is not devoid of merit, as she has many good talents, & if I mistake not, will be a shrewd observer, but always direct and liberal in her transactions.—Robert is a fine creature; that he did not learn more was my fault, not his, and I did not always find my mind fitted for giving instruction. He is now, thank God, in a proper situation for receiving it, and with your cultivation will yield a plentiful crop. Don't let the children forget us, but more especially do I wish to retain a place in Robert's kind heart. The three that we have are so much our own that they will not rival the others, they stand a good chance of treading fast upon their heels. The little fellow is delicate, but he has a happy temper, which I hope will attend him through life. He has been much reduced from cutting teeth, he is now better. His grandpapa's claret has been of great use to him, and I assure you he fights hard in dumb show to become an equal partaker of it. I beg you will always be very minute in your account of the three children, as you will thereby give us great pleasure, we being glad to feed upon crumbs that fall from your table. I was well aware of Jane's dislike to writing, when I declined encumbering her with my correspondence. A letter from her will, however, always afford me almost as much pleasure as it would to Mrs. Patten, but I would have it a free will, not a compulsory offering. But however great her dislike may be to writing, I hope and I am sure she will not suffer it ever to overcome her so far as to induce her to decline writing to a mother to whom she owes so much, and tho' she is good-natured enough not to require more, ought not to be put off continually with accounts at second-hand. She should not be kept waiting for intelligence 'til we are first served, and, whether she writes or not I hope Jane will hold a regular correspondence with her. Mary Anne wished to write, but as your last letter was to me I would not substitute her to write in my place. I again request that you will be particular in accounts of yourself, your wife, and your children. Do not fear being guilty of egotism; to others such things may be tedious, but to us they will be matters of great satisfaction. I hope you take care to have good air in your chambers, and if you all sleep in one room, an attention to this point will be the more necessary. I am the more particular upon this head, from my knowledge that both Jane and you love to indulge in a good degree of warmth.

All here are well, thank God; your father more so than we had a right to expect. The healing hand that has been held out to us in every trial has mercifully preserved him. May our gratitude bear some proportion to the mercies we have received. I suppose John Patten will have left you before this can have reached you; if he should not, assure him of what he is so justly entitled to, our most cordial regards and good wishes. You see how I scribble on without saying anything, but I write in full confidence that my letters will not be uninteresting to you, who must be convinced that I am most truly your affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

Your father Mr. Holmes &c. join in kindest affection to you, Jane, and the children. Kitty is very well.

SEPT. 19TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I am sorry to perceive by your letter to Mary Anne that your old colds in the head are again visiting you; I hope not as heavily as they used to do formerly. The cold of Fort George, I am told, is very great in winter and from the same quarter I hear that your airing ground is very limited. Neither of these accounts have given me very much pleasure, but I endeavour not to feel uneasiness when I reflect that you have never complained of either. I, however, entreat that you will do all you can to harden yourself before Winter comes. I hope Jane has quite recovered from her fatigue. Mrs. Patten has had a great uneasiness about her and was sure if she had not been ill that either she or John would have written to her. I can blame neither her fears or her jealousy,

I think she has had too much room for both, your last letters, however, have in a great measure removed the former, and the sight of John will certainly put an end to the latter. I hope when Jane is quite established you will prevail upon her to be more prudent. She will not probably in Fort George have an opportunity of making those great efforts of which she is so fond; the last indeed has cost her dear enough, and I doubt not but she will in time perceive that system is better than swiftness. We may admire the speed and power of a race-horse, but a steady draft horse will in general be found as useful and much more durable.

Late hours too I hope you will avoid, you are both fond of them, yet be assured that eventually they will materially injure your constitution, and as you are now situated you cannot pay too much attention to the preservation of health. Jane's good sense will, I am sure, point out to her that these musty precepts import nothing but kindness to her. Mr. Palmer and his wife dined here yesterday, he seemed a very plain sensible man, and she a very easy unaffected woman, rather agreeable than handsome, I believe very like her mother. She did not mention even her brother's name, but I heard that he has arrived in England for the purpose of purchasing an estate in Devonshire. Mr. Palmer* says that any part of America is unfit for persons of small fortunes to live in. The Dowager Lady Temple pays two hundred pounds a year for a very small unfurnished house in Boston. He says that the yellow fever is continually returning to every part of America, and he attributes it to the climate. It made great havoc in Boston, as well as in the other parts of America. Mr. ——— also dined here, he has gotten an employment of five hundred a year, and now sees very clearly that the Union will not be prejudicial to Ireland.

Mary Anne is better, and the various complications which threatened her are now subsiding. Your father is, thank God, extremely well. God grant that changes of weather at the approach of winter may not affect him. Your children are all well, John very content, but growing more animated, Tom shrewd and firm, and if the little one gets a body equal to his mind he will equal any of your children. Upon reading your description of Robert at receiving his cousin's letter, your father felt strongly inclined to open a correspondence with him, but gave up the idea upon reflecting that it would be somewhat strange that he should hold one with him when he doesn't with you. Mary Anne in her letters, I dare say, expresses Mr. Holmes' feelings; he is not apt to say much, but I believe there is not a man alive he reveres more than he does you. I am sure you will be glad to hear from myself that my spirits, which were much depressed, at Jane's leaving us, are now much better. Necessity, that infalible teacher, has brought our feelings to submit to our situation, and the consciousness we have of your happiness conveys to us the best cordial we can have in our present state of separation. We are all very impatient until John's arrival, and by your not mentioning him in your last we conclude that he has left you and will be soon here. Mrs. Patten is at Clontarf, and is very well. You cannot say too much of yourself, Jane, and the children. Omit nothing that you can crowd into a letter, anything you can say will be food for us, and I know you like to deal food to the hungry with a liberal hand.

May every blessing attend you and yours, prays your truly affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

OCTOBER 9TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

Mary Anne and I have received each a letter from you, and are happy that you and Jane and two of the children are so well, and we hope to hear in your next that Margaret's complaints are all over. Great must your pleasure be in the discharge of your different occupations, especially when assisted by such an usher. I perceive it will be necessary to guard yourself against Elizabeth; she is a very fascinating child, but the tenderness of Robert's tones and the brightness of his countenance give him the advantage over all the other children whatever. I must confess that the caution which I give you is necessary here at home; the two youngest ones are gaining ground so fast as to be likely to distance poor John, who is certainly a very honest, good tempered fellow,

* Mr. Wm. Palmer, of Boston, married Augusta, the daughter of Sir John Temple.

but his talents are of the slow kind, he may nevertheless hereafter head the tribe, for we know that the battle is not to the strong, nor the race always to the swift. Little Tom is a critical observer, very clear in his ideas, and very concise in the delivery of them; the young one promises to be like our Robert, and if he equals him in talent and disposition your paternal wishes need not desire greater excellence. I fill my paper with speaking of your children, supposing that you will not be tired of the subject. From this house, so void of anecdote or incident, you cannot hope for entertainment from our letters. Your gratification in perusing them must arise from the accounts which, thank God, I can give that we are all well going on with uninterrupted sameness, and bearing our separation with sufficient fortitude, arising chiefly from reflecting upon the happiness which you at present enjoy. I read with great pleasure Jane's letter to her mother, it is a pity she should be so averse to writing; it will indeed not be pardonable in her ever to shrink from any occasion which demands the use of the pen, when she makes such extremely good use of it. We have not received all the satisfaction from John we expected, we can learn nothing with respect to any plan for your future arrangements. Whatever tends to render the prospect of our meeting uncertain makes us all unhappy. I strive what I can to suppress gloomy thoughts, which a reflection upon this subject must always exert. You expect that we should make the children remember you, this is not so easy an affair. I just now asked Tom if I should give his love to you all, and his reply was that he loved Murray, he will always I believe try to keep fair with those who hold the loaves and fishes. You may remember what Mrs. C—— and Bell often told us, we then, my dear Tom, attributed to prejudice what we now find to be a fact. I suppose Mrs. Patten has informed you of Miss Ryal's death, she doubtless has fallen a victim to a broken heart, most sincerely do I pity the poor prisoner who must in close confinement bear this severe misfortune.

You will perhaps imagine that I usurp too great a share in correspondence when I am only a co-partner in it, and that Mary Anne is younger and much better able to sustain her part therein. I confess I feel gratified in conversing with you, even on paper, and therefore I have indulged myself in becoming the secretary of this day.

Your father, who is taking his accustomed wet weather walk about the room, joins in the strongest assurance of the warmest affection to you, Jane, and the dear children. The rest of the family are dispersed, but I can answer that their most cordial wishes for you and Jane will always unite with those of your ever affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

OCT. 30TH, 1800.

I thank you, my dearest Tom, for the increasing tenderness with which you treat all my weakness, of which you have given me a great instance in your last letter. Your lenient temper administers a calm for every malady. We are happy to find by your two last letters that you are all well, and that Margaret is quite recovered. Dear Robert's letter gave us great pleasure, it is a true picture of his heart, overflowing with innocence, honesty, and good nature. May he give to you and his mother as much comfort, without the pangs, as you have given us. I have not seen Mrs. Patten for some days, as she has gone to spend a week at Clontarf, but I hear with pleasure that Jane has written to her. John dined here on Sunday last, he kindly remembers us, and sometimes gives us a day, but not as often as we would wish, tho' I believe as often as he can, as he seems to have much business upon his hands. Change of weather has not as yet, thank God, had any bad effect upon your father. I have had a severe cold, which, however, has quite gone, and as usual without any remedy to remove it. The rest are all very well, except the little fellow, who is quite delicate in spite of our wishes and endeavours to have him otherwise; he is just now very tolerable, and I still trust a great deal to his own cheerfulness. I would not have you imagine that I am partial to his name; I assure you that he is a great favorite with every other person in the family, as with me. Little Tom is also a charming child, but as circumspect, crafty, and faithful to his own interests as any of the race of Abraham ever were. John, tho' last named, is not, I assure you, ever forgotten by us; he looks robust and hearty, is much more playful and

lively, but still your father thinks that his lungs are in a very spongy state; we have been obliged to shave his head, so that he will continue a baldpate for the winter. You may be sure that nothing upon our part shall be omitted that we think may tend to promote his health. I am thus minute about your children, thinking it right that you should know every particular concerning them. Our list of Peers has lost three of its members, it seems as if they were grief-stricken, that the Peerage is merely nominal. Lord Farnham is perhaps the most to be lamented. Lord Belamont has left a lesson behind him, upon the shortness and uncertainty of human life; he rode his own horse against Mr. R. Latouch on Friday, walked about the streets of Dublin on Saturday, and was dead before Monday morning.*

Your father desires me to tell you that he does all he can to throw amusement into those hours which he would spend in happiness if you, your family, and brother [Robert] were around him. This however is an idea which we must not dwell upon, but tho' we endeavour to suppress it we are not able to prevent it always from obtruding itself. M^r Chamberlain has been given over, but is now recovering, he was laid up at the same time in the gout. Your father had lately a letter from St. John [Mason], he is very well, and you may be sure affectionate in his inquiries about you and yours. So are numbers besides, and none more than our now only neighbours. I have no news to tell you, unless I was to inform you that our loaf is growing larger and our potatoes very thin in the ground. It will not be news to tell you how much we all love you and your fireside, and that I am most truly your

ever affectionate mother,

ELIZABETH EMMET.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

In another handwriting, and probably that of his sister Mary Anne:

MY DEAREST TOM—

I send you two glasses of number nine, which the opticians say is your number, and will send another in the next letter.—

The following letter is from his father:

Nov. 13TH, 1800.

MY DEAR TOM,

Yesterday your mother received yours of the 25th of October, wherein you express so much pleasure at receiving her former superscriptions by me: that I find myself bound by mere civility and etiquette to make more than a proxy acknowledgment of thanks to you, and impelled by paternal affection to give you as much pleasure as is in my power.

I take up my pen to address an entire letter to you, and on gilt paper if you please, for if the bare superscription of letter by me, affords you every satisfaction as to my health, in addition to the reports of it made by your mother and Mary Anne, the receipt of an entire letter from myself must increase that satisfaction more, and thus much for the preamble.

Now as to the subject matter, that I love you I need not assure you, that our separation has thrown gloom on my evening of life is unnecessary to mention! But away with this sombre commencement. The clouds of my evening are not as pleasure-fringed as I could wish, but they are not sorrow-charged; if not gay, they are at least serene, and they receive reflections of satisfaction even from Fort George. When I know, if you are immured, you are also comfortably lodged, honourably treated, and indulged with the companionship of a beloved and love-deserving Partner, with half a very promising progeny who must soon grow up well and advantageously accomplished under your's and their mother's tuition.

* The grandfather of this peer, bearing the same title, was the Colonial Governor of New York for several years previous to 1701. He was charged, with James Emott, of New York, and Livingston, with having fitted out Kidd, the pirate, and with having shared with him his spoils. The truth of the story would seem to be that Bellamont and others had fitted out a privateer and had placed Kidd in command. After having made some legitimate returns as prizes for the owners, Kidd at length turned pirate for his own gain.

As to those under my care, they must certainly fall short in point of education, but we will do the best we can. John is at a crown and a quarter school, where he tells me he makes great proficiency, four or five lessons a day in his A, B, C, but as yet he does not couple them very accurately. John, however, is a very well-disposed, well-tempered child, and if he does not mount into the Emyrean Galaxy, he will always keep the Milky path of life, and never tread on thorns. Tom has, I fear, by the commentary of your letter, been rather misrepresented to you; he seems to be a little more attentive to self, than either Robert or John, but he has right good material to be wrought upon, solidity, circumspection, attention, and love of approbation. Little Temple, *signa fata . . . alter Marcellus erit*, should he live for the germs to open, blossom, and ripen into fruit, he will equal I think his namesake uncle. But of this no more now; as to myself, entering on my seventy-first year of Life, I find the strength of constitution, praise be to the Donor, reducing a disorder to a mere inconvenience and leaving nothing to be complained of on that head. I eat, drink, and sleep very sufficiently and comfortably; boiled bread and milk as usual for breakfast, the chance of the table and everything welcome at dinner; after that the certainty of three glasses of claret, for your mother insists upon it that it is the proper wine for me, and that you know decides it, for in point of Medical regulation, *Mehi est Magnus Apollo*. If the weather be fine and sunny, I vibrate a pendulum walk from the esplanade to your study for half an hour, or longer if dry, but with a western wind the vibration line is changed from the Esplanade to the mount and the time shortened. Now as to amusement, what am I to say? Why, a recluse, and scarcely seeing any person but my own family, I am under the necessity of saying and doing the same thing over and over again, planting one tree, pulling up another, *diruens, edificans, mutans quadrate rotundis*; sometimes not so much in real action or expense, building castles in the air, travelling and planning on the *Loire* from Nantz to Blois, sometimes on the *Seine* from Havre de Grasse to Paris; sometimes on the *Villain* from Roche-Bernard to Rennes. But seventy-one years of age and a very comfortable settlement at Casino, come athwart me and soon fall the castles and all their improvements. Luckily their demolition and the last page of my paper coincide, and the deficiency of imagination to maintain any farther Essays happily remains undiscovered. This, the only letter which you have had written to you by me since your arrest you will probably think sufficiently compensatory, by its length, for the continued silence; what then will the official person think of it when he wades thro' such folly and nonsense? He must e'en think the best he can. Had he relied on my good sense and judgment not to write anything that was improper for official inspection, he would have read an entertaining chapter in *Tristram Shandy*, or any other equally entertaining book, and have forwarded this unread. If he has not had that opinion of me, he must blame himself for the consequences; at any rate, if it affords you the shadow even of satisfaction I shall feel myself compensated for my part of the performance, and still more so as it affords me the opportunity of assuring you that I am with the most sincere and undiminished parental affection, yours as ever,

ROBERT EMMET.

Casino, Nov. 18th, 1800.

The late King of Prussia thought, or said, that the postscript was the only part of a letter worth reading. My love, and all our loves, to Jane, Robert, Margaret, and Elizabeth, yourself not forgotten.

DECEMBER 12TH, 1800.

MY DEAR TOM,

On Tuesday last I received yours of the 22nd of November, and to show you how willing I am to continue a correspondence, which I had hitherto declined entering into, merely because you had then three correspondents in the family; one of them happily being admitted to a more pleasing intercourse than letter-writing, I shall step forward in her place and continue you to the jogg-trot practice with three correspondents. Before the receipt of your letter I had heard of the circumstance which you apprehended would give such pleasure to your mother. It has indeed afforded very great pleasure to all of us, as it gives you an opportunity of acting as you have done, and which has been perfectly to the wishes of every member of the family; you are quite right, I

think, in resolving to curtail both correspondences. Novel-writing is grown into a common practice for masters and misses, but letter-writing, I think, should not yet be committed to children; for it would do worse than spoil the manner of forming their alphabetical letters; it would give them a confidential manner of communicating nonsense and tiring their friends. Not that any of Robert's have been so, which on the contrary have always given pleasure to every one of us who have received or read them. His representation of that great ugly Goat, which he mentioned to Kitty, as getting on the ramparts, and which I fancy beat him from the rear, has made me laugh repeatedly; and tho' I do not in general approve of children's letter-writing, yet when you shall think his hand sufficiently practised for small letter-writing I shall be extremely glad to hear from him by a letter to yourself, but he must not, therefore, drop his preceding correspondents, grandmamas, and even cousin Kitty, may grow suddenly jealous.

I do not know whether in the turmoil and agitation of public and private affairs, you have been made acquainted with the death of Sir John Temple. Sir Grenville is now in London, where he intends to pass the winter, and in the spring, if circumstances admit it, to pass over into France. He means, if the reign of *Democracy and villainy* shall be over, as he expresses himself to his aunt, and in which letter he desires to be affectionately remembered to all this Family, including his mistaken friend. He has been very lucky, by all accounts, in the Lottery of Marriage, a very fine young widow with a fortune of sixty thousand pounds, as they say, but Mrs. Temple or Harriet are not perfectly correct in arithmetic calculations, you know, and half the sum may be, perhaps, the truth. The apprehensions of approaching scarcity, if not of famine, are unhappily too probable! The corn harvest has certainly been sufficiently productive, and if no more of it was to be exported I am certain that we should have enough for home consumption.—Were it not that our potatoes, which you know are the chief substance of three-fourths of the community, have turned out but poorly, and consequently must increase the demand for corn. But the attention of Government will, I trust, procure a great and general importation of it; and as Ireland is now, no longer a distant Kingdom from England, but an integral part of the British Empire,* I hope it will participate in the advantages of not having any of its own produce drawn from it, but also of having quantities of foreign corn thrown into it. My line of living and amusements continue to be much the same; save that, as the weather is growing very cold, my walking is curtailed, and I am necessarily thrown more upon books. For this week's reading I observe with great pleasure how Brutus by one well-timed act defeated the enemy, refuted his falsehood, detected the calumny and silenced the detraction of Cassius; for, tho' both were embarked in the same cause they were certainly men of very different characters and acted upon very different principles.

Adieu, my dear Tom, may every blessing of my heart attend you and yours, and may you, in your children, feel all the comfort, confidence, and satisfaction which I do in mine. My love to Jane, Robert, &c. &c.

ROBERT EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

DECEMBER 18TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have received two or three letters from you since I have last written, but since the number of your correspondents have increased, my turn for writing does not so often happen, and I imagine your father's letters more than compensate for mine being less frequent. It is not of much import who holds the pen provided you get a regular weekly intelligence from this quarter. We have but

* That Ireland was to become "an integral part of the British Empire" was promised by the English Government as one of the great advantages Ireland was to gain by bringing about "the Union." As usual, England only looked to her own gain, and Ireland has received no benefit whatever, but has suffered a decrease in population and an increase in poverty and taxation. The Irish people, after ninety-seven years, have not yet been granted the advantage of English laws and privileges as British subjects, as was pledged, but are still governed and punished by "special legislation." As of old, a famine is again threatened and the necessity for making some provision has been known for months past, and yet the Government, according to custom, have done nothing and will do nothing until forced to act from public opinion, and then it will be done at a cost many fold greater, to increase the tax burden of Ireland and to benefit chiefly "the friends of the Government."

one mind towards you ; our affectionate feelings are the same in all, and can be as well expressed by one as by another ; and whether they are expressed on paper, or not, I trust that Jane and you will both be assured that they continue undiminished and will always do so.

A comparison upon the approaching season and those we have passed together does not tend to lay them asleep, but we are, however, most truly grateful when we reflect how much more your happiness is than it has been for some preceding Christmas. When Kitty wrote last to dear little Robert, she also wrote, from an impulse of her own, a letter to you, wherein I find the poor child accuses herself of vanity, which, believe me, she does not possess. Jane will, I am sure, acquit me of any partiality, when I assure you that I have never met any child, with, or without her endowments, farther from having any such disposition, Jane will also tell you that she is humble-minded and modest. She is very affectionate, and therefore ready to oblige her friends ; this temper makes her solicitous to obtain their approbation, and this she mistakes for vanity. But you may rest satisfied that she has not more than even you would wish, nor of any other bad propensity that I know of, and I am tolerably attentive to all her dispositions. I also find that you have been uneasy about little Tom, what Mary Anne and I have said imported nothing more than to convey to you an idea of the strength of his intellect, for surely you did not suppose that the disposition of a child, not four years old, would do more than to divert you, instead of giving you sincere alarm. The share of understanding which he promises to have will be fully sufficient to overcome his little childish dispositions, and without severity he will do what is right by only pointing it out to him.

This we even already find to be the case, that his character will be strongly marked I have no doubt, but I am also sure that it will be marked for rectitude and firmness. Finding, however, that what we meant only to amuse has given you uneasiness, I must request in future that you will not infer too much from any of my letters, otherwise I shall be obliged to write with a caution that would be unpleasant to me. There have been accounts from the De Fontenays [the Marquis de Fontenay and family] from Rotterdam ; they had a very bad passage thither, which affected him so much that she was uneasy about his life. Most sincerely do I wish that he may be able to embrace his family before he quits this uneasy and uncertain life. They cannot yet have reached the end of their journey, even tho' she should have been able to proceed much sooner than could well have been expected. Your father, thank God, continues well, and so do we all, the children remarkably so, the little fellow, whom a month ago we did not expect could live now climbs up on the chairs.

I am very glad to find that Jane continues steadily to the practice of going every day out ; from experience I can tell her that it is the surest way of preserving health. Mary Anne, tho' she loves her much, cannot now sympathize with her, which I am not sorry at all for.

I have not said anything of your declining the late act of uncommon kindness which has been shown to you, and I shall only say now that we have always the fullest confidence in your conduct ; and from hence we are also satisfied that you have taken care that your refusal should not appear ungracious to the person whose humanity interested him so much in your favour.* Adieu, my dearest Tom, assure yourself, your Jane, and your children, of the warmest affection of all under this roof, and none more than that of your ever affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

* Governor Stuart had offered to let Mr. Emmet go beyond the bounds of the fortress to visit different persons in the neighborhood who had shown some kindness to Mrs. Emmet and himself. He wished to exact in return his honor to keep within certain limits as to distance and time of returning. For some reason now unknown he declined to accept the privilege.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DR. ROBERT EMMET AND HIS WIFE WITH THEIR SON DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT.

Great indeed was the effort made by Dr. Emmet and his wife to bear up under the burden of uncertainty as to their son's fate, and to accept with courage the sorrow which had come upon them in their old age. Nothing could be more pathetic than the following letter with which the poor old heartbroken father greets his imprisoned son at the beginning of the new year :

JANUARY 1ST, 1801.

MY DEAR TOM,

The first day of the new year has advanced thus far without our customary embrace and mutual expressions of heartfelt affection ; but tho' the form has been precluded the essence of our sentiments remains happily unimpaired ; and separated as we are by Lands & Seas our cordiality & attachment are still united & for ever will remain so. Let us, however, preserve even the forms, as much as we can and for this purpose, in the fullest effusion of my heart, I assure you of every sentiment of paternal affection which a father ought to entertain for a well deserving son, could I express them stronger I would. Give a kiss of cordial affection to Jane on my part and the same to Robert, Margaret, and Elizabeth,—tell them that I love them as well as if they were at Casino, but I should like Casino much better if they were at it. Whatever is, however, is perhaps for the best, and true wisdom of man, it may be, would be perhaps always to think so. At least to act as if he thought so, and consequently to factor every moment of time to the comfort and pleasing enjoyment of the present. “Carpe horam” was Horace's advice, “Vive la bagatelle” that of Swift, and since what is passed cannot be recalled, and what is to come may never reach us, our prudence would seem to be—the cheerful enjoyment of the present. May you and yours enjoy it in its fullest extent.

What a period, my dear Tom, for abstract thought and philosophic contemplation, the eighteenth century closed, but the Temple of Janus not shut, on the contrary every portal thrown open, and Bellona issuing forth with redoubled rage and augmented fury ? Heavens, when will it end ? Long had I hoped that ere this a general peace would have secured the tranquillity of the world for the currency of the commencing century. Consequently that I should have had the happiness of clasping you to my heart, and closing my course of years in the same land, if not in the same house, with you, and of leaving you as my substitute and guardian of the dear connections I should quit. But that prospect is now over, or at least too far removed to be reasoned upon with probability. But no more of that,—“Cheerful enjoyment of the present” I have stated to you as probably the best proof of human wisdom, and I am resolved to adopt the practice. Thanks be to the Supreme Disposer of all things, I have a very competent share of health and wealth ; the proper disposal of them depends upon myself, and if I can, *aequum mihi animum ipsa parabo.*

There is not anything new or important within my sphere of information which merits being communicated to you ; the vicissitudes of human life are too frequent to be a subject of news, and

the objects frequently too insignificant to be of importance, such perhaps you may consider the present condition of the unfortunate Gifford, formerly, as you know, sheriff of the city, captain in a corps of its yeomanry, who after having been long *in coventry*, as they term it, with the regiment, is now under trial for having discharged a loaded musket at Col. Seabury, his commanding officer, and the consequence, it is thought, will be fatal to him. Your letter of the 20th of December to Kitty is this moment come to hand; the contents of it are certainly instructive, and will, I doubt not, be really of service to her; not that she has one atome of vanity in her composition. She has indeed ambition of knowing a great deal, but no ambition of making a display of that knowledge, and with whatever acquaintance she may have there is a simplicity and childishness joined, which prevents even the most distant appearance of vanity.—What the state of this country, in the approaching spring and summer, with respect to provisions, is very doubtful, if not probably melancholy. Our shilling loaf at present weighs but three pounds, and mutton sells at 8d. per pound. The advancing season will considerably diminish the size of the former and increase the price of the latter. But to what extent cannot be determined. I have made what little provision I could against the worst, and rely on God's goodness with the hopeful expectation of the best. That thought, my dear Tom, takes in your return and settlement at Casino, which wants but that one circumstance to make it to me always a cheerful and happy residence. Adieu; may the Almighty take you into most special protection, may he bless you and yours with prosperity and many returns of happy years, and may the next new year, at most, restore you to the embrace of your affectionate father,

ROBT EMMET.

His mother next resumes her old place as the regular weekly correspondent:

JANUARY 9TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

Without having a new sentiment to impart, or a new incident to relate, I sit down to write, well knowing that you would rather have the same thing repeated over and over again, than to be left in suspense about our situation, which is, thank God, in every respect but that of separation from those we love tenderly, as well as we could possibly expect. Your father, the first object of our solicitude, is better than he has been for the last three years, and tho' he goes very little out, his spirits continue unbroken; he amuses himself very much with the children, they are with us the most part of the day, and tho' they play a great deal he does not complain of the noise—a sure proof that his nerves are stronger, as well as that they are great favorites. The three are all in perfect health, and I have never known better children. The little fellow engages in all their plays with as much spirit as any of them, and he forces himself into notice more than the others. But be assured they are all equally objects of our care. I must, however, confess that the two youngest are the most interesting. John's ideas are, however, I think, opening more, and to show you that he looks beyond the present time, he asked me the other day, with great sobriety when I thought he would be fit to be married. I am happy to hear that Margaret has so good a capacity; indeed she showed strong marks of shrewdness before she left this, and I have no doubt but her improvement will amply repay the care that is taken of her. My namesake ought not to be outdone, for I am sure she has talents to take the lead of most children. But whatever talents they may have, it will not be easy to persuade me that they, or any of your children, will ever outstrip Robert, in disposition they cannot for I have never seen a finer one than he is blessed with.

The night before last Lord Aldborough was interred by torchlight; his last honours were paid to him by the performance of a grand Requiem in Thomas' church. How fleeting are the pomps and vanities of this life, and yet they are sought and pursued with as much zeal and solicitude as if they were to be enjoyed eternally. His titles and estates devolve upon his brother John, and Mrs. Stratford, she at least will enjoy them to the utmost as long as she can hold them.

Tell Jane that Betty Lyne was married on Sunday last to Mr. Drew, a man with eleven hundred pounds a year, some say two thousand, but which ever it is it may be sufficient to excite unpleasant sensations in the minds of some doomed to drag on a single life, some against their inclination.

One, I am sure, thinks tho' she does not say it, "What better has she than I?" I do not mention either Mrs. Patten or John, because Mrs. Patten writes constantly to Jane; you therefore have your accounts from the fountain. John is so much engaged in business of his own, as well as his friends, that we do not see him half as often as we wish. I need not repeat to you the usual compliments at the commencement of our New Year. You are well assured how warmly we wish them to you, to Jane, and to your children. There is but one wish in this throughout the house, in the parlour it is a most cordial and united one, and even descends to the kitchen. Adieu, my dearest Tom, believe me always, and unalterable your truly affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

JANUARY 30TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have delayed writing these two days hoping to get a letter from you, but as the post has been here without bringing one I would not longer run the hazzard of causing uneasiness to you by not hearing from us. It is needless to express the great satisfaction we have felt at your present good accommodations. Every circumstance which relates to you and yours, is at all times interesting to us, but much more so now when our chief enjoyments are derived from a reflection on your happiness, joined to that of your wife and children. I am glad you did not persist in your project of sending for little Tom. I think a child of his age would have embarrassed you more than all the others, and he could not have been so well as he is here, where he can have the fullest liberty; you need not fear that he is not attended to in every particular. The health and dispositions of the three are very much objects of our care, and as they could not any of them reap much advantage from your instruction at present, I think it would be wrong to move any of them from a place where you must know your children will meet with all the care and affection which you can possibly wish for them, and which they deserve upon their own account. They are all very docile, they do not require the least degree of severity, and they do not meet that kind of indulgence which is generally prejudicial to the tempers and dispositions of children. I find Mrs. Patten has compelled me, along with herself, to express a little jealousy at your intending to send for Tom in preference to John. Jane will know how to translate this, as she knows that her mother is partial to John, and that I do not profess to be so, tho' I assure you he is rising very much in our estimation. He gave us all very great pleasure the other day by an instance of self-conquest and firmness which would have done honour even to my dear little Robert; the incident is too trivial and too tedious to make a part of my letter, but it would have given you pleasure to have seen it. Poor Mr. Mercer died on Saturday last, much regretted by all who knew him, and by many friends his loss will be severely felt. His fortune he has left to his brothers and sisters. His will was hastily made last summer, when he was dangerously attacked in the country. He determined to have altered it when he came to town, but hoping every day to grow better he deferred it from day to day till it was too late to make any change in it. His intention was to have left the reversion of his fortune divided among his friends, in which number he mentioned our friend here, for whom he had a great regard. I learn from Kitty that Harriet has written to Sir Grenville [Temple] in a manner you would hardly expect, by which I am sure she will draw upon herself his strong resentment, a passion the most predominant in his mind. Your father waits for an answer to his last, and will not write again until he receives one. He, thank God, continues extremely well, and along with Mr. Helmes, Mary Anne and Kitty, desires to assure you and Jane of that warm affection which is felt for you all under this roof. Tom desired me to give his love to you all, and to tell you he is a good boy, and that he said his lesson to cousin very well to-day. John is at school, and the little fellow knows ye not. Remember me in the kindest manner to Jane and the children, you will say a great deal if you say what I feel for her, and them, for you I will only say that I feel all that you can wish from your most affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

FEB. 26TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

Considering the distance there is between us it is not wonderful that we should feel uneasy at every indisposition you may have, the bare relation of it cannot but excite apprehension in a mind so weak and so deeply interested as mine. But Jane's second letter to Mrs. Patten, which I did not know of 'till yesterday, has set my mind very much at ease, and has prevented the anxiety I should otherwise have felt at not getting a letter either this day or yesterday. The attack was very violent indeed, and I can very well conceive that Jane must have suffered in her short agony. I hope she and the children have not been as heavily visited as you were. Here, thank God, all enjoy good health, your father in good spirits, and creating amusement for himself by forming small plans, some of which he executes, and others he destroys, always, however, maintaining that cheerfulness which determines him to make the best of everything and to submit patiently to what he cannot either prevent or cure. This happy disposition has been a wonderful support to me, who certainly am not naturally of so good a temper, and but for this constant cheerfulness must long since have sunk under all that had befallen us. It also contributes much to his health, which by the mercy of Providence is beyond anything we could have hoped for. Mary Anne is better than I have seen her for a length of time, she has been very much an invalid, but she seems to have now a great increase of health, strength, and spirits. As a proof thereof, she has in a great measure conquered her native indolence, and can even, without having any particular object to impell her, exert herself upon common occasions with tolerable diligence and regularity; here you know her difficiency always lay, for upon great occasions she always rose above herself and above other people. She is very fortunate in having a husband who sees and is able to estimate all her merits. Your children are all in perfect health and increasing in favour every day; two of them grow fast enough, but Tom is short and does not appear to have grown a hair's breadth since his mother left us, but what he loses in height he gains in strength, and is upon the whole a very fine boy and one of the most ameanable children I have ever met, but not more so than the two others. The accounts of your Scottish children afford us the sincerest pleasure, it gratifies us very much to hear that they do not forget us, and tho' they do not possess one token of my affection, I nevertheless hope that they will continue to remember with some degree of interest an old ungracious grandmother, who often treated them with roughness, but who in truth always felt great kindness towards both them and their mother. All here request to be remembered in the kindest manner to Jane, you, and the dear children. Kitty is very well, but as she is with her grandmother she cannot write at present, but John assures us she is quite well. May the Almighty and Merciful Providence preserve you, my dear Tom, from sickness, or further misfortune, and spare you long, very long, to your deserving wife and your fine children, and may your father and I be permitted to spend our latter days in the midst of our children. I am most truly your ever affectionate Mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

MARCH 19TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

Our minds have been a good deal occupied here in consequence of a current report that you were all to be brought over to Carrifergus Castle 'till such time as the Habeas Corpus Act should be renewed in England; it is also said that preparations are making at the above place for your reception. For these matters we have no authority but that of common report, and we must wait the issue with the same patience that we are forced to exercise upon other occasions. I with hold all opinions upon the subject, farther than to say that I should not much admire a voyage, tho' it is but a short one, nor a journey through the Highlands for you, your wife, or children at this boisterous season of the year, but acquiescence is a duty we must and do perform. John delays sending you your box 'till he can learn what is intended by Government about your being brought over or not. Little John is at my elbow and expressly desires me to tell you that he is a very good boy; that he has gotten a new spelling book from his grand Mama Patten, and that he will

take care and get his lessons well; all this I am sure he has sincere intentions of performing, tho' I must confess that in his old spelling book he is not very brilliant. He, however, I am told, performs the part of an usher in the school, and acquits himself with great propriety. Tom, in point of erudition, cannot be much boasted of, but his is more the effect of laziness than want of capacity. In fact what children of their age learn serves much more to gratify the vanity of parents, than to edify the children. Of this kind of vanity I have felt a great deal, but like all other vanities under the sun I have found it unsubstantial. I think it right to have young children in the habit of learning something, but under seven it need not be more than play. John I think is much better at school, it helps to enliven him and in some measure opens his ideas; he does not learn any bad habits, and he is very fond of it; at home he would be apt to grow sluggish. He and the other two are all well, so is your father, Mary Anne, &c.

When I have said this much you can easily suppose the rest, for we have no domestic changes except that we have it in contemplation to take Patrick Delany as an apprentice. We owe it to the father's fidelity, and Murray is growing very deaf. Your father is now a good deal out of employment, he has executed all his small plans, and has been projecting others, which have been laid aside all with a view of occupying a mind naturally active, but deprived of the objects that would interest and support it. No person, however, can bear up with a more cheerful fortitude than he does under such uncommon privations which would bow down the spirits of most men less advanced in years than he is. His health grows, thank God, better, and his firmness continues unshaken. Having blotted so far of my paper without saying anything, I have only to conclude in the same manner by assuring you of what I trust you are already convinced of, that I am most sincerely your truly affectionate mother.

E. EMMET.

Remember us in the warmest manner to the children.

MAY 10TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

Tho' it is not exactly the time for writing, nor my turn for holding the family pen, I could not forbear committing an usurpation upon Kitty's right, as I wished to express the great pleasure which we have all felt at the happy recovery of our dear Jane, whose situation it was most kind in you to conceal from us, as it would undoubtedly have occasioned great anxiety to us all. To you it must have given serious alarm, and I well know what you must have felt. Nor am I much surprised at the agitation which caused it, her apprehension did not exceed the reality. Had you been brought over, I am assured that the intention was to make your confinement very rigorous, you would not have been allowed any intercourse from without, you would have been denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and I apprehend that neither Jane nor the children would have been suffered to continue with you. All this I am sure she foresaw, and felt deeply; it is therefore no wonder she was afflicted in the manner she has been, and very fortunate it is that the loss has only been such as can be soon repaired. But tho' I am not surprised at what has now happened I most sincerely wish her to guard in future against such acute feelings. She is young, and with so long a life as I hope she has before her, she must not expect, even after her present trials cease, that as a wife and mother she shall not be always subject to anxieties of various kinds. You will say, and with justice, that like some advisors I recommend what I do not practice, but I am in some measure warranted by experience in what I now say. Solicitude has through life stuck to me like an inner garment, and I find that it exceeds even those of the children of Israel, it is a habit that instead of wearing by time, grows stronger by constant use. I would not, however, have you conclude from hence that I am ungrateful. Be assured that I feel all my blessings with a thankful heart, and that I wish to decern and to adore the healing hand which has been held out to me in the midst of trials and distresses, and without which my natural infirmities must have sunk under the scenes I have gone through; but let me not tire you with egotism. I have still the same pleasing account as when I wrote last, to give you of your father and the children. Mary Anne indeed begins to complain a little, but without making compassion from any of us. The kindness which you say you have

received is indeed very gratifying to us as well as to you, instances of the kind exalt human nature, and we are thereby made to feel very sensibly our relationship to our species. When you and Jane are known I doubt not but you will always meet with such conduct, but it is not common for persons in your situation to meet such from strangers, and it is my belief that the reverse would have been, as it was before, your portion in an Irish prison. We long much to see once more a letter from our dear kind-hearted little Robert, whose progress in improvement gives us all very sincere pleasure. Margaret's diligence is also to be much commended, and I should be glad that my little idle namesake did not place herself, where nature did not intend she should be, in the background of the family group. The two eldest boys desire their love to you all, John never omits desiring me to read your letters to him, and I generally take the liberty of framing a paragraph for them, to which they both hearken with pleasure and attention.

Mrs. Patten tells me that Tom is grown, but I do not perceive it; neither does he increase in literature. His spelling book seems so burthensome to him that we have laid it aside for some months lest he should take too great a dislike to it, notwithstanding this he is a very fine boy, and I have no doubt that he will make a very learned as well as a very fine man. I asked the little one [Temple] what I should say for him; his reply was that he was a very good boy, and this you may believe both from his own report and from mine. We are in the act of painting both our carriage and house, the latter has caused much dirt, but we could not defer either any longer without injury to both, and now that the inconvenience is nearly over, we find that all we do only excites a fond and fruitless wish that we could enjoy all our comforts in the midst of our entire family.

Adieu, my dearest Tom; I have scarcely left myself room to assure you that I am, with the tenderest regard to Jane and the children, your truly affectionate mother,

ELIZABETH EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

JUNE 4TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I would not omit writing in due time, tho' I have nothing but the old story to relate, but I am certain that it cannot be ever too often repeated to you, that we all are, thank God, well, except Mary Anne, who is just gone to have some of her teeth drawn, which will not cause much more uneasiness to you than it does to us. Jane's sympathy may indeed be excited, she having so often suffered from the same cause, and it is not very unlikely will again be visited in the same manner. Most sincerely do we all rejoice that she is for the present so well established in health, long, very long may she enjoy that and every other Blessing which this world can give. Your father desires me to tell you that you need not fear that he wants employment; he has at present work enough upon his hands. He is gravelling the walks completely all around, he is raising and means to finish the nursery in which he indulges the fond hope of seeing all your dear children reassembled, "the promises of hope," I have heard, "were better than the gifts of fortune." This I am convinced of, that tho' it too often deludes us it contributes much to support us, and tho' mine has ever been a trembling hope, still it has in a great measure kept me from totally sinking.

I have received your last letter in due time, and cannot avoid observing that you obliquely charge me rather unjustly with indulging prejudices against America. We are seldom, I grant, sufficient judges of ourselves, but if I know anything of myself, I am not, I think, very subject to prejudice. What I have said of America has been collected either from natives, or persons who have lately been there, and the same opinion is very general here. But, independent of this consideration, it is sufficient for me that in the event of your going there I should lose all hope of ever seeing you again, and surely the sternest Philosophy would allow me to feel at such a prospect.

I am not, my dear Tom, so weak as to imagine that I could dissuade you from any plan which you may form for the advantage or happiness of your wife or your children, nor if I could would I attempt it. I only wish that when you have the power of choosing, this consideration may be

thrown in the balance. I have farther to add, in reply to your last, that tho' I am not very fond of attributing the faults of my temper to the weakness of my nerves, still if I have any nerves at all, it will be granted that I have enough to disturb and shatter them, and therefore I cannot think that my feelings are either unreasonable or unnatural, or that I am unthankful to Providence for having my right arm tho' I may feel the loss of my left, if I had been deprived thereof. Thus much I have said as a kind of justification of myself, at the same time assuring you with sincerity, and I am too old for affectation, that I should be sorry you thought so ill of me, as I do of myself.

The only news I have to relate is that Mr. Blackwood* is going to be married to Miss Finlay, daughter of Mr. Finlay of the Co. Kildare, and niece of the Banker; he gets very little fortune at present, but it is likely to be a good match in future. She was to be presented yesterday to Mrs. Temple and Harriet; he paid them the compliment of consulting them before he had spoken to the lady's friends.

We have begun to bath the children; they are all well, and often speak of Robert, more than the girls, and the two eldest still remember their mama. God bless you, my dear Tom, this you will easily believe is the ardent wish of all here and of none more warmly than is that of your truly

affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Assure Jane and the children of our love and most cordial good wishes.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,

Fort George, Scotland.

JUNE 25TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have the happiness to inform you that your father has recovered from an indisposition under which he has laboured, more or less, for six weeks past. It seems to proceed from indigestion and a bilious stomach, sometimes attended with irritation, but no tendency to spasms. I do not know that the attacks can justly be attributed to cold or over-exercise; at least he is not willing to admit that it was occasioned by either. Knowing the energy of his mind as you do, you expect too much from us when you desire us to restrain him in any of his projects and pursuits. Whenever he has an object in view he forgets that he is an invalid and cannot bear to be watched. How I have felt for nearly two months you and Jane can easily guess. But, thank God, my fears are over for the present. The next subject that I am sure you would wish me to mention is your children. They are all, I can assure you, in excellent health. The little fellow was somewhat languid, but Bark has again set him up, and he is now growing tall, fat, and strong.—John is not long returned from a week's visit to Mrs Patten, who has made him very happy with entire new clothes and a great number of Buttons; he felt very visibly the importance he had acquired by his visit to town, for as soon as he returned he desired that John Delany should be brought in to play with him, as his grandmama had always a boy on purpose to play with him. He does not, I assure you, want either observation or intellect, he has great natural justice and a very open good-natured temper. Tom has naturally a pensive temper, concise in his expressions, and very little of the prattle of a child; in short he is more addicted to thinking than to speaking, he is very docile and mild, and would suffer himself to be over-ruled by the young one if we did not prevent it. This little Brat is to be sure the chief favourite throughout the house; we, however, do not spoil him, and I assure you that I fondle him less than the others. Mary Ann caresses him more than I do, but at the same time treats him with steadiness; in the kitchen he would be commander-in-chief if we did not prevent it. He is quite a miniature of our dear little Robert, especially when he holds up his hands and says he won't be bold any more. Tom is beginning to shoot up, which I am glad to observe, as I began to despair of his stature. Mrs. Patten goes, as I suppose you already know, to the North of Ireland; she is extremely well, and growing visibly fat. John, with his usual goodness

* Hans Blackwood, who married, in 1784, Mehetabel, daughter of Robert Temple, succeeded his brother, in 1799, as Baron Dufferin. For his second wife he married, in 1801, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Finlay. They were the grandparents of the present Marquis of Dufferin.

of heart, comes whenever he can to amuse the Doctor and to sooth me. How often, how much I miss Jane I need not say, she has made a wide gap that is felt by us all, but by none more than me. Your father and Mary Anne are both blessed with more self-support than I have, for alas, I am a tottering fabrick, built originally of bad material, and therefore require more props. Jane of course could not be removed from us without my feeling it very seriously indeed; but whatever my regrets may be they are all turned into gratitude when I reflect upon what you enjoy in her society and that of your children. She has, however, deprived me of a great gratification in not reading her letters, for ever since she mentioned that they were written exclusively to her mother, I have not thought myself warranted to read one of them. And to say the truth, tho' I wished to release her from the necessity of a correspondence that might interfere with Mrs. Patten, both Mary Anne and I hoped to have heard from her occasionally, tho' not constantly. I admit that your writing is fully sufficient, and the drudgery of writing to us ought most certainly to devolve upon you, whom I would not exchange for any other correspondent, but this would by no means destroy my relish for a letter from Jane. I beg you will assure her that we all love her tenderly, as well as the dear children. I am, dearest Tom, most sincerely

Your affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

I have just now the pleasure of looking out and seeing your father with a rake in his hands.

JULY 15TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have just finished a letter to St. John Mason which will probably cause this to be shorter than it would otherwise be, as I have not either fingers nor eyes for writing two letters in one day. I would not, however, defer writing in due time to you, lest you should thereby be rendered uneasy at not hearing from us in due course. Your father is, thank God, much better and stronger than when I last wrote; your children are all extremely well, Mary Anne and the rest of the family in good health. Little Tom was some days ago not very well, but a timely dose of senna has set him up again; he is beginning to stretch a little, which in general produces little indispositions that are often attributed to other causes. I had written this for yesterday when I was interrupted by a visit from Miss Fitzmaurice and Ally Spring, who came to spend the day with us. The latter has left Farnham,* which has now become the seat of hospitality and magnificence, for the purpose of bathing, and which under Miss Fitzmaurice's quiet roof, has been of great service to her. She talks of going to spend some time in Kerry, from whence it is not likely that she will return, at least for some time. She left Lady Anne very well, but Mary Herbert very delicate; they are all very constant and very affectionate in their inquiries about you all. St. John writes me word that he has almost a certainty of gaining the lawsuit in which he is engaged with Dr. Lawlor which if he does, will, along with another farm which will be out of lease in May next, add two hundred and fifty pounds a year to his income. It is a pity that his feelings and his income are not better suited to each other; as it is at present they produce constant irritation to him, and subject him to constant mortification and depression, which renders his many virtues of very little use to himself, or to mankind.

Mr. William Colville is returned from the North, where he left Mrs. Patten and his mother in perfect health, with only a little fatigue after their journey. Our kind-hearted friend, John, comes to us whenever he can do a friendly office, but it is not in his power to come half as often as we wish to see him; his visits afford us more comfort than we can now possibly receive from any others. Our worthy friend Richards and his pretty unaffected wife are to dine with us to-morrow.

I am but just returned from town and it is near dinner time, which will prevent my filling up my paper. I must, however, observe that a letter from you, which was due in the course of last week, has by some means miscarried. But we have been saved from uneasiness by one from Jane to Mrs. Patten which John opened. Tell my dear little Robert and his sisters how happy we

* Farnham, the country-seat of Earl Farnham, Co. Cavan.

should be to see them all under a cherry tree, and Jane and you looking at them; but it is much easier to form wishes than to believe in the probability of their being gratified. We are all in the hands of a Supreme Being, in him is my hope and trust, and upon this Pillar I must rest. Give my most cordial love to Jane and the children, in which this little circle all sincerely join.

I am, my dearest Tom, your ever affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

AUGUST 6TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have not yet received the week's letter which in due course I expect will be addressed to me, but as punctuality is almost my only merit, I would not defer writing to you beyond the accustomed time, well knowing how anxious you and Jane are to hear from this side of the water; and I am happy in telling you that your father and your children are, thank God, all well, Mary Anne as she should be, and the rest of us in good health. It was in compliance with your father's injunction that we did not inform you in the beginning of his illness. I proposed doing it, but he would not suffer me. May our Supreme and Merciful Being shield me from suffering what I have done. I cannot pass over in silence that part of your letter relative to Jane not writing to us. It is a very bad compliment either to our good-nature, or to our judgment, that we should avowedly do so, and her humility is in truth a satire upon us. We none of us have dispositions to criticize the letters of others, and surely our conduct to Jane has never left room to suppose that we should exercise the talent towards her. Your father's tenderness to her, she well knows, and tho' I am not blessed with so gracious a manner I have not felt less affection for her, and in Mary Anne she always found a sister. Which of us, then, can she fear? I know not how Mary Anne writes, never having had an opportunity of receiving letters from her since she was a child and those she wrote to others I have never seen. I, however, suppose that she expresses herself sufficiently for all the purposes of correspondence, but I am sure she is no writer, and, if she were so disposed, Jane need not shrink from the comments of any person, much less from Mary Anne. For my own part I am neither qualified nor disposed to criticize, I am myself a very careless and very incorrect letter writer. I desire no more than that I should be understood, and it is of no importance to me how I write, provided I can convey what I feel to those I love. Me, then, she cannot fear, but surely Jane must know that she possesses an uncommon faculty in writing, and that no person can express themselves with more ease, eloquence and correctness than she does. What I have written is not with a design to force her into a correspondence with us, but merely to say that the reason she gave for not doing so bore too hard upon us all. Kiss the dear children three times over for their affectionate and interesting representation of us all. Margaret seems to be manager of the Fort George theatre, and a very early and judicious capacity she displayed in casting her characters, it is truly flattering to us to live thus in their memories. May they through life be exempt from those trying scenes we have been engaged in, and are still likely to endure. Your father is at this instant engaged in his old work of raking the new gravelled walks, which will show you that he feels himself well. The little fellow has been cutting two jaw teeth, which has kept him in a very delicate state for about a fortnight, but within these two days he has pulled up. Mary Anne goes every second week to the salt water and takes two of them, in their turn, which is as many as she can manage, at other times they bath in the tubs at home.

Since I began the above I have received yours of the 26th of July, and this will serve as an answer to that said about John. I shall show him your letter, as your father and Mary Anne seem to think I ought. Oh that it were in our power to pay you a visit, but you well know that the situation of your father and mine renders it impossible for us, and the purses of others do nearly the same thing. We must therefore acquiesce and console ourselves with the reflection that you are happy in having your wife and children with you. To the Almighty Being whose attributes are power, wisdom, justice, and mercy, I commend and commit you and all that is dear to us upon

Earth, humbly trusting that he will protect and bless you and every individual of my beloved family. Assure Jane of our united and most cordial good wishes, and best affections for her, and the dear children, and assure yourself that I am truly

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.

Your ever affectionate mother,
E. EMMET.

AUGUST 27TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I expect before I finish this letter to receive one from you, and I am sure it is not your fault if I do not. Your affection and your punctuality never feel a lapse. The old, the young, and the middle-aged under this roof are, thank God, well, and, having told you this one important article, what more have I to say? We cannot go beyond the old topics; we have no new material to manufacture, and the old ones have been so much in use that I find it somewhat difficult to work up a letter out of such threadbare patches. I might as well put the Lord's Prayer in the form of a letter as to repeat what our feelings towards you are, they being both equally familiar to you, but however barren I may be of matter wherewith to fill a letter, I have not had recourse to your expedient of writing my lines very far assunder.

Your father has nearly worked himself out of employment; the walks are all gravelled, the nursery finished, and a noble one it is, but alas it is an unfurnished, unoccupied room. We are now in a dead calm, which does not well accord with anxious, irritable, and deeply interested feelings. I, however, have enough to keep my attention awake in watching your father's looks; whatever they indicate decides what my feelings are to be. Of late, thank God, they have been much better, but for some months they kept me in constant alarm. Mary Anne has given up going to the water; she found it fatigued her too much, the children therefore could not be sent, but Harriet promises to spend a month with us for the purpose of sea-bathing, and they shall go under her protection. The little fellow, however, we have been obliged to desist from bathing, in either salt or fresh water, as neither of these agree with him. His appetite and spirits are both excellent, but his looks are delicate, occasioned somewhat perhaps by growth as he promises to be taller than the others. Tom is much more cheerful than he was, and John continues always at a steady gait, never very high, nor ever low-spirited.

I hope you do not attribute a pensiveness in Tom to any partiality in favour of the young one. Below stairs I must confess that he is too great a favourite, which we do all we can to prevent, as he has been nearly spoiled by the indulgence he meets there, but in the parlour, I assure you Tom is much more noticed. He has very quick observation, but he has never been a prattling child, the young one, however, prates enough for both, and they agree so well together that it would be wrong to separate them, at least 'till Tom outgrows his present system of education. You hurt us, my dear Tom, in supposing that your children can be any trouble to us, I beg that neither Jane or you will suffer such an idea to pass through your minds. Are not our children's children the same as our own? Why don't you permit my dear little Robert to write us? I know not whether you have taught him to write a good hand, but I am sure you have greatly improved his masterly hand. I suppose you have seen in the papers that Lord Rossmore has finished his career in this life. His fortune he has disposed of as was expected to his lady during her life, and at her death to Mrs. Gunn, encumbered with ten thousand pounds to be divided between her sister Taylor and the children of her sister Crook. This event has removed all anxiety from the mind of our worthy friend, Mrs. Frankland.—It would be endless for me to mention the many and very cordial inquiries that are made about you and Jane; sufficient to say that you are as affectionately remembered by all whose remembrance would gratify you, as your heart can wish. Give Jane and all the children as many kisses as you please for me, and assure them of my best affections, in which I am joined by the rest of the Family. I am, my dearest Tom, most sincerely your ever affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Mrs. Patten is not yet returned; poor Miss Lennox is dead, her anxieties are all over,—in this manner we may all rest assured our tribulations will all have an end, if not in any other.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have withdrawn myself from a larger circle than we have of late been accustomed to, in order to write, I know not what, to you. Harriet has been back and forward with us for about a fortnight, and is now here. Ally Spring came to us yesterday, to stay 'till Lady Anne's return to town, and we are in hopes St. John may come to spend a little time with us, but for him there is no answering, the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we know as much the cause thereof as we do of poor St. John's movements. You may perhaps expect that an increase of family will enable me to write somewhat above the common dog-trot gait, but no such thing I assure you, on the contrary I find that a little morning conversation has quite exhausted me. We have been of late a very silent family, at which you will not be surprised when you remember that in fine weather your father is mostly out, Mary Anne deaf, and growing more so, Mr. Holmes either in town or in his study, and Kitty generally employed about her own particular business, so that speech has in some measure been a qualification for which we have had but little occasion; an enlarged circle is therefore an acquisition to us all. Of your father I shall only tell you that he is at present employed in close examination of all the trees, many of which have sentence passed upon them and are doomed to die between this and Christmas. I shall gladly compound for having them only decimated, but before October and November are over I apprehend they will be sacrificed without mercy. From this account, however, you will be able to collect with pleasure the present state of your father's health and spirits. Your children are all well, they have had a kind of pock attended with some degree of fever, which has been general among children, and in some instances fatal. Dr. Browne has lost his only son in it, and his three daughters were, I am told, at one time given over in the same complaint. Ours were for some time so peaking as to give us some uneasiness, but they are now quite well and in very good spirits. Mrs. Patten, John &c are all returned. I have not seen them, but I am told they are all well. I suppose it will not be news to tell you of Lord Downshire's very sudden and unexpected death, in him I am told his tenantry have lost an excellent landlord, and his neighbouring poor a great benefactor. Of all his greatness these alone will follow him; all his other marks of distinction are become as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. This truth so familiar to us, seems to be but of little practical use, for in all countries and in all climates riches, honours, and pleasures are pursued with as insatiable a thirst as if they were to be of eternal duration.

When I write to you I always fancy I am conversing with you, and commit my ideas to paper just as they arise in my mind, without order or arrangement, but I am persuaded that whatever I write will to you not be unwelcome. When will you suffer my dear little Robert to gratify us with seeing a letter from him? Has our dear Jane yet had the toothache? She I hope is well convinced of the interest we take in all that relates to her. You cannot gratify us more than in being very minute in your account of her and the children. I hope you have not relaxed in anything that can promote your health and theirs. Your letter of this week has not yet arrived, and has been expected for some days, which never happens without some degree of anxiety to me. May the God of health preserve yours and that of your wife and children. I am like a very weak garrison that can be assailed in many points, but the Almighty Being, whose mercifull eye is over all, will, I trust, preserve all those who are much dearer to me than life. Mary Anne goes on very well, she, her father and the entire of this family, sojourners and others, all join in the most affectionate remembrance to you all.

I am, my dearest Tom, your unceasing affectionate Mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.

OCTOBER 2ND, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

Kitty has been in town for some time past with her grandmother, she has taken Harriet's place in town and I take hers in writing to you, and I sit down with a more tranquil heart than I have done for some time past, as I am able to assure you that your father is, thank God, to all appearance in better health than he has been since his last illness. The improvement in his spirits and

appetite I attribute in a great measure to the employment of his mind, which at present is occupied in his favourite amusement of removing trees, against which I have ceased to remonstrate. Tho' from the earliness of the season and the age of the trees, I despair of ever seeing a leaf upon any of them, but as we have a great demand for pea-roads they will not be useless. Your children also are better than they were during the whole summer, neither they nor their grand Father have been as I wished for months past, but praise to the Giver of health they are all much better, and that they may continue so is the united and fervent Prayer of us all however dispersed, we are sure to meet in this point. The summer is now over; God grant that the unceasing terrors and gloom I have suffered may have disappeared along with it, and that the tranquillity which I have felt only within these few days, may be of some continuance. I have often compared myself to the Sensitive Plant, which, tho' it shrinks at every touch is not of either use or ornament, and as it bears neither flowers nor fruit might as well be out of the greenhouse. Ally Spring is delighted with the dispositions of your three children. Tom she thinks the finest child you have, and he is certainly a very fine boy. He does from a sense of right what the other two do from a native feeling, but it is injustice to the rest to specify one, as they are in truth equally good, and yet I cannot resist transgressing this rule of right by relating a trait of the little fellow, which however foolish it may appear to those who are privileged to read our letters, will, I am persuaded, give you as much pleasure as it did me. Mr. Holmes sometimes takes them on his back, in consequence of which the young one came to me and asked me to take him upon mine. I told him that my back was old, but in a little time I offered to take him, which he stoutly declined two or three times, and when I asked him why he would not he replied in a tone of great tenderness, "because you have a pain." The next night I again asked him if he would come on my back, and he at once said he would if I had not a pain. The disposition of all your children must afford you and my dear Jane the happiest prospects. May it please Divine Providence to grant you the enjoyment of the ripened fruit as well as the pleasure that must arise from beholding the blossoms. I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Patten, who seems to have laid in a store of health, which I sincerely hope she will enjoy for many, very many years. She has grown fat, which she began to do before she went to the country. Our dear kind John is also well, and continues to show us all the attention and good-nature which we could expect from an affectionate son. I wish from my heart that he could be disengaged more from his desk, his close application to it must injure his health. At this season of the year you cannot expect a visit from him at Fort George, whatever you may do early in the next. You may suppose that the entire of this family desire their best love to you and Jane. She and the children are, I trust, assured of mine. I should have rebuked Kitty if she had awkwardly begun her letter on the wrong side, for myself I will only hope that whatever graces my letter may want it will nevertheless be received with pleasure by you, as being the only vehicle through which I can at present convey any expression of that tenderness which is felt for you here, and especially by

Your affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.

You need not notice anything I have said about the destruction that awaits the trees, but knowing the season and the propensity you may recommend caution. He is as keen at the work as ever you knew him and I know of no medicine, except your returning, that could be so effectual to the promoting of his health, which is ample amends for the loss we may have.

OCTOBER 8TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

The present period will account for my having taken the pen out of our established course. But before I make further use of it I shall inform you that I have never known so great an amendment in so short a time as there is in your father. His health, spirits, appetite, and energy of mind seem all restored to him; for this blessing our united and fullest gratitude is due. Your children are also much better than they were even when last I wrote. Now, my dear Tom, the time is at last arrived when I trust you will be permitted to choose the place of your future residence, and I

hope you will not think me premature in what I am going to write, especially when I tell you that I do it by your father's direction. We are, you may suppose, ignorant of the intentions of Government and we do not wish to interfere in your decision, but we both think it may not be unimportant to you to know beforehand that beyond England your father thinks he cannot venture to go. If, therefore, you shall happily be left to a freedom of choice, he desires me to tell you that in any part of the South of England, Caernarthen, South Wales, to choose, he will join you with the utmost cheerfulness and gratitude to Heaven for the prospect of happiness which would thereby be open to him. You will easily perceive that he specifies the southern part of England, or Wales, chiefly for climate and also for another reason, which is not altogether unimportant, that of their contiguity to Bath or Bristol. Where perhaps he may be induced to spend a couple of winter months, which he would not be apt to do if he was at any distance from them, as land travelling he thinks not fit for him, nor does he much like it. I shall only further say upon this subject that besides the happiness of our living together, what we should be thereby enabled to contribute may not be unworthy your consideration. This I mention because I know that pecuniary matters are seldom thought of in your determinations. The depression of spirits under which I have for some time laboured has been very great, my mind has been sorely burthened indeed. When your father's spirits were low he seemed determined not to quit this country, and I was resolved not to urge him to do it. But the eagerness with which he embraces this plan, and the pleasure which it seems to give him, has relieved my mind from a weight of gloom which you cannot well conceive and which I am not able to express. That this plan may not be frustrated by government, by you, or by any misfortune, is the ardent wish of my too anxious heart. Harriot is not with us now, but I hope she will soon return. Ally Spring has left us for a few days to attend Mrs. Browne, who is ill of a nervous fever, but I hope not in any danger. When Ally comes I shall show her your letter. Of St. John [Mason] I can tell you little more at present than that he is still St. John, and I much fear he will continue so to the end of his days. Mary Anne is very well, and thank God so are all under this roof, every one of them deeply interested in the result of the present crisis, that it may be productive of happiness to us all is the united wish, as well as the prayer, of all here. I need not add that it is also that of your truly affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Be sure to remember us all with the most cordial affection to Jane and the children. We shall not advertise the place 'till we know how matters stand, but if they shall happily turn out as we wish we shall not lose a moment in doing so.

OCTOBER 15TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

At this time you will not be surprised at my having superceded your other correspondents here, nor will you, I hope, be displeas'd that I should impart to you the various feelings of my mind, so fully occupied with what relates to you, your amiable wife, and your children. When I wrote last I was under the first impulse of very ardent feelings, my first impulses are, I confess always much too ardent. Since then I have reflected, and have been able to think of and to look at the worst, and find myself more composed since I have done so.

Some of your friends say that, supposing you were permitted to reside in England, or Wales, you ought rather to go to America, as it would tend more to the advantage of your family; of this you are the best judge. Your father and I both unite in desiring you to act as if we were out of the question, consulting only what you think will be most likely to make you and them most happy. We are very sure of what your inclinations would lead you to, but for my own part I declare to you that I should not feel happy, even in your society, if I caused in any respect sacrifice of your interest, your peace of mind, or your security. I speak of myself as the weaker vessel, of your Father's firmness you can have no doubt.

One point, however, I must entreat that you will weigh well before you decide in favour of America, and that is the disadvantages of the climate, which by everything I can hear is not congenial to European constitutions. Capt. Palmer* mentioned to us, independent of the yellow

* See footnote to letter of September 19th, 1800.

fever, he had perceived, and it was he said a general observation in America, that after the first two years Europeans generally decline in health. Do not call this a prejudice of mine. It has been mentioned to us that in America you could not follow your profession, but upon this head you will recollect that Sir Grenville Temple said, when he was last here, that a lawyer there could not by the profits of his profession pay for the expenses of his books. Add to this that a prohibition law did exist, which perhaps may have been since repealed, that any stranger intending to profess the law, must, previous to his doing so, be a resident for five years in the country.

I have now said everything I mean to say upon the subject until you have taken your final determination. That it may lead you to happiness, and the advantage of your family I shall never cease to wish and pray, and whatever our feelings may be we shall have the consolation of having them unmixed with self-reproach. I mentioned in my last the great amendment in your father's health, which I thank God still continues and has been during the last fortnight beyond what we could expect. Your children are all well except Tom, who looks somewhat peaking, tho' his appetite is very good, and he is a strong-bodied child. Your father and the entire family desire to be most cordially remembered to you, to Jane, and the dear children. They are all warmly interested in what may be the event of the present period, but we must all practice patience, that virtue so necessary to mankind in general, and particularly so to your truly affectionate mother,

ELIZABETH EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

OCTOBER 26TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have received your letter in due course, the contents of which did not surprise me, and you will see by my last, previous to the receipt of yours, that I am prepared for the worst. I have long foreseen that your determination would be, and ever since Jefferson has been chosen I have expected that in America you would reside. From some hints that John's [Patten] soothing disposition threw out with a wish of administering balm to my mind, I was fondly led to hope that perhaps you would think Wales an eligible place to live in, but this vision has been dismissed even before your last letter came. My consolation I must derive from your having adapted a measure in itself right. I have never entertained a hope that you would, in the event of a peace, return to this country, and I have never cherished a wish that you should live dishonoured in this or any other; with these sentiments you need not have any uneasiness about my feelings. Be assured that they are such as will not hurt me, and they shall not cast a gloom around me. I know that, however feeble my support is in itself, it is never the less deemed important by your father, and he shall have it to the utmost of my power, and tho' we are to be separated from the first prop of my old age, the Polar Star by which I at least, who often want direction and support, wished to steer for the remainder of my life. Yet, tho' your light will be denied to us, I trust in that just God, whom you have so truly served, that he will cause you to shine to advantage in another hemisphere. But you cannot expect that I shall not remember that between you and us there will be a gulph over which we cannot pass. I have only to add with respect to your three dear children, now under this roof, I am sure you will not, and I think you ought not, to separate them from your others. But admit that you would, I love them too well to withhold them from the benefit of having their mind formed and educated by you, no, not even a Temple Emmet would I wish to retain under such circumstances. I have very little doubt but that leave would be given to you to come over for the purpose of seeing your father and settling your affairs here, but I am not sure that you will avail yourself of such a permission. This point, however, like all others, must be decided by you alone. The pleasure we should have in seeing Jane, tho' very great, would I am sure be more than over balanced by the pain we should feel at parting with her. Yet, as I am sure Mrs. Patten wishes it very much, she ought to be gratified, and I hope that you will think it right that she and the dear children should come over and spend as much time here as she can before your final departure. Under this roof she will meet the warmest of affection and

an admiration of her conduct, very little, if at all, short of what she can receive from her mother. You know your father, and you judge rightly of him, he feels with extreme tenderness, but he bears the evils which have befallen him with truly practical Christian patience. I, therefore, need only say of him that the great return of health, strength, and cheerfulness which he has had within this last month still continues, even under the certainty of your future destination. His affection for you I have no need to inform you of, but you are not a more careful guardian of your unsullied honour and fame than he is. The reason why we did not inform you of the real state of his health during the summer was, that we did not think it necessary to add to the gloom of a Prison. I have now said all that I can say, and I shall not write for some time lest anything should issue from my pen that might cause emotion, or any kind of uneasiness to you. Your children are all very well, your friends most cordially interested and affectionate towards you, Jane, and the children.

I am, my dearest Tom, most truly your affectionate mother,

ELIZABETH EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

From the date of the above letter a break in the correspondence occurs, and we are left in ignorance for some fourteen months of all relating to the inmates of Fort George and their friends in Ireland. This letter in fact closes the correspondence, as Mr. Emmet and his family were in the interval released from prison.

It was only through these letters that we have been able to obtain any insight into the prison life of those confined at Fort George, or any knowledge of Dr. Robert Emmet's family during the same period.

It is not necessary, therefore, to offer either an apology for the number of these letters or for the great space which they occupy.



DR. ROBERT EMMET.

Supposed to be from a Death Mask.

CHAPTER VII.

RELEASE OF MR. EMMET FROM PRISON. DEATH OF HIS FATHER. CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS MOTHER. AN ACCOUNT OF THE CITY AND COUNTRY HOME OF THE FAMILY. DEATH OF HIS MOTHER. THE FAMILY VAULT. SOME REFLECTIONS ON EARL CLARE. DR. MADDEN'S REMARKS ON THE DEATH OF DR. ROBERT EMMET AND HIS WIFE.

Continued influence to effect the release of the state prisoners was exerted during a long period, until at length the British Government decided to release them, after having kept them in custody for four years in direct violation of their agreement. When the warrant directing the discharge of the prisoners by name was received from London, it was found that Mr. Emmet's name had been omitted, and this was done doubtless for the purpose of keeping him prisoner for an indefinite period. Governor Stuart sent for Mr. Emmet, and after relating the circumstance said: "Mr. Emmet, you shall go; I shall take all hazards and all responsibility. You shall go to-morrow with the rest of the prisoners, and I will stand between you and the Government." It is believed that this noble act cost Governor Stuart his place, as he was removed from his position a short time afterwards.

The prisoners were transported on the frigate *Ariadne*, and landed in Holland on July 4th, 1802. Mr. Emmet had with him his wife and their three eldest children—Robert, Margaret, Elizabeth, and an infant, Jane Erin, who had been born in Fort George, April 18th, 1802. After a short visit to Hamburg, Mr. Emmet settled down in Brussels, and, uncertain of his future movements, occupied himself in educating his children. He had expected to emigrate to the United States in case France did not offer assistance to Ireland, but as war at that time seemed probable between France and England, he was unable to decide upon his future.

In December, 1802, he learned of his father's death, and wrote to his mother in the following strain:

The first comfort you can know must spring up from within yourself, from your reflection and religion, from your recalling to memory that my father's active and vigorous mind was always occupied in doing good to others. That his seventy-five years unostentatiously but inestimably

filled with perpetual services to his fellow-creatures. That although he was tried, and that severely, with some of those calamities from which we cannot be exempt, yet he enjoyed an uncommon portion of tranquillity and happiness, for by his firmness and understanding he was enabled to bear like a man the visitations of external misfortunes, and from within no troubled conscience or compunction of self-reproach ever disturbed his peace.

Some one has indorsed on this letter: "In his father's character his own has been drawn."

Within a month after her husband's death Mrs. Emmet wrote to her son, but as she directed it to New York, "Poste restante," it did not reach Mr. Emmet until long after her own death. It is a most pathetic piece of writing, and one well worthy the last place in the correspondence. That it was the last letter which passed between them is most probable, as all communication with Ireland was soon afterwards cut off by reason of the war with France. This letter shows that her son Robert was with her at the time of his father's death. It doubtless was a fortunate circumstance, for, poor broken-hearted woman that she was, his support must have been most grateful and even necessary to her. Her letter shows how fully she appreciated it. The following is a copy of this letter:

JANUARY 7TH, 1803.

MY DEAREST TOM,

After some struggle with myself I have determined to write to you; it is an effort, but it is such a one as I shall feel the better for having made, knowing that a letter from me will be a cordial to you, and the more so as I can give you a better assurance of the state of my mind than any other person could do for me. I do not wish to excite your feelings or my own. We both know the magnitude of our loss, all we now have to do is to endeavour to lull our uneasy and melancholy sensations. I have had many mitigations afforded to me; the presence and support of our dear Robert was one of the greatest that could have happened in such a situation. I am consoled by all my children, for surely never parent has been more supremely blessed than I am in the affection, the virtues, and the disposition of my children. I am strongly impressed thereby, but while I feel grateful for the blessings, I feel humbled by the consciousness that I by no means merit the too high opinion which their filial affection and partiality have of either my power or disposition. I do not mean at this time to sue for compliments when I assure you that I feel a great unworthiness about me. That I should enjoy so great a calm as I do is a matter of astonishment to me, whose married life of forty-three years were all embittered by the apprehension of what has now befallen me; it is of such a kind as to cause self-reproach that it is unworthy of my situation or of the strong affection which I bore, and which both you and I know was pure, ardent, and sincere. I do not delude myself by a spiritual vanity that any supernatural aid has been afforded to me, nor can I console myself that it was the effect of religion or resignation. I know it proceeds from a cessation of long-endured, agonizing agitations that tore my heart tho' they have not injured my frame. I have for a length of time lived under an uplifted axe, it has fallen, and I am not destroyed. My dear, dear Tom, I am unfortunately at liberty to see you; I shall not go to Brussels because I should only impede your plans, and 'till our affairs are arranged I do not wish to incur any expense that I do not know how far I may be warranted in. If life is granted to me, I mean the summer after next to spend a year with you in America, and if the dangers of the voyage do not operate too strongly upon a coward heart, the rest of my life will probably be divided between you and Mary Ann [Mrs. Holmes]. She has, beyond the ties of affection strong claims upon me, and

My Dearest Tom

After some struggles with myself I have determined to write to you, it is an effort, but it is such a one as I shall feel the better for having made. Knowing that a letter from me, will be a cordial to you, and the more so, as I can give you a better assistance of the state of my mind, than any other person could do for me. I do not wish to excite your feelings or my own, we both know the magnitude of our loss, all we have now to do, is to endeavour to lull our uneasy and melancholly sensations. I have had many mitigations afforded to me, the presence and support of our dear Robert was one of the greatest that could have happened in such a situation, I am consoled by all my children, for sure never parent has been more supremely blessed than I am, in the affection, the virtues, and the dispositions of my children, I am strongly impressed thereby, but while I feel gratefull for the blessing, I feel humbled by the consciousness that I by no means merit the too high opinion which their filial affection and partiality have of either my powers or my dispositions. I do not mean at this time to sue for compliments, when I assure you that I feel a great unworthiness about me. That I should enjoy so great a calm as I do is matter of astonishment to me, whose married life of forty three years were all embittered by the apprehension of what

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self reproach that it is unworthy of my situation or
of the strong affection which I bore, and which both
you and I know was pure, ardent and sincere. I
do not delude myself by a spiritual vanity that any
sense or talent and has been afforded to me, nor can I
console myself that it is the effect of religion or resignation.
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agonizing agitations that have my heart thro they have
not in the ^{of} my frame. I have for a length of time lived
under an uplifted axe, it has fallen, and I am not
destroyed. My Dear, Dear Tom, I am unfortunately
at present to see you, I shall not go to Brussels, because
I should only impede your plans, and all our affairs are
arranged. I do not wish to incur any expence that I do
not know how far I may be warranted in. If life is
granted to me, I mean the summer of next to spend a
year with you in America, and if the dangers of a ^{way}
do not operate too strongly upon a coward heart, the
rest of my life will probably be divided between you
and Mary Anne; she has besides the ties of affection
strong claims upon me, and upon us all, she has stood
in the path and has seen the first assaults about
distresses; she has always endeavoured to lighten
them, generally to the prejudice of her own health.
Your dear tender and best to be honored father has
so arranged his affairs as to ^{enable} him if he had
been spared to allow an hundred or more to you, and



another to Robert during his life. The too ample
provision that has been made for me tho it will
not enable me to do thus much will I must leave
it in my power to allow fifty pounds a year to each of
my children, they will deserve alike, and all hold
an ^{equal} place in my affections, I do not want riches for
myself, but I wish I could do more for all of you.

Altho Jane is my best affection, I know how she
has felt, and I know that however strong her attachment
it was no more than adequate to that which was felt
for her. Mary Anne is but just recovering from a
bilious fever, which succeeded her pregnancy, it was
what was to be expected as a natural consequence
of the preceding circumstances. Mr. Johnson is
heavily laden with our business, the company
in was great, and he will fulfil the
duty in him with rectitude and ability.

Your children here, are as they should be, the
Dearest ones with you. I feel an increased affection
for you. May the blessings of the best of fathers light
upon you, and may the prayers and wishes of my
heart be heard in favour of you, your wife, and
children, how strongly do I feel myself inclined
to invoke a dear departed spirit. Adieu my
Dearest Son, I am your truly affectionate
Mother J. Jones
Jan. 4th

Her feelings to you as towards a father, the affection
 she bears to all of us including Jane, and your
 children is more than proportioned to the
 relationship.

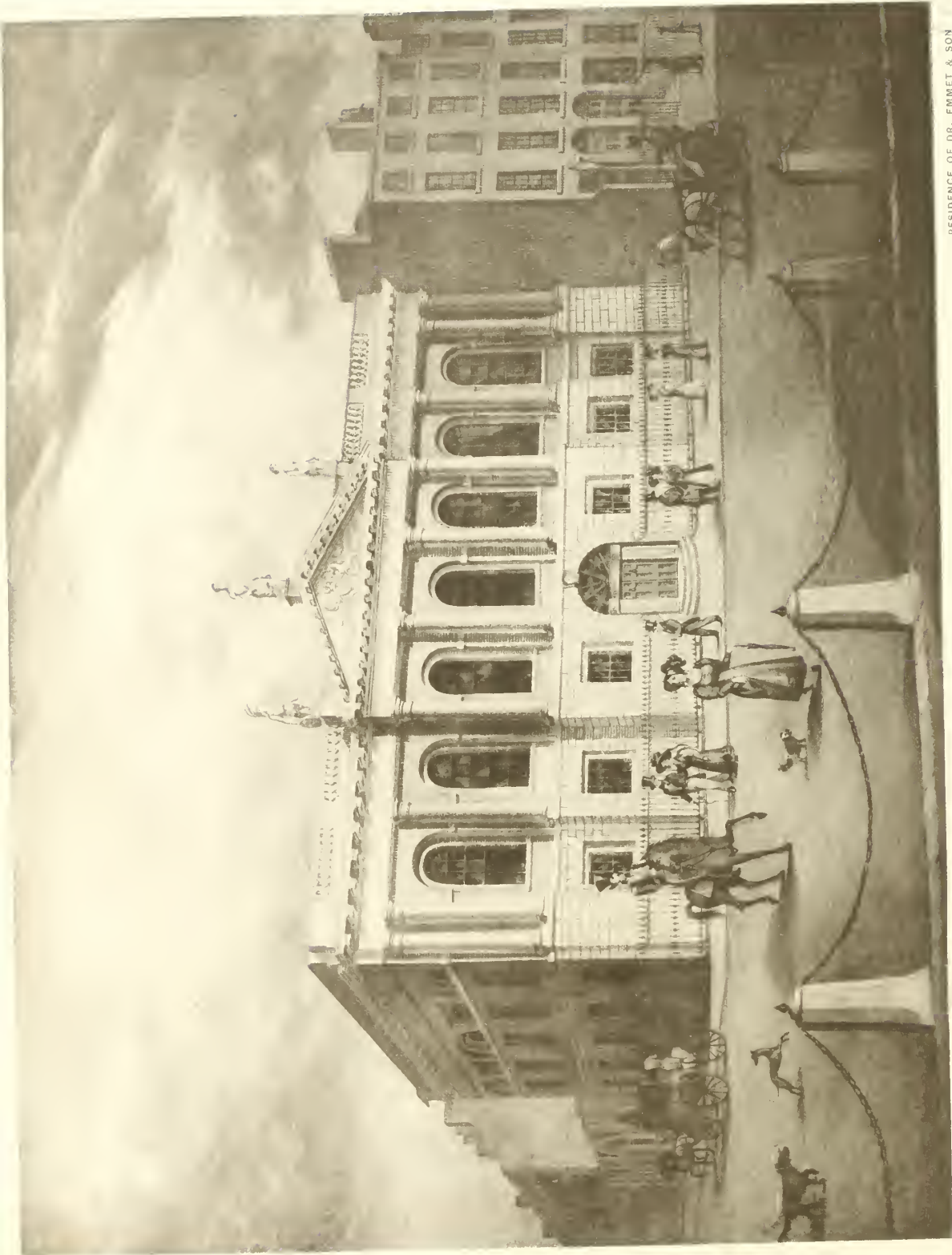
Mrs. Charles Sumner
 Boston
 My dear Mother

Dear Mother

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RESIDENCE OF DR. EMMET & SON

STUDY IN

upon us all, as she has stood in the pass and borne the first assault of all our distresses, and she has always endeavoured to lighten them, generally to the prejudices of her own health.

Your dear, tender, and ever to be honoured father had so arranged his affairs as to enable him, if he had been spared, as to allow one hundred a year to you and another hundred to Robert during his life. The too ample provision that has been made for me, tho' it will not enable me to do thus much, will I trust leave it in my power to allow fifty pounds a year to each of my children; they all deserve alike and all hold an equal place in my affections.

I do not want riches for myself, but I wish I could do more for all of you. Assure Jane of my best affections. I know how she has felt, and I know that, however strong her attachment, it was no more than adequate to that which was felt for her. Mary Anne is but just recovering from a bilious fever which succeeded her lying-in; it was what was to be expected as a natural consequence of the proceeding circumstances. Mr. Holmes is heavily laden with our business; the confidence we have in him was great, and he will fully fill the trust your father had in him with rectitude and ability. Your children here are as they should be; the dear ones with you I feel an increased affection for them. May the blessings of the best of fathers light upon you, and may the prayers and wishes of my heart be heard in favour of you, your wife, and children; how strongly do I feel myself inclined to invoke a departed spirit. Adieu, my dearest Tom, I am

Your truly affectionate mother,

E. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Poste restante, New York.

The family letters which have been presented were all written from "Casino," and as frequent reference was made in them to that place, it is appropriate that a description of it should be given, as well as the other homes of the family. Dr. Emmet relinquished his practice, in consequence of his advancing age, and after his son's arrest. The town house was then rented, and the family remained at Casino until the final breaking-up took place.

Dr. Emmet leased a house in Molesworth Street on first settling in Dublin, but which one could never be determined, as the houses in that street were not numbered until long afterwards. In 1777 he purchased a large house on the corner of Stephen's Green, West, and Lamb's Lane. On the opposite corner, and taking up the whole space between Lamb's Lane and York Street, the building for the Royal College of Surgeons was subsequently erected. Robert Emmet, Jr., was born in the Molesworth Street house, and it was just after his birth that the family moved to Stephen's Green. On the marriage of his son Thomas, the Doctor divided the house, by a partition wall, into two separate dwellings, keeping the corner house for himself. His son took possession of the inside one, and there his children were born. After the arrest of Mr. Emmet many old friends and acquaintances drifted away in consequence of the family troubles, so these houses were rented, and the family sought retirement in their country place.

For years before Dr. Emmet's death he devoted much time to im-

proving the grounds and garden at Casino. The writer had the good fortune to see the place in 1880, and before any material change had been made. A Mr. Meldon, who died shortly afterwards, owned it at that time. He had come into possession of the property some fifty years before, the place having undergone little, if any, change, as the previous owner had purchased it from the family and had taken care to preserve everything intact. So in 1880 the appearance of the house and grounds was essentially the same as when occupied by the family, with the single exception that the window-frames in the front of the house, having become decayed, new ones filled with plate-glass had been substituted for the old. The garden had been preserved just as Dr. Emmet had laid it out; for when the greenhouses had become decayed, new ones in facsimile had been put up in their place. The wall-fruit, too, which the Doctor had planted and trailed was all preserved by building new trellis about it where necessary. It was stated that even the vegetables were of the same stock as had been found on the place and occupied the same locality. The parlor was still covered by the tapestry paper as of old, which no doubt had been a source of delight to the younger generation of the past.

After the death of Mr. Meldon and the expiration of his lease, it is said, the house was pulled down and the whole grounds were built upon within the last few years, and that Casino has now become incorporated with the suburban portion of the city of Dublin.

Dr. Madden states the fact that "Dr. Emmet died at Casino, near Mil-town, in the autumn of 1802. He was buried in the graveyard of St. Peter's Church, in Anugier-street [Dublin], on the right-hand side of the entrance, close to the wall on the south side." He also states that the tomb or vault had the following inscription on it:

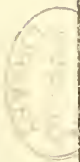
Here lies the remains of
ROBERT EMMET, Esq., M.D.,
who died the 9th of December, 1802,
In the 73rd year of his age.

In 1880 the writer not only failed to find this tomb, but any other in the churchyard. On inquiry he ascertained that all the tombstones had been removed some years previously, but were yet preserved, and several feet of earth had been put on the surface of the ground to raise it to the level of the street in front. The tombstones after removal were all placed in piles at a distance, and though these were carefully examined, no trace of any connected with the family could be found.

The only compensation for the labor of investigation was that at the



CASINO
THE COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF DR. ROBERT EMMET NEAR DUBLIN.





THE PARLOR AT CASINO.

THE GARDEN AT CASINO.



bottom of the pile was found the headstone of John, Earl of Clare, broken and forgotten, notwithstanding the fact that it had been elaborately emblazoned with the arms of his mushroom title. This man had been honored by the British Government for services rendered in bringing about the so-called "Union," with which the Irish people themselves had nothing to do, and by means which we know to-day were the most corrupt and damnable ever designated as statecraft or devised by mortal man. The enjoyment by Clare of his honors was deservedly brief. He died in January, 1802, despised by every honest man in the country, and but for this accident no one to-day would know where the remains of this unhallowed man had been hidden away.

As the stone found by Dr. Madden over the Emmet tomb was a flat one covering the entrance to the family vault, doubtless it was simply covered in and not disturbed. Dr. Madden writes in addition: "Here also the remains are interred of the widow of D^r. Emmet, who survived her husband only nine months. She preceded her youngest son, Robert, to the tomb by a few days. From the period of the arrest of her son, T. A. Emmet, in March, 1798, her existence was a blank. She died, mercifully was it ordained, some days before the execution of Robert Emmet. The death of this amiable, exemplary, and high-minded lady, whose understanding was as vigorous as her maternal feelings were strong and ardent, took place at a country residence of the late D^r. Emmet, on the Donnybrook-road, at the rear of the Hospital of the Society of Friends. She survived her husband about nine months, and evidently, like the mother of the Speares, was hurried to the grave by the calamity which had fallen on her youngest son, who, it was vainly hoped, was to have occupied one of the vacant places in the house, and in the hearts of his afflicted parents. Vainly had they looked up to Thomas Addis Emmet to supply that place which had been left void by the death of their eldest and most gifted son, Christopher Temple Emmet. And when Thomas Addis was taken away from them and banished, to whom had they to look but to that younger son? and of that last life-hope of theirs they might have spoken with the feelings which animated the Lacedemonian mother when one of her sons had fallen fighting for his country, and looking on the last of them then living, she said:—'Ejus locum expleat frater.' And that son was taken from them, incarcerated for four years, and doomed to civil death. Thomas Addis Emmet was then a proscribed man in exile. The father had sunk under the trial, although he was a man of courage and equanimity of mind; but the mother's last hope in her youngest son sustained in some degree her broken health and spirits, and that one hope was

dashed down never to rise again, when her favorite child, the prop of her old age, was taken from her, and the terrible idea of this frightful fate became her one fixed thought,—from the instant the dreadful tidings of his apprehension reached her 'till the approaching time of the crowning catastrophe, when, in mercy to her, she was taken away from her great misery.”

CHAPTER VIII.

RESIDENCE OF THOS. A. EMMET ON THE CONTINENT. HIS RELATION WITH ARTHUR O'CONNOR. DIARY OF HIS POLITICAL ACTION WHILE IN PARIS, AS THE AGENT OF THE IRISH LEADERS TO ESTABLISH A REPUBLIC IN IRELAND.

Thomas Addis Emmet was living in Brussels and making his arrangements to emigrate with his family to the United States when he received a communication by a special messenger from the Directory of the United Irishmen urging him to proceed to Paris and act there as the Minister from the Irish Republic. At that time it was assumed probable that the Republic would be established with the aid of France. This changed his plans, and he accepted the position of Minister, with the hope of eventually being able to return with his family to his native country.

During his residence in Paris Mr. Emmet kept a full diary of all matters pertaining to Irish affairs, and this diary gives a full insight into a part of Irish history which in the past has been very obscure. This diary has been but recently discovered in a package of old family papers. After the Irish movement had failed and Mr. Emmet had emigrated to America, he evidently wished the whole matter to pass into oblivion. This is more than probable, for had his sons had any knowledge of this record, it would undoubtedly have been sent, as were all the other papers, to Dr. Madden when he was preparing his memoir of their father. It will be seen from this journal that no man exercised a greater influence to the detriment of the national cause than Arthur O'Connor, through his intrigues and constant interference. Mr. Emmet had a profound feeling of mistrust for Mr. O'Connor's political honesty, and this was heightened by the unaccountable fact that Mr. O'Connor was never subjected to the close confinement imposed upon the other state prisoners on their first arrival at Fort George. Both Mr. O'Connor and his wife were allowed to come and go without restraint, as if they were most loyal to the Government; and it has been an unexplained circumstance that his wife and children were allowed to join him immediately after he reached Fort George. In every other instance the Government not only refused permission for the wife of a

prisoner to reside in the neighborhood of the fortress, but no one was allowed to have even a personal interview, as by order of the Government the only communication permitted was a written one, limited in length, and the delivery was left entirely with the discretion of the commanding officer. In Dr. Madden's sketch of Samuel Neilson's life (one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, and also confined at Fort George) is given a letter written March 30th, 1800, to his wife, in which he writes: "Mrs. O'Connor and her children remain with Mr. O'Connor, and they have all the liberty of *ranging the Fort and neighbourhood*;* the other nineteen of us are closely confined as usual." In a letter of May 18th, 1800, Mr. Neilson again wrote to his wife: "Mrs. O'Connor and her family are still here, but Mrs. Emmet has hitherto failed in all her applications; there appears to be a MARKED difference." We may infer from another letter written to Mrs. Neilson on November 4th, 1801, that her husband did not trust Mr. O'Connor: "*A certain gentleman has ceased to have mischief in his power here*.* Hudson, Chambers, Tennent, and Dowling alone are on speaking terms with him." That this statement refers to Mr. O'Connor cannot be doubted by anyone familiar with the circumstances. The utmost good-will and harmony unbroken existed among the other prisoners, and the only discordant element was associated with Arthur and Roger O'Connor. The latter, however, seemed to have been on equally good terms with the Government, as a short time after the beginning of his stay at Fort George he was allowed to go to London, and was then released on the score of bad health—a degree of consideration which has never been shown at any other time to an Irish political prisoner who was not "friendly" to the Government. The then British Government was most desirous of obtaining some "legal" evidence against Mr. Emmet, and it is not improbable that he discovered some indication showing that Mr. O'Connor had been sent to Fort George for that purpose.

It is evident that Mr. Emmet had good reason to believe that Mr. Arthur O'Connor had "made his peace" with the Government after his arrest, and that he was sent to Fort George to act as a spy, and Dr. McNeven held the same opinion. Mr. Emmet and Mr. O'Connor were not in the Irish Directory at the same time and had no personal acquaintance until after they were imprisoned in Dublin. All who knew Mr. Emmet as a friend agree that he was a cool, quiet, even-tempered man, who kept his feelings in full subjection by a very judicial and well-balanced mind. This feeling of mistrust regarding Mr. O'Connor impressed him so deeply that it could never have arisen entirely from any personal grievance against Mr. O'Connor.

* The italics were made by Mr. Neilson.

Moreover, Mr. Emmet would never have allowed any feeling of a personal nature to conflict with such service as Mr. O'Connor could have rendered the Irish cause had he deemed him trustworthy. Mr. Emmet, furthermore, states in his diary that his complaint against Mr. O'Connor could not be disclosed until he could lay it before the Irish Government. Mr. St. John Mason, a cousin of Mr. T. A. Emmet, visited him at Fort George in 1800. He was not, however, allowed to see the prisoner and could only communicate with him by letter. Mr. Mason in one of his letters made reference to rendering some service to Mr. Arthur O'Connor. Mr. Emmet answered, as Mr. Mason stated, that he had "public and private, personal and political reasons for not having anything to do with, or to put himself in the way of owing any personal obligation to either of the Messrs. O'Connor."

After their release from prison Mr. Emmet and Mr. O'Connor at once made their arrangements to fight a duel, which had been for some time pending. Before their landing in Holland, however, their fellow-prisoners exerted sufficient influence on both to induce them to abandon the duel and to avoid a public scandal. Dr. Madden gives a full account of the whole affair, and states clearly that Mr. O'Connor at that time expressed approbation of Mr. Emmet's moral and political course. Under the circumstances Mr. O'Connor was not justified in his attack on Mr. Emmet's memory as late as 1848, when, in a work called "Monopoly, the Root of All Evil," he charges Mr. Emmet with being "a coward, and a man of bad faith." Every act of Mr. Emmet's public and private life goes to disprove both charges. Mr. O'Connor certainly never had the courage, during Mr. Emmet's lifetime, to make the charge, or even to hint at it; and he certainly did not strengthen the possibility of its truthfulness by making a dastardly attack so many years after Mr. Emmet's death.

Dr. Madden, who investigated this matter thoroughly, and who based his account of the whole affair on the testimony of those personally known to him, and who acted for both Mr. Emmet and Mr. O'Connor, and he, moreover, published, in his *Life of Mr. Emmet*, the statements of these witnesses, concludes his consideration of the subject as follows:

"It is unnecessary for me to trouble the reader with any comments on the preceding statements. I will only observe that the several statements may be relied on as an exact account of the occurrences that came to the knowledge of the persons by whom they were made—men of high character, honour, and integrity; and that it is impossible to read these statements without feeling there is evidence in them of solid worth—of unswerving principles—of honour, truth, and sterling honesty—on the part of T. A. Emmet."

The fact is clear that after Mr. O'Connor's supposed arrest, for some reason now unknown he lost the confidence of all the Irish leaders. He was entirely ignored by them while in Paris, and though the movement was going on in Ireland, with the expectation of help from France, Mr. O'Connor was not trusted with any information with regard to it, while Mr. Emmet was in constant communication with the other leaders and the centers of the revolution.

Moreover, Mr. Emmet had the full confidence of "Honest John Sweetman," Dr. McNeven, and of all the Irishmen in Paris who at that time could lay any claim to leadership. It is true that Napoleon and his ministers treated Mr. O'Connor with the greatest consideration, while Mr. Emmet received but scant courtesy. This is a matter which was difficult to understand at the time, but with our present knowledge it is now evident that Napoleon, having determined on a course of lying and treachery to the Irish people, made every effort to spread dissension among them and used Mr. O'Connor's vanity for that purpose afterwards. As Mr. O'Connor failed in being able to render England any service he received no further reward, and was not allowed to return to Ireland but on one occasion, for a few weeks, towards the close of his life, when he had been forgotten.

DIARY OF THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

On Monday, 30th of May, 1803, Col. Dalton, a French officer of Irish parentage, who had previously cultivated my acquaintance, as I plainly saw, from political motives, called on me at Cormeil, and after a little preliminary conversation, told me he came *officially* charged by the Minister at War to inform me that the French Government were determined on sending an expedition to Ireland. That Gen. Massena was appointed to the command; that it would be more worthy of the French Nation, and such as would bear no room for contest, even if the Irish were not at first prepared to act in its support. At the same time the French were sensible of the impossibility of conquering Ireland, and their wishes, as well as their interests, only went to making it separate from England; that Ireland should be left at liberty to choose its own form of government.

He requested me to communicate this intelligence to my friends in Ireland, in such a way as I might think fit; at the same time to inform them that the expedition could not be ready before six months, and even if any hostile movements took place on the continent it would be necessary to end them first; but that the French Government by no means wished the Irish to commit themselves by any previous movements, as the force would be sufficient to beat the English, even if the Irish did not stir. I asked what would be the force, and he answered he believed about twenty-five thousand men; at any rate the name of the General was sufficient assurance that he would not go with an insignificant force. I replied to all this, that as the communication he had made was undoubtedly of the first importance to my country I would communicate it, as I would have done if I had received the same information in any other way, and my future conduct with the French government should be guided by the instructions I should receive from home; that for the present, however, I should observe that the People of Ireland felt so much disgusted with the treatment they had already received, in being buoyed up with false hopes and promises which had been broken, they had learned so entirely to distrust, in consequence of the repeated messages they had

received, and their final abandonment at the peace, that they would probably withdraw their confidence from me and consider me an additional dupe to the schemes and intrigues of France, if I gave them assurances of a large force being sent, when the deficiency of means for performing such a promise presented itself to every mind; that besides, I ought not to dissemble. France had lost the confidence of Ireland, and the treatment which the Irish had received in France ever since the peace, almost proscribed, and those whose fortunes had been ruined by attachment to France suffered to languish in poverty; that such treatment had excited even an aversion, and would render a great many steps on the part of France necessary besides an expedition, if confidence was to be restored between the two countries; that it was not even clear to me how an expedition, unpreceded by such steps, would be received; that Ireland ever since the peace was forced to look only upon her own internal resources, and she had acquired a conviction that her independence was certain, tho' perhaps by slower degrees, from the progressive ruin of England and her own increasing strength; and that this mode of acquiring liberty would be unincumbered with treaties of alliance or commerce, and unattended by the introduction of foreign troops. As it might, however, be slow, I readily avowed my own opinion that if the event could be more speedily brought about by a French expedition, so conducted as not to interfere with the rights of the country, much would be gained. But in order to restore confidence on the part of the Irish to France, many measures should be adopted, into the details of which I hoped I should have an opportunity of entering at another time. Mr. Dalton answered me that I certainly should, and that Genl. Massena and the Minister at War would be very happy to see me; that the French Government wished to conciliate the Irish, and succour such as might want it. That it therefore wished to know whether there were a sufficient number of Irish here to form a legion. I answered, I would inquire; that at present I believed not; such as were here might be easily placed; he answered, certainly. He said, as to the means of the French, they had vessels of the line and a number of frigates in or within reach of Brest; that others were shortly expected; that Spain and Holland would certainly be drawn into the war, and that for so short a time troops might be crowded; that he himself had sailed five times out of Brest, tho' watched by the English, and the same could at any time be easily done. As Col. D. staid all night with me, we often returned to the same subject, in the course of which I suggested the propriety and justice of paying the arrears of pensions to the Irish that had been discontinued since the peace, and I asked the means of sending a message to Ireland, which he assured me should be had. Knowing that he had been also cultivating Mr. A. O'Connor, I took the opportunity of asking him if he had communicated this message from the French Government to any one but me. He answered that he had, to Mr. O'Connor only; that the Government knew we were not friends, but it trusted we would both serve our country to the utmost. I answered, Government was free to choose to whom it would make known its secrets, and that I trusted we would each serve Ireland according to our ability and knowledge. I then asked if the office of Foreign Affairs had any knowledge of what he had mentioned; he assured me not, and would not; that in truth it did not lye within that department, and was only known to the Minister at War and Genl. Massena. At this I expressed my satisfaction and hoped I should have no intercourse with that office, as during the last war everything that was transacted with it by the Irish was quietly known to the English Government. The next morning, before his departure, he again spoke to me about Mr. O'Connor, as if the French Government wished to reconcile us, at least so far as that we might act together. To this I answered that I doubted not but we would both do our best for Ireland; that, however, whatever good we did must be by separate efforts. On which he dropt the subject, and he appointed next morning, Wednesday, June 1st, for me to call upon him, that he might fix a time for my seeing Massena. On his return home he lamented to Mrs. Tone O'C's difference & mine, and said he saw it would come to this, that Government would act with both as long as it could, and at last would be obliged to choose between us.

In the evening of Tuesday, May 31st, I went to Paris and there saw Gallagher, who brought me accounts from Ireland, which he was charged to communicate to none but me, leaving me the discretion of mentioning them where I thought fit. The purport of these accounts was that an organization on a new and closer plan had been carried to a great extent among the U. I.; that a

communication between North and South had been thoroughly established; that very proper and respectable men had come forward, particularly in the North, where it was least expected; that a communication had also been opened with Scotland, from which their co-operation was expected; that the counties of Kildare, Wickloc, and some others near Dublin, as well as Dublin, were in a very forward state; that they had considerable depôts in Dublin; for instance, in one depôt twenty-five hundred pikes ready handled and one thousand with the handles ready; that finding their strength increasing they had not been forward to begin, but were determined in case an attack should be made on any of their depôts to commence, that these were so circumstanced as to be able to resist a battalion if it came to attack them, long enough to let the county of Wicklow come in; that Dwyer had pledged himself to come in and to bring that county with him if any depôt was attacked, which was to be the signal for beginning; that independent of his party there were members from the neighbouring counties in town only waiting to defend the depôts if attacked; that delegates from the people had been spoken to, who wished to know when they would be called out. They were answered that no time would be fixed, that they would have timely notice, and when once called upon they should not be put back; with this they were content. That at present Government did not seem to have the slightest suspicion, but as things could not be kept long in that state, I was ordered to apply to the First Consul and to endeavour to procure money, arms, ammunition, and officers, to be landed in places that were designated to me; that if that was complied with a person would be sent to give previous notice of their coming, and that on their arrival the people should begin. If that could not be obtained I was desired to try and raise money from any rich countrymen or any Americans that might favour the cause, as [the want of] money was the principal difficulty, it being impossible to attempt subscriptions at home without discovery. I was further desired to send home McP., McD., and S., particularly McD., because the communication was worse established with his county than elsewhere. In the communication with Scotland one thing very deserving of notice had occurred. One delegate was admitted to meet five from the Scotch; he supposed [they were the] Executive Committee; they asked him precisely whether Ireland continued attached to France; he answered that Ireland was very much disgusted with France, and would not take her assistance if she could do without it; but that if it became necessary the Irish would take what was wanting for securing her independence and no more. The Scotch answered they were very glad Ireland was disgusted with France, as they were themselves, and would have nothing to do with her; that they would gladly assist Ireland provided she did not connect herself with France farther than was absolutely necessary, and that if on matters breaking out in Ireland they were not ready to rise they would at least keep up such an alarm in their own country as would prevent the withdrawing of troops.

After weighing this intelligence well and considering the communication which had been made the day before by Dalton—after considering the influence of that from home and the difficulty, if not the impossibility of fulfilling the promises made by France, that if Ireland was as represented it could scarcely hope to remain quiet for the protracted and probably uncertain period they marked out, and that if it was again subdued for want of foreign succour, Massena and his army would probably arrive too late; that besides they were plunderers, disliked and detested not only by many of the United Irishmen, but also by the Scotch, and in such numbers would perhaps attempt to give the law, which was not what was asked for by the United Irishmen; after balancing all these things the whole night I determined to solicit an interview with the Chief Consul and after informing him of the information I had received, tell him I was going to make his offer known to those who were acting in Ireland, and to beg to know whether if they persisted in asking for a small and immediate force, after being made acquainted with his intentions, they might count upon its being given. To point out to him that whatever risque this might be to Ireland, it was a manifest gain to France, if she could separate Ireland without endangering the remnant of her marine, and before England had been enabled to prey on her commerce, and that when Ireland made the same request before, if it had been granted, in May 1798, success would have been infallible, and England at this day incapable of insulting or attempting to tyrannize over any other country. As I clearly saw that the interests of Massena and the Minister of War were connected with a large expedition and a formidable army, and that the prejudices of most Frenchmen would tend the same

way, I determined to hold no communication with them on the subject, but speak only to the Chief Consul himself, who had not the same personal interests, but who in fact had none but those of France, to subdue England as speedily and cheaply and with as little risque to the marine as possible; besides, I was determined to make him the only depository of my country's secret, because when that was done and was known to be the case, I conceived I did the utmost to avoid the betraying of my secret to the enemy.

Accordingly, on Wednesday, June 1st, at the appointed hour, I waited on Col. Dalton, and after some general conversation I asked him whether the Chief Consul knew of the communication he had done me the honour of making to me. At this unexpected question he seemed staggered a good deal, and after some hesitation answered that he received his instructions from the Minister at War and Gen^l. Massena. I then replied that my reason for asking the question was that since I had seen him last I had received very important communications from Ireland, which I was charged to communicate only to the First Consul; that in consideration of the persons who had done me the honour of making known to me the intentions of the French Government, I might perhaps have relaxed from a strict obedience to those orders if I did not see that the nature and importance of what I had to say fully satisfied my asking such a favour and oblige me to declare that I could communicate them only to him, or some one expressly authorized by him to receive them; that before I obtained such an interview it was right to apprise Government who I was and by what right I acted. They probably knew that before my arrest in Ireland I had been of the Executive Committee of the United Irishmen, and they also knew of my confinement since; that in addition to that I was appointed by those at present acting in Ireland their agent to the French Republic, and as such exclusively held the thread of communication with the existing organization. That what I wished to state to the First Consul was only known to myself and I was resolved it should be known only to him by my means. That I had credentials of my appointment, and could get them further verified if I called together my countrymen in Paris, but that such a means would cause so much publicity as would render secrecy impossible. That I therefore chose to dispense with it and content myself with pledging my word of honour and my future responsibility on the truth of my assertion. That under these circumstances I begged leave earnestly to solicit an interview with the First Consul as soon as possible.

Mr. Dalton said he was afraid there would be difficulties; that negotiations were still going on, and the preparations were even a little relaxed.

I asked was England to be the only nation that had permission at the same time to make war and carry on negotiations.—“She is taking your ships, and will not you make war on her?” He said we are making war. “Then, if so, what objection can there be to hearing from me things that may assist you in carrying it on? At the same time, if I thought peace could issue from those negotiations, I would deny myself the honour I solicit; and if the Chief Consul thinks they can end in peace, I beg he may refuse me; but if his objections arise only from prudence, he is master of time and circumstances so as to secure perfect secrecy, and I shall conform myself to his wishes.” In the course of this conversation one or two expressions escaped from him worthy of note. Speaking of Mr. O'Connor and me, he said he hoped there would be no factions in Ireland, as if there were two factions the French army would be obliged to erect itself into a third to put them down; and on some other occasion connected with the same subject, he said,—“I told you on my honour, as I had been commissioned, that the People of Ireland would be at perfect liberty to choose its own form of government, but it is natural to suppose that it would be wished it might assume the form of the Protecting Government.” These two last observations I received without comment,—but concluded with requesting the desired interview, and he appointed Friday, June 3rd, for my receiving an answer.

Before I called on Col. Dalton I had learned that Gen^l. Harty,* an Irishman by birth and a cousin to Dalton, wished to see me on the same subject. I mentioned his name to D., and my wish to know him, but found rather a coldness to bringing us together; from which I conjectured there was some kind of jealousy which would take the lead. In the evening, however, I saw the general,

* This name seems to be spelled indifferently throughout Harty or Hartey.

and he held with me the same kind of conversation Dalton had done the Monday before. As I wished for secrecy, I said nothing for the present of my desire of seeing Bonaparte, but took the opportunity of informing him that I was the appointed agent for the United Irishmen. I also learned to-day that Mr. O'Connor is beginning to assume the man of consequence; in conversing with Fitzhenry he talked a good deal of the difficulty of being a diplomatic character. He also said he would not allow the French to go to Ireland unless bound by very strict conditions, which he afterwards explained, their being put under the absolute command of one person, which he gave to understand would be *himself*. I understand too that in conversation with T. Cobbett he expressed his intention of acting as Ambassador from the United Irishmen, by virtue of an appointment which he alleges was made of him in the spring of 1798.

[N. B.—No such appointment was ever made, and is only a fabrication, but even if it had, of the then existing committee, two are in France, one in America, one dead, and only two in Ireland, of whom neither acts now, one being retained by permission of government, and the other would trust any human being sooner than Mr. O'Connor, so that he has no existing communication with the body, and the termination of the war and of connection with France superceded all previous appointments.]

Friday, June 3rd, called by appointment on Dalton, when nearly the following conversation took place:—

D. Well, sir, Gen^l. Massena will be happy to see you—

E. I shall be charmed to see Gen^l. Massena, but that was not the favour I asked for. My wish is to see the First Consul.

D. Why, the negotiations are still going on, and affairs are not even so far advanced as when I spoke to you first.

E. Give me leave to ask you, sir, if Gen^l. Georges asked to see any part of the British Government, stating that he had matters of importance to communicate respecting France, would the state of the negotiations cause him to be refused?

D. No, but you must be sensible, sir, you are not in the situation of Gen^l. Georges.

E. I know, sir, I am not; I am acting for my country, he is acting against his; I am appointed by mine, he is only an individual; but in no other respect, sir, do I see any difference. Pray does the refusal come from the First Consul himself?

D. No; the Minister at War did not think it right to make the application.

E. In one point of view I am better pleased, because, on further reflection, I am obliged to limit more than I did in my last conversation. I then said I could only communicate with the First Consul, *or some one expressly authorized by him*. I now say I can only communicate with the First Consul himself. In every other respect I beg to renew my demand with more urgency, and to request that my wish may be made known to him and the answer come personally from himself. To prevent misunderstanding, I must repeat that my application is not in consequence of the communication I had the honour of holding with you, but solely of my information from Ireland, and that if I had never heard from Government I should have sought for the interview, tho' not with the same facilities I now enjoy; that those who have given me the refusal have done so with blinded eyes, and that the Chief Consul will thank me for pressing my demand. If the objection for granting it results from prudence, he can command secrecy. If it would be thought incorrect to hold those communications while negotiations are going on, it seems to me in point of probity the same thing whether government communicates with me directly or indirectly, and I presume, sir, I am to consider everything you tell me as coming from government.

D. Certainly, but is your communication of such a nature as to admit of delay?

E. I consider every delay as eminently injurious, and in this case I am the only competent judge.

D. Suppose the Chief Consul should refer you to the Minister at War, you know his confidence in him and their intimacy?

E. If he did I should be exceedingly grieved—I know nothing would grieve me more, because I am sensible of the respect due to the Minister at War, and to the order of the First Consul, but I feel what is due to the interests of my country and the orders I have myself received.

D. I am glad I asked the question, to prevent mistakes. I did not feel the importance of your request as I do now. I shall endeavour to see the Minister to-day; will let you know on Sunday early.

He then endeavoured by some leading questions to come at the nature of my information and the sources from which I derived it, asking whether a large expedition would be necessary, but I took care to give no satisfactory answer. In the course of the conversation he mentioned one object of the French government would probably be, after having succeeded in Ireland, to make a descent from there on the west coast of England, in which I assured him the Irish would be glad to co-operate.

Saturday, 4th. I find that considerable inconvenience and some mischief may result from O'Connor's acting and mine. He has spoken to McCabe to go to Ireland, to the North, to carry a message saying emphatically and falsely,—“I got one expedition, and I don't see why I may not get another.” His object is to advise them to make no stir 'till the French come, to which they will probably agree. As they are not in the existing organization, and do not know the actual state of things, they will also gladly give him every authority they can, and thus very unpleasant consequences may arise. This must be remedied.

Sunday, 5th. Saw Dalton; he told me he had not been able to see the Minister, who had been called to St. Cloud; that he could not hope to see him 'till next day, nor the Minister to see the Consul 'till Wednesday; on Wednesday evening or Thursday morning I should have my answer. I told him I would not waste my time in Paris, but would go to the country 'till then, and requested I might not be again disappointed. I clearly see they want to keep me in leading strings, and that everything shall go thro' themselves. I have, however, requested Delaney to apply to Defermat to procure the interview for me, if I shall have occasion to solicit it, and hope for the answer when I go to town.

More airs on the part of O'Connor. Dalton, it seems, spoke before him in praise of Mrs. G., by which he showed he had been with me at Cormeil. O'Connor took no notice of this while he was by, but when he was gone O'C. got into a violent passion and said “if Mr. Dalton was running after Mrs. G., *and such little people*, he would have nothing to do with him, and that the first interview he had he would complain of his conduct.” I wish his arrogance may break out in time to prevent his being injurious.

[N. B.—I forgot to remark that in all my conversations with Dalton and Harty I requested the means of sending some one to Ireland, which is always promised, but it appears to me they are in no hurry.]

Thursday, 9th. I am again disappointed. Mr. Dalton tells me he dined last Sunday with the First Consul, with the company of the Minister at War and Gen^l. Massena, and there pressed my request on the Minister at War. They consulted together, and he was informed the Chief Consul could as yet see no one, he said, as formerly; negotiations were still going on, and the mediation of Austria and Russia had been offered and appeared to be accepted. I answered, “I have done my utmost to see the Consul, I cannot succeed, I hold myself acquitted for the consequences; nevertheless I am vexed, and I believe the refusal a loss for France, what it is for Ireland I suppose is of little consequence to those who have given me the refusal.” He appeared struck with my manner of saying this, and after a little pause offered to give me a written note to the Minister more strongly pressing my demand.

I then showed him my credentials as they are; he read them attentively, and said he would state them also. I expressed my wish to see the Minister that I might enforce my demand, but added “for no other purpose.” He assured me he would press it as strongly as he could. Gen^l. Harty then came in, and I clearly saw Dalton wished to keep him ignorant of my request, so the conversation dropped. If Harty was a man of business I would apply to him, but besides that defect, I believe he has scarcely access to the great.

O'Connor has been before me with the Great; he has seen Massena. There is time enough for me to see him when I have anything to do with him. I mentioned to Dalton and Harty Capt. Murphy, and suggested the propriety of putting a swift sailing ship under his command. D. took down his name to make the proposal, if it be done I will try and send some by him.

Friday, 10th. As we were interrupted yesterday in our conversation, I called this morning to fix a time when I might get my answer. T. Corbett was there, which again prevented a particular explanation. D. however took the opportunity of mentioning that the Minister had been called at eleven yesterday to St. Cloud by the accounts from Hanover, and did not return that day. In the same way I took the opportunity of informing him that I would go to the country and expected to hear from him when he had any answer. In the course of conversation D. mentioned it was believed the French troops from St. Domingo would take refuge in the United States. I asked how many they were; he said, making every allowance for mortality there ought to be ten or twelve thousand. I then suggested that if they waited for a leading west wind they might, in their way home fall unexpectedly on Ireland, and so much more than an armament from Brest, which will be always watched. The thought seemed to strike him a good deal.

Wednesday, 15th. Having come to town yesterday evening, I saw Col. Dalton, who referred me to this morning; called on him this morning, when he informed me that he had given a written note to the Minister at War, stating my demands in the most urgent terms, and setting forth my situation, with a literal translation of my credentials. That the whole had been laid before the First Consul, and that he was directed to inform me that affairs were not yet sufficiently advanced to permit of his seeing any person on that subject; that he certainly would invade Ireland if the war went on, and a wish was expressed, as if from him, that the people there might remain quiet 'till his arrangements could be made for the expedition. Col. Dalton also added, that I should be informed as soon as the Consul could see any one. I asked was I to consider this answer as coming personally from him, and Dalton replied it certainly did. In that case I see no use of trying another channel, to experience the mortification of another refusal. I then repeated that it would probably be a severe loss to France, and I hoped not such as she would have lasting cause to regret. I then expressed my anxiety to be as speedily furnished as possible with the means, pecuniary and otherwise, of sending intelligence to Ireland. He took a note of it, and promised to see about it; he mentioned that he had communicated what I suggested about Capt. Murphy, and that he would be sought for and probably employed in that way. I asked about the St. Domingo troops said to have taken refuge in the United States. He said my scheme was impossible, for he had seen a person only yesterday forty-two days from St. Domingo, that the troops had not then quit, and had no thought of quitting it, not having heard of the war. That, therefore, they would have no choice of their place of refuge, and would probably be obliged to sail out expressly to let themselves be taken by the English as the least evil. He mentioned the negotiation was still going on, and I believe they expect peace; at least some persons in the government think so; and Mangot, I believe, the commandant at Bologne, told the owners of the packet boats not to sell their boats, which they were going to do, as the communication would be open.

Tuesday, 27th. Not having heard anything since from Col. Dalton, I called on him again to-day, and urged the necessity of being furnished with the means of sending one over to Ireland. He showed me a written note on the subject; from which I collected as if O'Connor had been making a similar application. The demand was certainly strongly urged, and he has promised me to write to me as soon as he gets his answer. I think, however, the French government is only trifling with me, and wont give money or means 'till it sees fit for its own purpose.

Thursday, 30th. Having learned from McDowell that some of our countrymen are already in great distress from the stoppage of the communication, and that others were likely to become so, I resolved to speak to Gen. Hartly on the subject of providing for them in a military line. Accordingly we both waited on him and urged the subject as strongly as we could. We said we applied to him as a countryman to expedite that for which we did not wish to let down the National character by making a formal application to government. We stated the actual and probable distresses of our countrymen, if not succoured, and also if it was intended to profit by their enemies in Ireland to discipline the natives, that they must themselves learn their business by previous practice, for which the time was scarcely sufficient. He agreed to all this, but said that without knowing the French politics he could easily see the First Consul did not wish to give England an opportunity of saying he had excited her subjects to revolt. To that we answered by urging the example of Eng-

land in employing the French Emigrants and the former Irish Brigade, which even existed in time of peace. He endeavoured to make some distinction between those and United Irishmen, which I confess surprised me from him. Tho' I believe it is the real motive why the French Government is so reluctant to use the United Irishmen, because they are considered as *bonâ fide* republicans and Jacobins. He confessed that he plainly saw a stagnation in the French Government since he was first commissioned to speak to the Irish. He then advised the French to be cautious how they allowed the Irish to slip out of their hands, and taking advantage of an expression of Mr. Wickham's in the English House of Commons, "that the government had it in contemplation to ameliorate the condition of the Irish poor." I warned him that Ireland had learned by experience that she was to receive nothing from ANY country but what its own interest suggested, and that if England did anything substantial she might conciliate the Irish. I pointed out that the present Administration were inclined to be mild; it had allowed Rowan, Fitzgerald, and Byrne to reside in England, and I was convinced that if I myself or any other person, however obnoxious, made the same request and promised not to intermeddle again it would be granted; that want and necessity might force many to such a step, whose loss France would afterwards very severely feel; that I spoke with more frankness as I never would take anything from the French Government, but it might push its prudence or negligence much too far. This last argument seemed to alarm him, and he promised to speak to the Minister at War on the subject, and urge it as from himself. We also spoke of the unpaid arrears of discontinued pensions, which he likewise promised to mention, and all without delay.

Monday, July 4th. Called this morning again on Genl. Hartey, but he had not seen the Minister at War, and apprehended he could not until the Consul's return, as the Minister was ordered to join the Consul. I went to Dalton, to urge him also, but he was not at his bureau or lodgings. I learned, however, that he also was going on a mission, but they could not tell me where, or for how long. I wrote him a letter on the different subjects he had promised to have performed, and which I was apprehensive his departure might derange, and requested to hear from him.

I see clearly that the French government are not in a hurry to do anything I have asked, and that the stagnation which Genl. Hartey spoke of has nearly taken place, but how can I help myself?

Saturday, July 6th. This morning, as I was setting off for town, received a letter from Dalton dated last Thursday, and which, speaking of the different matters in my letter says: "il n'y a encore aucune solution définitive sur les objets de diverses notes, que j'ai remises, et dont vous avez connaissance; j'attends presque certain que le retour du 1^{re} Consul achèvera notre affaire." This did not prevent my proceeding to Paris to ask a passport for a person from General Hartey. When I went there I found that he had, in consequence McDowell, and my conversation with him, written a letter to McGuire requesting him to communicate to his countrymen his wish of being useful to them, and that in consequence of some communications with the Minister at War he requested each of them to inform him of his christian and surname, of his situation in the Irish Union and his sufferings, and also whether he would wish to serve in a civil or military capacity in the event of an expedition going to Ireland, and further desiring to know who there were to whom pensions had been formerly given and when they were discontinued. This letter was enclosed in another to McGuire desiring him to get answers as far as he could from any Irishman in France, except *O'Connor or me*, whose opinions he already had.

This express exclusion of us two has probably arisen from an unwillingness to decide between us which has the most legitimate claim to be acted with and considered as the representative of the United Irishmen. I think too that the Genl. was actuated by a personal motive to increase his own importance to the Government, by having the communication with the different individuals himself, which probably could not be the case if he had allowed either of us to interfere, and that I look upon it to be the real object of the exclusion. However, he considered it to proceed in reality from the Minister at War, and therefore pressed most strongly on me, that my claims should now be brought decidedly forward, that O'Connor's future interference as agent should if possible be prevented by every Irishman putting his signature to my credentials, and by their answering Genl. Hartey that they would wish any communications respecting them to be made thro' me.—Whether his suspicions be well founded or not, I think his idea good, and have given him the credentials to

proceed if he can. I went to Gen^l. Harty without appearing to know anything of the matter; he, however, mentioned it, and I saw on his part an anxiety that I should take nothing amiss. I did not, but I neither expressed approbation nor disapprobation of his step. I turned the conversation on the object of my visit. I mentioned that it was now about six weeks since Government had made a communication to me for the purpose of being made known to Ireland, and since I had asked for the means of so doing. That I had often repeated my request since, but without being at all advanced, and that if this was to continue there was no use in doing me the honour of making me a communication. It was true, my situation and that of my country, did not give me very ample means of meeting certain very heavy expenses, but I could not suffer improper delays to take place by a tardiness on the part of the French Government to assist us; that therefore I now asked only a passport for a person to go to Germany, and requested it might be given without delay. That I asked for nothing more, because I did not choose to humiliate myself or my country by continuing to press applications that I thought delicacy should have anticipated, and that made us appear in the light of beggars, while they probably also retarded the progress of business. The General promised to lose no time in the application, but said he could not see the Minister before Tuesday; he asked me should he mention the reason why I only asked for a passport. I told him he might do in that as he thought right.

He then spoke to me about my appointment, and mentioned Mr. O'Connor's claim. I told him I should permit myself to say nothing about Mr. O'Connor, because I wished to submit those things only to the tribunal of our common country, which as yet had no existence; that as to the appointment I should refrain from saying whether any such actually took place, but supposing it did, as he said in 1797, the Executive from whom he claimed the appointment were all either dead or exiled, except two who at present certainly did not act; how then could he carry on the necessary correspondence? I was appointed Feb. last, and sent for expressly to Brussels; in consequence I relinquished my design of going to America last spring, and I must peremptorily say I was the only person in France authorized to communicate with the existing Executive. He asked me was that committee known to all the United Irishmen; I answered, the individual members certainly were not, and never could be, but that its existence was to all those who were at present acting and risking their lives and fortunes. That many who had previously acted did not now, and of course as they were out of the organization they were ignorant of its secrets. Perhaps Mr. O'Connor might tell him and really believe there was no Executive, but that was only a proof that he did not know the real state of the country, and that the Committee had no connection with him. I assured him there was one, and if the French Government wished to communicate with it, and with those who were preparing to act, it must be done thro' me. He asked me would I allow him to say to the Minister at War that I would be ready to produce proofs of my appointment when necessary. I answered I certainly would. It is become, therefore, absolutely necessary to ascertain my appointment and silence O'Connor's pretensions, tho' I am convinced doing so will make the matter so public as to reach the English government, and then independent of National inconvenience, probably every farthing of mine in Ireland will be confiscated.

Thursday, July 14th. This morning received a letter from Gen^l. Hartey informing me that the Minister had refused the passport, for reasons he hoped I would approve of, and which he would communicate when he saw me, which shall be to-morrow.

Friday, 15th. Saw Gen^l. Harty, and was very much surprised to find the refusal was accompanied with no reason at all, for surely this is not one:—"What is the use of sending a courier, that is but a half measure; we must send a proper force," &c. Vexed as I was, and probably shall have often occasion to be, I told the Gen^l. that so far from being satisfied with the answer, I did not think it was common sense. I had said nothing about an expedition, whether it should be large or small, nor did I intend to do so until the proper time, and then only to the highest authority. That besides I never intended to beg one, because I well knew nothing would procure it but the absolute interest France had in the measure, and then begging was not only degrading but unnecessary. I asked for nothing but a passport for a courier to communicate what the French government bid me and voluntarily sought me out for the purpose. That if it believed me acting for England it was unquestionably right to refuse my request, but if it thought me faithful to my cause

I could scarcely conceive a reason for refusing me a passport, even if it did not know my motive for asking one. I was very sure the reason assigned was not the real one that actuated the Minister in his refusal, and as I was left to conjecture, I could only say that if there was not an entire confidence in me I should be glad to know it, as I would try to get myself replaced by some one who might gain that confidence.

Genl. Hartey assured me he was perfectly certain that was not the reason, but confessed he had been himself surprised and was lost in conjecture. Negotiations he said were still talked of, and perhaps an Irish expedition was not seriously intended, or that the plan of operation was not fixed on. I asked him had he any reason to suppose an Irish expedition was not intended. He assured me solemnly not the least, but that he was bewildered in conjecture, and in this I implicitly believe him. After some conversation I determined to ask an audience of the Minister of War, and have written a letter on that subject and given it to the General at dinner to-day, who has undertaken to remit it to the Minister. Hartey before I left him turned the conversation on the steps the Irish here are taking in consequence of his letter to M^cGuire. He tells me they talk of a meeting, which he deprecates for fear of offending the Government, which is suspicious of such things. I assured him I had not heard a word of it, that some of my countrymen wished to transmit their claims thro' me, that I told them if that was a general wish I was ready to understand it, but that I would not do it for four or five individuals, and that I thought they might as well do it themselves. This he requested might be the case, and rather begged me not to interfere. I communicated his wishes to some of my friends, but this evening I believe I have discovered a clue to his apprehensions. Mr O'Connor, when he heard of Hartey's letter, got into a great passion and said that faith had been broken with him, as the Minister at War had promised that he alone should be communicated with on the subject; that Genl Hartey was raising factions and sedition among the Irish, and that "Tho' he believed him a worthy man he saw he was a fool and would be obliged not to speak to him." He spoke a heap of other impertinence and nonsense. I wish he would go on that way and blow himself up, as he is very troublesome and I think will be very injurious. I fancy his anger arose from the fear of my being appointed by my countrymen, but I am pretty sure it is he that has frightened Hartey lest he should be compromised and censured. The signatures to my appointment have not been very much increased by Swiney's exertions. He met a couple of refusals, one of which I could never have expected, and others he did not ask from motives of prudence. The matter, however, is becoming perfectly public, which is what I would willingly have avoided, and my only consolation is that all of my countrymen, as far as I have heard, say they approve the choice, but where are the signatures? I was informed to-day at the proper office that a measure will be taken to exempt all the United Irishmen from being prisoners of war. I hear too that neither Monroe or Livingston, the American Minister, have been able to get passports, owing to some apparent mistake. Can that delay be connected with the cause that produced the refusal to me?

I forgot to remark that Hartey, when he took my letter, said, "If the Minister refuses or postpones the audience, he certainly will have some reason, and we must wait with patience. If he grants it, take the opportunity of speaking your mind frankly and boldly. I am sure you will do it so as not to displease, and it may be useful."

Saturday, July 16th. General Hartey received a letter this morning from the Minister of War, desiring him to conduct me to his Hotel on Monday morning at nine. He also received another in the course of the day from the same, informing him that he was appointed one of a commission of three United Irishmen to decide upon the reclamations of United Irishmen against being made prisoners of war, and desiring him to attend on Monday at the Bureau de la Guerre; he does not know his fellow-commissioners.

I find Monroe has got a passport, and is by this time at Calais, but it was with difficulty, and only good for eight days. Livingston has not been able to get one.

I understand O'Connor also says a party is forming against him here in Paris; that alludes to my countrymen preferring me as their agent to him. Poor man, he has held the same language,— "that a party was forming against him" in prison and out of prison, ever since he became a political character.

Monday, July 18th. Hartey and I went to the Minister's this morning at nine, and he was out. This I saw vexed the general, and I let him see that I was displeased at such conduct. I told him my business called me into the country, and that I should stay in town no longer. He said he was sure the Minister had forgotten, and that such was his character. I answered that if it was only forgetfulness it could be easily repaired; that I should request him to write to know whether the Minister's intentions respecting me were changed, and required an answer, as I would make my arrangements to leave Paris at four o'clock. He wrote it, and sent it by his servant, who left the letter at the War Office without waiting for an answer, or asking if the Minister was there. I then told Hartey I should do myself the pleasure of calling on him at half-past three, which would give him an opportunity of seeing the Minister on the other subject—the Commission for examining the reclamation of the United Irishmen, that if there was any satisfactory reason I could then stay in town; if not it was impossible for me to mistake the object of his not being at home this morning. That if I was not allowed to communicate with the French government, or my own country, I was absolutely useless and would employ myself solely about my own private affairs. That when the French Government knew its own mind and was decided what line of conduct it ought to pursue toward me and my country, it would I presume know where to find me. At half-past three I called again and waited 'till four, when he came in. He said the Minister had forgot, and begged him to bring me any morning between ten and eleven, to the Bureau de la Guerre. He had been asked what I wanted to say, which Hartey said he did not know. I then appointed to-morrow. I asked about the commission of three, and learnt for the first time that all about it was a secret not to be talked of, from which and some other expressions of his I am fully sure the idea is changed,—an attendant to give him any reclamation—he is piqued that more of the Irish have not written to him on the subject of being employed, and seems to think they distrust him. O'Connor too is busy, wanting a list of the United Irishmen prisoners of war, and says that Government have desired him to make it out; Can this be true? By Hartey's conversation this morning I find O'Connor had been saying he has had the latest intelligence from Ireland, and that there is no Executive, meaning thereby I am no agent. I found it necessary to show Hartey how he had been deceived. O'Connor still continues his talk about the faction against him, but is so good as to say I am not of it,—who is?

Tuesday, July 19th. I have at length seen the Minister. Whether it was affectation or forgetfulness, or cunning to feel his way, I know not—but at first he did not seem to recollect anything. When I mentioned that I had solicited a passport to send some one to Ireland which he had thought fit to refuse—"What passport?" said he; "I don't recollect it." Hartey then came forward and reminded him he had asked it. "But for what object?" says he. I told him it was now about six weeks since Government had communicated to me its intention respecting Ireland, with the desire that I might transmit it to them, and to do so I asked for the passport. "What communication, and by whom?" "By Col. Dalton, who said he came officially, and by Gen. Hartey, and the communication was as follows:" I then detailed to him what is already set forth on that subject. When I came to that part that said Ireland should be at liberty to choose her own form of government, "Undoubtedly," said he, "e'est tout simple; we wish to do England all the harm we can, and we know nothing can do her so much as separating Ireland, but we have no wish to meddle with the internal affairs of that country;" "but," says he, "nothing is yet decided on, and why send a message?" I answered that as the agent of the United Irishmen with the French Government, I had received intelligence from thence, with orders to communicate it only to the First Consul; for that purpose I solicited the honour of an interview three or four times, and have been refused.

Minister—"Who refused you?"

Emmet—"It came to me delivered by Mr. Dalton."

M.—"But Mr. Dalton could do nothing except from me."

E.—"I desired my application, Citizen Minister, to be addressed to you, and was told the first answers came from you. I even desired, as I knew the importance of my demand, that an answer might come personally from the First Consul, and was informed the last did."

M.—"Yes, I spoke to him, and he said he could see nobody on the subject until his plans were made."

E.—“Having received my answer, Citizen Minister, I said no more on that subject, but from what I know of the state of my country I can say it is of the utmost importance that it may be informed to what point it is an object with the French Government, that it may decide as to its own line of conduct.”

M.—“Yes, a communication of that kind may be useful, but how will you send the Message?”

I then told him my ideas, and said when I first applied on this subject I asked for the facilities of sending one, an expression very easily understood, but as that demand might cause delay I do not make it now. I was only a private man in my fortune, and that not large. I would however find funds.

We then entered into something of a more general conversation, in which I said when the Chief Consul was returned I should be happy in the opportunity of laying before him what had been transmitted to me on the state of Ireland. “Why,” says he, “his plans are not yet formed.” I said I suppose not, and I hope they will not be formed until I have the opportunity of making him acquainted with what may change them in some measure. “Oh, as to that,” says he, “nothing of that kind can make a change in a great plan. Ireland is but an accessory consideration; if it be possible for us to land one hundred and fifty thousand men in England, then we shall make them feel, but as for Ireland there could be no thought of above twenty-five or thirty thousand at the most.” I answered that would be full enough. On some occasion I mentioned “mes fonctions aupres du gouvernement,” on which he said, “you are then appointed to discharge some?”—“I am, Citizen Minister; otherwise I should never have solicited the honour of being here, and perhaps it is right I should take this opportunity of stating to your Excellency who I am. I was of the Executive Committee, and arrested in 1798 with many others; I was detained a prisoner in Ireland for a year, and then deported to Fort George in Scotland, where I was kept also a prisoner 'till this time twelvemonths, and then conducted in an English frigate to Hamburg. I was going with my family to America, where I was promised the friendship of the leading men in the State, and would have sailed last Spring but that shortly before I received the orders of the acting committee of the United Irishmen and their authorization to proceed to Paris and be their agent with this government. I obeyed them. I renounced my private projects, and it is only as the representative of my country that I shall ever claim any attention or consideration for what I may offer.” “Do you know Mr. O'Connor?” “I knew him very well formerly.” “But you don't see one another now?” “No, but I hope that can do no mischief to our cause, as there can be no contestation between him and me. I solicit no marks of confidence from the French government on personal grounds. If, when it did me the honour of distinguishing me, in that point of view, I had not had such delegated powers, I should have said that there were many men in Paris who had sacrificed as much, who had suffered as much, whose importance with the people was as great, whose devotion to their cause was as entire, and who in every point of view merited as much the confidence of the French government as I could and I should have requested that they should receive the same marks of confidence as myself. In that point of view I shall not enter into contest with Mr. O'Connor, or any one, and in a delegated capacity neither he nor any one can enter into contest with me. “Mr. O'Connor, then, has no such power?” “None.” “But he was in France before?” “He was long since, for one particular purpose.”—“And he was coming over again when he was arrested?” “He was, and I understand he founds some claim upon it, but the fact is this: In the latter end of 1797, the English government persecuted him a good deal, and he did not choose to stand it any longer; he determined to fly to France, and wished to be authorized to act there. The Committee answered that if he was determined to go he might be useful by co-operating with the established agent for the good of the country, and that agent was written to to co-operate with Mr. O'Connor to that point, and there is the whole of his appointment.—Since that time, however, great changes have taken place, the former organization was destroyed and everything unhinged, a new one has been established, and of those who were of the Committee, when Mr. O'Connor wished to go to France, all are either dead or in exile except two, who are in no respect concerned in the new organization. So that he has no kind of connection with any body whatsoever now in activity, and if the French Government chooses to learn the state of those who are preparing to take advantage of the present crisis of Europe, who are risking

everything and have the means of raising the whole country, I say most pointedly and positively they can only hear from and communicate with that body thro' me, as I alone hold the thread of communication, and I am ready to prove this when called on."

"What do you think of Mr. O'Connor?"

I made no reply.

"Frankly now, among ourselves, answer me."

"Citizen Minister, I cannot permit myself to answer you, with the avowed feelings I have towards him, if I were to give an opinion I should almost suspect myself, I am sure you would."

General Harty interposed and said there was some quarrel between us at Fort George, with the cause of which he was unacquainted.

I replied, "Whatever is between Mr. O'Connor and me, I wish to submit only to one tribunal, that of my own country, and until I can do that I do not wish to speak of it."

Berthier—"Can he be of service to us?"

E.—"Every Irishman can be of service to you."

B.—"But is he popular in Ireland?"

E.—"Citizen Minister, it is painful to me to speak of Mr. O'Connor, but you press me so much I can't avoid it. On my word of honour I believe his popularity is lost; he certainly enjoyed a considerable share once, but I am convinced he has none now; in civil convulsions popularity is sometimes very undeservcdly acquired and sometimes very undeservedly lost. Which of these has been Mr. O'Connor's case, considering the terms on which we are, I shall not permit myself to say, but you may yourself judge how far his popularity is lost from this,—there is, as I have already had the honour of telling you a committee in Ireland which has the means of raising the whole country, and Mr. O'Connor does not even know of its existence. Put it to the trial, ask him, and he will tell you that we all know that the People are ready, but he will say there is no Executive. And in this he will say what he thinks; they have been able to take their measures in such secrecy that the English Government does not know them; nor Mr. O'Connor either, and why? Because they do not wish it to be known to either one or the other, a proof he has not their confidence, and as they do not wish him to know it, so neither do I."

Berthier—"You may be assured, Sir, he shall not know it from me. I am happy to have become acquainted with you. Send to Genl. Harty the description of the person, you shall have the passport and the funds, and when you have anything to say I shall be happy to see you."

I assured him I did not intend to be importunate, but when I had matter of sufficient consequence I hoped to enjoy the honour I had done to-day.

Harty then mentioned something of the United Irishmen that were prisoners of war. Berthier said to me—"Any that you can vouch for, give in their names to Genl. Harty, and they shall be discharged."

On our return home I gave him a list. I saw he was pleased with the interview, and particularly that I had spoken of O'Connor. "I wished," he said, "to force it, so that you were right to be explicit as to yourself and your powers, and not let any doubts arise."

Before the interview, during our long attendance, I took the opportunity of pointing out to him that he should not attribute the backwardness of the Irish in giving him their names to any diffidence in him, but only to a diffidence of France, which had abandoned Ireland. During the time of the Directory they would have rejoiced at such an offer, and have offered to fight for the cause of liberty anywhere. But now they are so disgusted with the treatment of individuals and the Nation, that while they can hope to live on their own means they cannot prevail on themselves to accept a French commission, and are rather reserving themselves to fight with an Irish one. He endeavoured to defend the French government, but I could see in his heart he thought his countrymen right.

I saw Aherne to-day and broached to him a scheme from which I hope a good deal, but he has damped my hopes. If Daendels was in confidence in Holland, I should not despair of doing a great deal without France; but he is as low as can be. He has, however, in a letter lately written expressed his wishes to aid in liberating Ireland and his determination to engage in nothing else, and desired Aherne to make this known to his countrymen here, as Aherne supposes that they may

suggest his appointment, which in former times would have succeeded, but who would think of suggesting the appointment of a general to the First Consul, above all of a Republican and a foreigner?

Thursday, July 28th. From the last date to this I wrote three letters to General Hartey. The first dated 21st was about the description of the person for the passport and the expenses of his journey, for which I declined naming any sum, nothing only what he would have to do. The remainder of that letter and the other two were about the state of the United Irishmen prisoners of war, and urging the necessity of some general regulation in their behalf. This I was particularly induced to do by different letters from individuals stating the hardship of their situation from their removals, etc. In a letter written last night I called for such a measure as their Agent and Deputy, and insisted on it not only as their right, but also as the first proof the French government could give of its good-will towards Ireland. This morning I received a letter from him enclosing the passport and stating his conversation with the Minister on the subject of the funds, on which neither could name any sum and advising me to do it. I have in consequence stated fifty pounds as the least sum with which I would let him set out, and that as much more will be necessary for his return. That whatever is given shall be applied to that purpose only, and that if it be not enough I will endeavour to supply the deficiency. Perhaps I am wrong, but as the sum may appear large I am afraid it might be thought I was wishing to turn a penny, and I have been more delicate than I otherwise would be. As Hartey's letter said nothing of the United Irishmen prisoners of war, I again urged their liberation in my note of this morning.

From the beginning I pressed that matter, from time to time gave in the names of individuals who applied to me and were entitled to exemption from the arrête. It was always promised without any difficulty, and as I thought it would be a matter of course I neglected mentioning my having applied in the proper part of this journal. The delay, however, has been so great and so injurious to individuals that the matter has become of considerable consequence, and my latter applications have been very urgent.

August 2nd. This morning came again to town to solicit the money and other things. Called on Genl. Hartey and found that Dalton had returned and that Hartey had handed all over to him. I had learned before I went there that Genl. Hartey had told Ware that O'Connor and he were busy about the military arrangements. When I went to Hartey and carelessly asked about them, he said he had given in the names but did not say anything of O'Connor. He also told me Dalton and he were of the committee for examining the reclamations of the United Irishmen. "O'Connor," says I, "is, I suppose, the third?" He said he believed not, but in such a way as to convince me otherwise. He then took great occasion to convince me that O'Connor was not in more confidence and had not done more than I had. But I am sure he has made good his ground with Hartey and Dalton, and they are both very anxious to keep me in ignorance of the communications they have with him.

Wednesday, August 3d. Could not see Dalton yesterday, but did this morning. He apologized for the delays that had taken place about the Irish prisoners, and assured me it would be instantly rectified; which it has been. He also told me he was sure I should get the money, and he would see the Minister the next day. As he was made acquainted with all that had passed in his absence, I took the opportunity of requesting my having solicited a passport might not be communicated to O'Connor; he assured me it should not, and added what I thought was very fair, if there was not a wish to keep me ignorant of the communication with him. "The French government," says he, "wishes to avail itself of the services of both; as for myself, my object is the good of France my country, and of Ireland my country. Whatever my private opinions are respecting you both are known to the Government, but I could not permit myself to appear a partisan of either one or the other." I wish he may always pursue that conduct.

Friday, August 5th. Came to town on the rumours of an insurrection in Ireland. Find that the fact is true, tho' to what an extent is uncertain. Most of my countrymen are extremely impatient to give their own and procure French assistance. After a great deal of hunting saw Dalton and asked an immediate interview with Berthier, he is unfortunately out of town, but I am

to have it to-morrow. Dalton says he will go over with five hundred men. Saw Fulton [Robert], who promised if the affair should become so serious as to leave him room to work, he would go over and commence his plan of operations [with his torpedoes].

Saturday, 6th. Saw Berthier. I asked in the name of my country for the means of going immediately and whether the French Government intended to succour Ireland or not, but that if arms and ammunition, with some light artillery and cannoniers and a sufficient number of men, to protect the debarkation, could be sent without causing any material delay, they would wait. I ought to state that I began with communicating to the Minister the intelligence I had formerly received from Ireland and had wished to make known to Bonaparte. After having asked for the vessel, &c., for my countrymen, he said it might be a very great injury to let them go, as they would be so useful with a large force. I assured him he would meet many such wherever he landed, but he persisted in wishing to retain them. I pressed with my utmost zeal for immediate supplies, however small, and pointed out that the Directory had before lost Ireland by not sending over one hundred men in the time of the Wexford insurrection. He answered, we do not yet know of what extent it is; if it be of consequence it will not be so easily put down; if it be not, it ought not to damage our general plans. I assured him the French Government would make it of consequence if it chose, for from what I had stated he saw the United Irishmen would have acted on sending a supply of arms, &c., and of course the same thing would make the rising now of consequence, even if it were not so before.

“The government,” says he, “will not commit such a piece of folly as the Directory did.”

“Citizen Minister,” answered I, “the Directory committed a piece of folly, not in sending Humbert with so small a force, but in sending him so late; and it is exactly that piece of folly against which I wish to guard the present government. I warn you that everything will be decided by promptitude, and if England acts with more rapidity than France, she may suppress the present insurrection. In which case France will vainly endeavour to rekindle it with her large force.”

“No,” said he, “the minds of the people would be so roused and enraged.”

“That,” says I, “would be no equivalent for the discouragement of defeat and the loss of the bravest and most devoted chiefs. Time is in this case of more value than strength, and a very little delay may let the opportunity slip away.”

“Fifteen days,” said he, “would be no great loss of time for a considerable force.”

I answered, “Fifteen days certainly would not for a considerable force, but I think no accession of strength could compensate for the difference between fifteen and twenty days.”

“At any rate,” said he, “nothing can be done until the First Consul arrives, which will be in three days, and the courier must not go before that, and his dispatch may be very different.”

I lamented the absence of the First Consul as a great loss, but he assured me it was not, as he was very prompt to decide, and his decisions were very quickly executed, and repeated, if the insurrection was serious succour could easily come in time. “With two hundred men,” said he, “ready to be landed in Ireland, we can’t be at a loss to collect the men or arms on any part of the coast, and could almost embark them in a day.” I impressed the necessity of promptitude as strongly as I could find words, and again adverted to the impatience of my countrymen, saying I should be afraid to meet them with an answer that they must wait three days before any decision would be taken respecting them; on which he said, “your zeal and theirs is very natural and honourable, but the zeal of individuals must sometimes be made to yield to superior arrangements.” On the whole I think he feels the necessity of despatch, but no small force will be given.

After we had taken leave, Dalton told me he certainly knew that Berthier had written yesterday to the First Consul, and that if succours were decided on, the orders would be very promptly carried into execution. “In eighteen days after the measure was determined on,” said he, “we had three thousand men and everything necessary for the St. Domingo Expedition embarked.” He said his duty was to take a minute of my conversation with Berthier for the Consul’s use, and that he would put my arguments as strong as possible. He said also he would try himself to be appointed to superintend the execution of the order, and would do it with the utmost zeal. We talked over some plans for the expedition, and I gave him my thoughts. Dalton in the conversation mentioned what I suspect may have been O’Connor’s suggestion—“A large French force will be absolutely

necessary to keep down the people and prevent the horrors of a revolution, such as took place in France." I perfectly understood the meaning of such language, but wished to avoid seeming to see it, and answered—However great that necessity may be, it is not the present question. Expedition is everything, and for that purpose the force ought not to be great, but a small one should be instantly sent, and send your large force afterwards at your leisure. If we get a small one I hope it will put us into such a situation as not to be dictated to by a large one. I mentioned to Berthier the wish of the Irish to be sent in a vessel under the command of Capt. Murphy, as they knew he would never strike his flag, being as deeply embarked as themselves. His name and Gibbon's was also taken down by Dalton to be sent for as soon as they could be had.

Wednesday, August 10th. Called on Dalton to know if the First Consul was arrived, he was not expected at St. Cloud 'till night.—He was preparing a memoir to be laid before him, PARTS of which he read to me, strongly pressing the necessity of promptness. While we were talking Corbet rapt at the door, and Dalton broke up the conversation by assuring me he was certain the First Consul would see the necessity of speedy succours and give them. I shortly went away, and Corbet followed me. He began by lamenting the insurrection as blasting all our chances. I answered him, but he almost put me in a passion by dealing out what I clearly saw were O'Connor's rodomontades. He then told me it was on another subject he wished to speak to me,—that as the business was begun it was the duty of every Irishman to give it support. For that purpose many of them wished O'Connor and me to forget our animosities and concert and act together, and that O'Connor was perfectly willing. In fact it seemed to me, and I believe was an offer from O'Connor to pull up what he might have lost of credit with the French Government, by saying there was no Executive, or organization, and to replace himself by my means. I instantly answered that if my objections to Mr. O'Connor were only personal, I should be ashamed to refuse an offer of reconciliation at such a time; that such, however, was not the case, as all personal matters between him and me were settled at Hamburg; that my objections to him were *moral and political*. That I conceived him a bad man and a very dangerous character for my country, and should ever reproach myself if on any occasion I lent him the credit of my name with those, be they few or many, who thought well of me, and thus increase his means of doing mischief. That, however, as he, Corbet, would not probably like to carry back such a message, he might say what was further the truth, that I saw no necessity for any such communication. I acted only as the agent for the Provisional Government of Ireland, and that situation I could not divide with any one. That I was pressing the French Government for the most speedy succours, and as he said Mr. O'Connor was doing the same, the two applications would perhaps have more weight separately. Corbet tried to persuade me that O'Connor was not a dangerous man, and had no bad intentions respecting Ireland; at any rate that it would be prudent to co-operate with him to a certain point, but I answered I had already sufficiently acted with and knew him to form my opinion of his ambition, his principles, and his morality, and that I was convinced of the folly and wickedness of such a half measure. If none such had been adopted with Robespierre, he would never have been able to load France with the crimes and calamities of his time. I said a great deal more to the same purpose. Swiney met us, and I took him aside to ask him to sign my credentials, which he declined, taking it *ad referendum*. In the course of the day McDonnel, McNeven, and Swiney called on O'Connor formally acquainting him with my appointment and giving him the opportunity of signing it. He read it over three or four times, and seemed vexed and confused, but evaded on the grounds that he was applied to by the French Government to negotiate with them for Ireland, and that he had no knowledge of the Executive Committee that appointed me; for the particulars of this I refer to their statement; he also said if I chose to co-operate with him he was ready. It seems Humbert called on him and is by no means satisfied with his reception. O'Connor, however, told him it was not yet decided whether Massena or he was to have the command, but that he would employ Humbert! McSheehy was at the same time with O'Connor in private conference.

I am perfectly convinced that it is in agitation to take up O'Connor for a bad purpose. Query, is he to be the Prefect of Ireland? I have no doubt that he has let the Government into the secret that I and my friends are Republicans and that he is not; it must be confessed he is fitter than we are for their views.

Thursday, August 11th. McSheehy called on McNeven and had some conversation with him about the necessity of my resigning my situation and claims to O'Connor, as he had already treated with the French Government, was known and confided in by those who were entrusted with the Marine and War Departments, I believe Bernadotte and Trugnet. McNeven answered as I should, denied the fact of his having before treated, and said I could not resign my situation to any one, but that I would entirely withdraw myself if any hint was authentically given me by the French Government that my interference was not agreeable. In which case it would be observed that Government was treating only with an individual and not with the Irish people. That, however, I had every reason to be convinced I possessed the confidence of the French Government as much as Mr. O'Connor. After a little while McSheehy took his leave.

Saturday, 13th. Saw Dalton this morning; he had not yet his answer, but told me it had come to their ears from the Police that the Irishmen were talking and committing indiscretions in the coffee-houses, and that a paper was handed about among them for signatures. I interrupted him to ask him had they said anything against the French Government; he said not, but that in consequence of his name having been mentioned, the G^d Judge, with whom he is acquainted, sent for him. I then told him the paper for signatures was the authentication of my appointment, which I had already shown him, and had not gotten signed before from motives of secrecy, but that now no such caution was necessary. That the Irish in signing it were only obeying the orders of their Government, and I was convinced the French Government would not interfere to prevent their obeying their own. That as to indiscretions, if any were committed, they were faults, but I must doubt it. Many of these men who are perhaps so accused knew of the proceedings in Ireland some months back, but they were all able to keep their own secrets so as that neither the English Government, the French Government, nor the Irish who had not the confidence of the Irish Government discovered anything, and rely on it if anything should occur that it would be proper to conceal in the same manner you will hear nothing of it. But now that there is no mystery they may surely indulge in expressions of zeal and satisfaction. The paper for signatures can be of no importance to the French Government, but it is very natural to Mr. O'Connor; and your conversation reminds me of one Gen^l. Harty had with me some time since. I then told him Harty's conversation about the danger of clubs and meetings, &c., and went on, tho' thro' delicacy I did not say so, I was well convinced all those fears were put into his head by Mr. O'Connor, who dreaded its being seen how entirely he was destitute of the confidence of his countrymen. And I have now the same belief that this is, and from the same motive, the suggestion of Mr. O'Connor. Dalton said he did not know if Mr. O'Connor was acquainted with the G^d Judge. "Nor do I, but if I were to indulge a suspicion, after what you have told me, I should say it came entirely from Mr. O'Connor." But says Dalton, "Comme vous etes chef reconnu vous devriez être un peu despotique avec les Irlandais." On which I smiled and told him I hoped I should never be despotical over any one, but that even if I were inclined to exercise an act of power I really saw no room, as I was convinced there had been no fault. We had some further trifling conversation, in which talking of the necessity of a large French force in Ireland, he said it would be necessary for a time that the French should assume the management on themselves and settle everything. That is, said I, provided you don't find a Government ready formed on your arrival. "Oh," says he, "the French are so well acquainted with the mode of making revolutions, a French general wittily said to an Austrian general who wanted to revolutionize a country against the French,—General, you had better not try that game against us or we may give you enough of revolution." I laughed, as became me, at the French general's wit, but said nothing of the application, nor shall I 'till the fulness of time and 'till I see how the affairs of my country stand. Perhaps we too may show them that we know a little of making revolutions, and that the best way is to stop knaves at the outset. While I was speaking to him a messenger came to him from the Minister to go there directly. On my return home I met Bonneville, who has long been eager to introduce me to Garat, and thro' him to Trugnet. He had been speaking to Garat on the subject, and stated my situation. I am to see him to-morrow morning. But in the outset Bonneville made a great fault. Garat is personally acquainted with O'Connor, and has been speaking to him, and he mentioned the absolute necessity of my acting with O'Connor, on which B. promised that we should be reconciled. On my saying

“never,” he got into a great passion, but I persevered and told him before he promised for me he should have consulted me and insisted on his undeceiving Garat before I went there, which he will do.

Have just seen Dalton again in consequence of a note from him. The Minister sent for him to communicate the First Consul’s answer to me. Which is that he cannot personally see me, because he could not do so without recognizing me and the Provisional Government, which he cannot do until there are twenty-five thousand Irish troops joined to his in Ireland. That he will not send less than twenty-five thousand men, and of this resolution I may be sure, but that he will accelerate all his preparations with the utmost speed, and that these twenty-five thousand men are not intended to stay in Ireland, but to annoy the western coast of England, that in the meanwhile we shall have arms and ammunition as much as we can want from the English arms in Hanover thro’ the Elbe, which is not so strictly blocked. That they may be smuggled out, and north about, to Ireland; that he wishes as most important that the Irish should contrive means of opening a communication with France; and further that he assured us he would never make peace with England except on the condition of the independence of Ireland being recognized. We had then some conversation about the means of getting the arms from the Elbe, and requested that Murphy should be sent for and a vessel instantly given him, which will I hope be the case. I asked him when he thought such a force could be got ready, and he said scarcely before two months, and that he was sure it would not be delayed longer, and that about the Equinox I would see a very general move. I wished for some arms from the western ports of France. He said if it was absolutely necessary he believed they would be given, but that it would be a great inconvenience, as they would want arms for the grand expedition and must collect all they could and even bring some to that quarter for that purpose. I spoke about the eagerness of my countrymen to be gone and he said I am not officially desired to tell you, but I know the government attaches great importance to having as many Irishmen as possible with the grand expedition.

He further added that if I desired it the Minister would repeat the message he had delivered, I said that tho’ it was perfectly unnecessary for myself I should wish it for the sake of others. He will see the Minister on the subject.

Sunday, August 14th. Saw Garat and had a very long conversation with him. He first mentioned about O’Connor, of whom he spoke very highly, and assured me his views were the most simple and candid, that he claimed no authorisation and said he was nothing but O’Connor, an individual whose name was known thro’ Europe and whose suffering might entitle him to some credit. And that all he asked was an immediate force, with which he was ready to go. I told him Mr. O’Connor’s claims had not been always so confined, and that as he, Garat, was only three days in town he was probably ignorant of what had been previously claimed, that however now, as he claimed nothing except as O’Connor, and that I claim nothing as Emmet, there could be no contestation between us. We both, it seemed, gave the same advice and solicited the same things for Ireland, therefore we could not counteract each other. He seemed convinced, and said it only came to this that I should remain here as Minister and O’Connor go with the Expedition. I answered precisely, provided the French Government in sending him did not interfere with the prerogative of the Irish Government. We then went into what was necessary to be done. Garat seemed to hint something as if he was appointed to speak on those things. But I believe he has no authority except his friendship with Trugnet.

However, I stated what I thought would be the advantages of an immediate recognition of me and my country by France, stating that I had reason to apprehend it would not be immediately done and would not press it, but that if the French Government thought fit to offer it, I would accept it. He knew from Bonneville that I had desired to see Bonaparte and wished I could. I said nearly the same thing, that I did not think it would be granted, and would not let myself down by subjecting myself to repeated refusals; but that if he or his friends could procure me the offer of that honour I would gladly use it. That, however, the material thing was to get succours and to get them instantly. I pressed promptitude and velocity with my utmost strength, and he appeared to enter perfectly into my views. In the conversation he mentioned as a fact that at the time of Humbert’s and Hardy’s expedition the command had been offered to Cherin, the friend of

Hoche, who he said would have done it well, that he demanded twelve thousand men and sunk down to eight thousand, but would never go lower, that it was then offered to Bernadotte who asked fifteen thousand and would not go lower than twelve. I however endeavoured to convince him that less force would have done, and said I was afraid the rock on which the French would split was the desire to do things "en grand." He talked of being ready in six months, but I deprecated the delay of half that time. He said the Marine was not ready, there was no more than five sail of the line in Brest and their crews not complete. However, he was very sensible of the importance of Ireland and the necessity of instant action in her defence. On the whole I was pleased with him and he gave me room to think he was so with me, but did not talk of presenting me to Trugnet, that however I hope will come in time and soon.

Bonneville has told me this evening that after I was gone Garat said he saw I was the proper person to be taken up and that he would see some one tomorrow.

Monday, August 15th. Called on Dalton this morning to fix about seeing the Minister, he has not met him since, but gave me a rendezvous for tomorrow. As Garat's talk of six months has frightened me, I asked him if he seriously thought the expedition could be ready in two months,—he seemed to laugh at any further delay and assured me that before Vendémiaire I should see it so, "Marine et tout?" "tout, tout." I told him one reason for my wishing to see the Minister was because I annexed considerable importance to an expression he had mentioned to me from the Consul, and that I wished neither to deceive myself nor my country men, I alluded to his assurance that he would never make peace with England 'till the independence of Ireland was recognized. Dalton said it came expressly and personally from the first consul. "Vous pouvez leur assurer de ma part" were his words. I then said the Directory had given the same assurance, and peace was made without that condition. He then remarked the difference between one man and five, but said your best assurance is your interest; promises and even treaties are every day broken and writing is scarcely more solemn with Nations than words, but their interest is the certain hold.—It is the interest of France, recognized for ages but now more strongly felt than ever, to separate Ireland from England. I said—"it was her interest in the last war but it was not done." Dalton said, "but it is now more strongly felt than ever, and has penetrated those it did not before. England has forced it to be felt. We hoped that the treaty of peace would have been kept and that we could have arranged ourselves with her, but she has made us feel that she will war against our prosperity while she has the means. The separation of Ireland is the only way of destroying those means, and its advantages are so strongly felt that no one thinks of discussing them. I can assure you that sentiment has penetrated into every quarter and that conviction is your best security. Government is convinced that France can not have solid peace with England 'till Ireland is her ally and her friend."

Tuesday, 16th. In consequence of a message from Bonneville last night, I called upon him early this morning. He then told me that Garat had seen La Place, who had consented to wait on Bonaparte on Irish affairs. If Garat would be present at the interview, to which Garat has consented, perhaps it may produce good. I expressed my wish to know Trugnet, which he said he would try to bring about. McNeven mentioned to me on my return home that he had from authority, on which he could rely, that O'Connor alledges that the Provisional Government is only a faction to exclude him, and that all who support it are in the same faction. I hope it may be immense and irresistible. The same authority also assured McNeven that O'Connor is urging the French Government to send over with the troops a constitution and regulations of Government to impose on the Irish, and that he is urging this against their wish, as they think it would be very impolitic and dangerous! If that be true—voilà un traite! McNeven assigned very strong reasons against such an act. Dalton and I saw the Minister while we were waiting. D. said he knew with certainty, and repeated the expression, that Government is directing the utmost attention to the Marine, and that in a short time I should see a "belle réunion de vaisseaux." I said that was the point where I dreaded a deficiency, he said I need not have the least apprehension, that they would collect more than enough of ships of the line and the force would depart from one port. I talked of the necessity of quickening the preparation against England, he said the activity was immense, that he believed they would be ready in four months; but that they would begin to

menace long before so as to prevent sending troops to Ireland. When the Minister entered he repeated the conversation as Dalton had done, and asked did I know the best places for sending the arms. I told him four places had been indicated to me before the insurrection that I could not however say what their actual situation might now be. He seemed to wish to put off the sending of arms 'till the arrival of accounts from Ireland. But I tried to dissuade him from that delay and he said I must give him a note of what I thought the most proper places and why. However, on further explanation he seemed to come off of that and consented that Murphy should be sent for and no time lost. I pointed out we had already let twelve days lapse since the arrival of the last accounts. We had some further conversation on the subject and he wished some vessels to come express from Ireland to receive arms, over to Bordeaux, or the western coast, and to establish the most speedy communication. I then reverted to the remainder of the Consul's answer and said that as to acknowledging me if I were to advise I might perhaps give it contrary to the opinion entertained by the Consul, but no matter for the present the most essential thing was succour and not acknowledgement. I then said there was part of the answer to which I attached very great importance, and wished to know whether I over-rated it. I meant the assurance that he would never make peace with England, 'till the independence of Ireland was recognised. I requested to know whether that was intended as a formal assurance on the part of the French Government to my country men, and whether I should formally communicate it as such. He answered "Yes, certainly," and that it was the Consul's intention I should do so. I then asked him when he thought the expedition would be ready, he said it was hard to say, and seemed to wish to parry the question, but I said I did not mean by asking it to BIND the Government to the time mentioned, but that it would be a great object to those in Ireland to know when, as they would accordingly make their own arrangements. He then said he was pretty sure in about two months, but that with twenty-five thousand men it was hard to be precise and that besides "on les prévendra." He bid me try and make them if possible be quiet 'till the French came, which proves two things,— 1st that this government does not wish them to be up on its arrival, and 2nd that even on the idea of their being put down it intends to continue its activity, and give them speedy help. The rising therefore had had this effect, even if it shall have failed, that it has quickened the French and determined them to do in two months what they had no notion of doing before six months. I then asked the proper passport and the money for the messenger, which he has promised me by one o'clock today. I have received the money and more, for instead of one hundred pounds he has sent me one hundred and twenty-five and the passport and the messenger will be off to night.

From Thursday, 25th August, to Wednesday, September 7th. I was all this time in Paris, but having forgotten my journal I could not take a correct diary.

On Wednesday the 24th of August, Capt. Murphy called on me after his arrival from Ostend, and we went into town together that evening. Next day I called on Dalton and informed him of Murphy's arrival, requesting that a proper nautical person might be appointed to confer with us on the best mode of sending arms. This I did in consequence of my previous conversation with Murphy, who convinced me that the idea of sending arms from the Elbe in Merchant vessels was absurd, and that they should go from the Western Coasts in armed vessels. I also made Murphy write to the Minister of Marine, mentioning his arrival as he was coming upon an invitation from him before he received mine.

He has never heard anything from the Minister of Marine, and as for myself I was promised an answer in a couple of days, and afterwards put off on one pretext and another from day to day, and finally promised it definitely on Saturday night, Sept. 3^d. During all this time rumours were circulating of some negotiation with England and an armistice talked of. I mentioned it to Dalton, and his answer was, that peace was impossible, but that an armistice might be, as it was for the interest of France. Having received no answer on Saturday night, I did not ask to see the Minister at War because I knew he was perfectly acquainted with my request and had conversed on it to Dalton. But I prepared a memorial to Bonaparte, calculated also to meet the possibility of negotiation and urging the utmost possible speed on the score of the interests of the Republic, and concluding with the same request I had made thro' Dalton, as a preliminary to sending the prom-

ised arms. Having finished this I determined, if possible, not to send it thro' Berthier, that in case he heard of it, he might see I felt the impropriety of not giving me some answer and I requested Garat to deliver it, which he understood to do in the handsomest manner. He further told me he had reason to know that Government was very anxiously occupied about our affairs. He had on a former occasion told Bonneville that Bonaparte was afraid to separate Ireland lest it should be too democratic and give a bad example, but that he was strongly urged to it by the Senate and the members of the Government. He further told me our marine affairs were in the hands of Trugnet, who was devoted to our cause. Having secured the delivery of my memoir on Friday I wrote a note to Dalton, rather drily informing him that as I had received no answer and now expected none I was returning to the country. War has been these several days past talked, and movement made against Portugal. Is it possible that could be only a pretext for marching the troops from Bayonne to Ferrol to embark them for Ireland?

Sunday, Sept. 11th. Came to town again today to be in the way and hoping to hear about my memorial. To my mortification Bonneville has given McDonnell a message for me, stating that it had been impossible to deliver it on Friday, from some etiquette, but that he would do it to day. I must therefore wait some days more even if it is to be honoured with any notice.

Tuesday, 13th. In consequence of a message from Dalton and some minor circumstances, about prisoners at War &c., I called on him. The only thing remarkable in the interview is that he apologised for not giving me an answer to my demand, by stating that he had none to give, that he had often pressed the Minister on the subject but could obtain no answer, and that he presumed Government had changed its intentions on that subject. This last I am sure is also true by their conduct respecting Murphy, to whom, unknown to me, Dalton made an offer to restore him to his former rank of Captain of a frigate, if he would put himself at the disposition of the Government. Murphy accepted it as he said in everything for the good of his country, but insisted on having a regular brevet, which he was promised. This was all done unknown to me, but, no brevet or written promise coming, Murphy mentioned to me last night that he would go to the country if he heard nothing more about his arrears of pay, giving me to understand that there was no other subject of conversation between him and Dalton in the interview, which after a good deal of hesitation he told me had taken place. This morning I told Dalton, in a general way, that if he was not quick in his movements he would lose Murphy, who mentioned to me his fixed resolution of going back to Dunkirk on Saturday if he had nothing satisfactory before. On this Dalton, supposing Murphy had told me all, said he would go to the Minister of Marine directly and have his brevet made out, that he had been so expressly authorised to make him the offer by the Minister of Marine, and that he need not be uneasy. By Murphy's agreeing to put himself at the general disposal of the French Government, and by his wish to keep the treaty concealed from me, I see that he has changed his mind as well as the French Government. God knows how I could get the arms over, even if a favourable answer should be given to my memorial. Dalton sets off tonight to Strassbourg on a mission to conduct the Turkish Ambassador to Paris and in his absence everything referred again to Harty.

Wednesday, Sept. 14th. Saw Bonneville this morning. Garat had not been able to deliver the memoir on Sunday, for when he went to St. Cloud, he found that the Consul had no audience and was gone to Malmaison. He has requested a special audience for to day to give it. On my way home met Corbet, who began, as on a former occasion, by condemning the measures in Ireland, as if to conciliate my temper, and then proposed an accomodation with O'Connor that we might co-operate, saying "that as matters were going on it were to be wished that they could be succoured." I rejected every accomodation on the same grounds as before, political and not personal. He urged that if we were reconciled O'Connor would sacrifice a great deal of his opinions to meet mine and give a joint advice to Government. I answered that I knew Mr. O'Connor too well not to be convinced that if we did appear to cooperate and give a joint advice, which did not meet his views, he would nevertheless find means to suggest and enforce his own, so that nothing would be gained on that head. That besides I only acted in a delegated capacity, which I could not divide with anyone, and would not willingly share with Mr. O'Connor, that I wished for nothing but what I knew my countrymen required, and gave no advice but what flowed from their wishes. That I

could never consent to modify these solicitations, or that advice, to meet any ideas of Mr. O'Connor, and that in seeking for a counsellor to assist me with his opinions and judgements I should only choose one on whose integrity and talents I had reliance. That as to cooperation, if we did not really agree in opinion, Mr. O'Connor would, I was persuaded, in every situation, openly or secretly urge his own; if we did agree, there was a virtual cooperation without our coming together. The advice I gave to Government, and urged with all my strength was this, to lose no time, to give the utmost they could instantly and as much as possible at their leisure, but to succour as soon and as powerfully as possible those who were now acting. I hoped Mr. O'Connor did not give different advice. I hoped he did not tell them that the present insurrection was trifling and insignificant and the work of some obscure men, that he did not advise them to let it die away, and not to go but with a large force, that might enable them to take things up "de novo," to come with a ready made constitution for the Irish people, and to interfere with the civil authority of the country, under specious and hackneyed pretext of *keeping down factions*. I said all this, it being ascertained from the information McNeven had received, from I know excellent authority, that such is his language. When I mentioned the words "keeping down factions" Corbet, conscious he had often sung second to O'Connor, said he himself was very apprehensive they would be wanting at first for that purpose, that the spirit of individual revenge would be let loose and that they alone could not curb the overflowing of popular fury. I answered that they showed no disposition to go in time to stop those outrages which, I lamented as much as anyone, were likely to disgrace the first beginning of our revolution. That besides if they were there, they would not care whether this or that private individual was cruelly massacred, it was too petty an object for their attention. They would interfere en grand, espouse some party and then oppose its rival under the name of keeping down faction, that it was for no such mediation of foreigners and would submit to none in Ireland but that of the Irish people. That if the French came, they must prepare themselves to act only as allies, and as such indeed not to let the laws of the land and the obligations of morality and humanity be violated in their neighbourhood without securing the culprit, and submitting him to the tribunal of his country. But that whoever should advise them to erect themselves into Mediators in a land aspiring to be free, between rival parties, if any such should exist, would prepare for that land new and not less destructive civil wars than any she had ever yet encountered. That I hoped no one was giving them that advice, or suggesting to them to dispose of officers in the Irish Government as they might think fit. The argument did not end here, for Corbet defended his opinion, but with such arguments as I really forgot. In urging me to the reconciliation with O'Connor what an effect it would have in deciding the resolutions of the French Government if it saw us cooperating. To that I answered drily, that after what the French knew of the state of Ireland, of its importance and its wants, I should think very meanly of its politics and talents if it were induced to send an additional soldier or musket by any appearance of co-operation between Mr. O'Connor and me. He then attempted to touch my fears, by talking of O'Connor's great influence in Ireland, and that those who knew the services he had rendered to his country would not suffer him to be put down. I told him I had long acted with Mr. O'Connor and knew his services a great deal better than those who had heard of them from his own lips, that at any rate when Ireland was free, let his country estimate what he had done, what he had not done, what he had boasted of having done and what he had arrogated to himself of others acts and let it give him whatever situation it pleased. I should never intrigue against it, but I was decided never to fill any situation that should come in contact with his, except perhaps as members of the same legislature; we separated, neither I believe perfectly pleased with the other. He almost avowed that he was acting by O'Connor's desire, the same man that in the height of his calumnies against McNeven and me said to several, and I believe to Corbet, that he would never act with either of us, he never shall. When I met Corbet he was reading the papers, which contain, whether true or false, some strong reports of great success on the part of our friends in Ireland, as did some of yesterday's papers. I suspect they are the cause of O'Connor's advances, when I pointed them out to Corbet he seemed as melancholy as if he considered them in the light of disasters. I have my own to regret, but I do so in private. A messenger is arrived at Bordeaux from Ireland and on his way to me. I can learn that he has some not unfavourable and some very bad and to me

very distressing news. My brother Robert is arrested, he has been three times before the Privy Council, but has declined answering anything. My brother-in-law John Patten was arrested and liberated and is arrested again, so that now almost every male relative I have in Ireland that I know and love is in prison and perhaps in danger. God protect them to their friends, their families and country! My wife and I have determined to keep this secret as long as possible, not to discourage our countrymen in Paris. If the news from Holland shall turn out true we shall not be long bound to concealment.

Saturday, September 17th. The messenger, Byrne, is arrived in Paris. He left Dublin on Wednesday, August 31st. This news I am far from thinking favourable, because it is clear to me that no new effort will be soon made in Ireland and that everything must now wait upon the French. He has given me an account of the previous proceedings of the Provincial Government, and of its efforts on the 23rd, by which I see there was a great deal of money and talent expended on an enlarged and complicated plan, which would perhaps have been better directed to one single point and to a simple plan. The failure seems to show this, for it failed for want of heads and means to make the different parts support one another. The present state of Ireland he says is this,—the Provisional Government still maintains its connections and correspondence with the country and the English government really knows little or nothing. The people are in excellent spirits and none of the fire arms have been lost, but a great deal of ammunition and pikes. The Insurrection of the 23rd inst. was forced on by the explosion of the powder manufactory in Patrick Street, and a slight battle for recovering some ammunition a few nights before, but the country in general was not called upon or expected by the Provisional Government to act unless Dublin had been taken. Russell's proclamation was not intended by him to be published 'till Dublin was taken, but it transpired from the over zeal of some friends. In the same way the proclamation of the Provisional Government was not to have been published 'till the next day and was not therefore signed by the members. If no persecutions are permitted the people will be quiet 'till the French come, and the instructions to me were to urge an expedition with the utmost speed. But as to arms, if they come they would be received and concealed, but not used before a landing, and that therefore it was useless to run the risk of sending them. My brother, he says, is not in danger, but I doubt that. John Patten expected to be let out the day after Byrne came away. He says the people's spirits have received a spring by the effort and that if a speedy landing takes place they will act much better than they would have done.

Sunday, September 18th. Dalton, who did not go to Strasbourg, called this morning very early from the Minister at War, to learn the news brought by the Messenger. I told him in substance as before. When I said I would not press for arms he was very glad of it and told me several captains of ships had declined carrying them and that Captain Murphy himself when spoken to by the Minister of the Marine, seemed very averse to it, that the idea had been therefore dropped as it was not thought right to risk his being hanged on such a business, when he might have been made useful in another way. This might have been a very right decision, but I should have been made acquainted with it either by Murphy, or the French Government.

As to the expedition itself, he gave me the greatest assurance, he said the activity at Brest and the western coasts was without example. He had seen and spoken to a person just returning from thence, that he could assure me with certainty there were eighteen sail of the line there ready for the sea. The French Government wished to direct attention from that quarter and were therefore making great demonstrations towards England and establishing camps along that coast to prevent alarm, and because they were unnecessary, "for Brittany was as full as an egg of troops," which would not be collected together 'till they were wanted. And that for the same reason of preventing alarm, Government had spread the report that Massena had refused going. I asked him when things would be ready, he answered he thought very well by the end of Vendémiaire. I hinted about the Bayonne expedition and said every one at Bordeaux believed it was for Ireland, which I lamented if it was the fact, as no place abounded more with English spies. He answered in a very pleasant manner, not contradicting, that it was, but certainly not saying it,—“Mr. Emmet” says he, “it is impossible to prevent persons forming and uttering their conjectures, but I can assure you solemnly that not a word in writing has passed on the subject of that army, and that every

arrangement respecting it has been made by word of mouth between the First Consul and the General himself." He further told me that he had strong reason for believing that Bruix would command the expedition for Ireland, tho' he was now Admiral of the flotilla at Boulogne. This last news, from what has been said of Bruix in Hoche's expedition, I did not think the most pleasant. In consequence of the communication from Ireland and what Dalton said of the intentions of the French Government respecting arms, I sent to prevent Simpson sailing for Ireland, as accidents have hitherto strangely delayed him and a messenger from me with the same intelligence has departed from Bordeaux. I also called on Bonneville to prevent the presenting of my memoir, it has not been yet done. While I was out Mr. O'Connor and I met plump at the turn of a street, to my surprise he instantly saluted me and enquired very tenderly after my family. I answered him as coldly as I could with politeness, but he was not to be rebuffed. He said he had long wished for this opportunity of speaking to me on a subject which had been probably mentioned to me by Mr. Corbet. The French Government were making communications to us both and as far as he could collect holding different language to each, that it had not concealed from him the assurances it had given to me, which were much larger than any he had received, and that it had enabled me to send a messenger with them to Ireland. That the Government had also at different times pressed him to send over messengers, but as he was not satisfied with their sincerity he had always refused and if he had sent one he would have done it out of his own pocket. He believed the French Government wished to deceive us both, but they did it in such a bungling manner as not to deceive him, for they made him at different times different and inconsistent proposals, and besides he had learned facts from different sources which he was enabled to have access to by means of his fortune and character and connections, which laid open to him the views of the French.

As I might not have the same advantages, and as it was of importance that no one treating for Ireland should be deceived, he wished to propose to me that we should make an unreserved communication of everything that had been said to each, or that had come to our knowledge from other quarters, as being the best way to prevent either of us from being outwitted. But that as in doing so he would have to commit to me the lives of persons who might suffer for their confidence in him, he could only do it on the most solemn obligation of secrecy, which on his part he was also willing to give. He then launched out on different topics, which, as I presume the conversation was to be understood as confidential I shall not even commit to paper. I listened with the utmost patience and silence to this discourse, in some parts very arrogant, but on the whole containing a very artful proposal, and from his desiring me to remember that he had made it, I suspected he was laying the foundation of some future impeachment. I therefore answered him that I did not think myself at liberty to disclose the communications that had been made to me and was aware how little right I had to ask a disclosure from him when I could not be reciprocal, that, however, if his love of his country could induce him to dispense with that reciprocity, which scarcely appeared necessary as his opinion of the insincerity of the French seemed founded on such decisive evidences, I would give him every obligation of secrecy that could pass between man and man. He replied he could not conceive how I was bound up, the French Government had never tied him up to secrecy. They had communicated very freely with him and they did not conceal their communications with me. They gave him to understand that he was the principal person and an "homme D'Etat" had been expressly appointed to treat with him and empowered by the First Consul to sign any agreement in writing with him, but they had never asked secrecy from him, nor would he have given them any such promise. That he acted only in his own individual capacity, tho' he knew how very easy it would be to call together some of his friends, make them take the title of an Executive and give him a nomination. But he pretended to no delegated power and he told the French Government so; his only wish was that we should be both enlightened and understand one another for the purpose of not being duped, that he had very important things to tell me and could not do it without the most solemn obligations and an unreserved communication. That once the French Government wished us to be reconciled, but now he believed such a circumstance would be regarded with jealousy, and that the best way would be to meet in the country, where our interview would be unsuspected and unknown to anyone but ourselves. This proposal was

made at the front of the Palais Royal after the conversation had lasted for about threequarters of an hour, and as I thought had been studiously protracted in hopes of its being perceived by some one to whom we and our differences were both known.

I answered again that the different situations in which we stood rendered a difference of conduct necessary, he acted for no one and was free to tell his own secrets, I was only an agent for others and did not feel myself at liberty to disclose the communications that had been made to me for their use, particularly to him who had refused to acknowledge their authority, that in whatever assurance I had transmitted to my countrymen I had endeavoured not to deceive them, and I trust I had succeeded. But that I would be exceedingly anxious to have every information which might prevent my doing so great an injury and would gladly give him every possible assurance that whatever he told me should never pass my lips, and that the time and manner of doing it should be entirely at his disposal. He then mentioned several things which, whatever importance I may attach to them, as they were probably given under that assurance, I shall not state, they were not facts but inferences, intended to excite my curiosity as to the facts themselves. He said he could not disclose his secrets without knowing mine. He desired me again to remember he had made the proposal, to think on it, and give him a definitive answer, which he had a reason for wishing me to give before Tuesday at twelve.

I said I would, and very politely concluded this extraordinary interview. My conjecture on the whole is that O'Connor is dissatisfied with the French Government notwithstanding their flattery, he is not convinced he is of sufficient importance, and he wishes to ascertain whether I am of more. As to the facts of which he boasts I dont believe he has any, but I suspect this day's conversation will at some future time be made a subject of conversation.

Tuesday, 20th September. I sent O'Connor his answer to the same purport as above by Corbett. Garat has not delivered my memoir, but as he demanded the interview and does not know whether it may not be still granted, he wishes to keep the memoir that if called upon he may give it, stating at the same time that since it was written circumstances have altered and that I wished to withdraw and alter it.

McNeven tells me that Mackey says Angereau told him O'Connor had refused to be Chef D'Escadron. I suppose he thinks he has as good a right to be General as Tandy had, and he is dissatisfied at his disappointment.

Saturday, 24th. Before going out of town I called again on Dalton about some minor business and to lay before him a plan of descent on Ireland that had occurred to me. His objections to it make me doubt whether the Bayonne Army is for Ireland. He said "be assured the French will never divide their force," now if that army were going and another from Brest, they could scarcely avoid dividing them. I urged again the necessity of losing no time, he repeated the same assurance he had given me on the 18th and said the demonstrations are all made against England, but the object is Ireland, and added "no camps are formed, but Brittany is full of troops, and in the time of Hoche, when we went to Brest there was not a man there but in twenty one days they were all collected in and we were under sail." He hinted as he had done on the former occasion, that the Irish in Paris would be let stay quiet 'till the last moment and then hurried off. He said he repeated these assurances knowing how deeply I was interested, not only as an Irishman but as a brother, for I had told him last Sunday of my brother's arrest, and it is reported in today's *Argus*.

Thursday, October 20th. Swiney is returned from Cork in an open boat, he could not penetrate to Dublin, but committed his message to a confidential person who undertook to have it conveyed forward. The account he gives of the state of Ireland, as to persecution, is dreadful and the most vigorous police pervades the whole country. The spirit of the people, however, he says, is if possible more determined than ever. Vide his narrative. He has brought some statements respecting the forces in the South, which are mostly concentrated towards Cork, e. g. about five thousand in Cork, five thousand in Bandon and three thousand about Bantry. This he says is the utmost exclusive of yeomen. One seventy four, and five or six frigates cruising off that station. The forts of Cork Harbour are miserably neglected, garrisoned entirely with invalids, as follows. *Camden* sixty men, twenty guns, 12 and 18 ^{prs.}. *Rams Head*, eighteen men, 4 to 8 guns, 6 and 12 ^{prs.}. *Spike island*, one hundred men, 30 to 40 guns, 12 ^{prs.}. *Cove* useless, thirty men,

to guns, 24^{Prs}. He proposes a plan for putting all those and Cork into the hands of the French; but as secrecy is very necessary in all these things I shall only communicate it to some one authorised to hear it.

Swincy has brought me the details of my dearest Robert's trial and execution. His conduct is my only consolation for his loss, but his speech as given by the English Government would be very offensive here. Dalton has been out of town ever since the date of my last, but as he is expected very shortly and matters do not press, I will wait for his return before I mention anything of Swiney to the Government.

Wednesday, November 2d. Saw Dalton for the first time since his return. I had different matters, relative to the release of some of my countrymen, to talk to him about, and a great deal to pull up that had run in arrears in his absence. I was curious to see whether there was any alteration in his manner, as my brother's speech before sentence has been printed in the French papers and must have been displeasing to the government, but I could perceive no change in him. I told him the messenger was returned. Gave him some general statements relative to the state of the country and added that he had particular communications which might influence Government as to the plan of landing, which, however, for discretion sake, I would not communicate until called upon by the Government and to some one appointed by it. This may give me a test of their intentions, as if I am not called on they can scarcely be serious.

Friday, November 4th. Called on Dalton again this morning in consequence of a communication from Genl. Angereau, which shows at least his desire to know every thing about Ireland. I took the opportunity of asking how the preparations were going on. He said he had lately seen one from Brest. Trugnet was there and putting everything into the greatest activity, that there were twenty and odd sail of the line ready for sea, and that troops were gathering fast into the Department. Further than that they did not know themselves, as the greatest mystery was kept up respecting everything there. I had occasion to apply for permission to Connolly, who is in Portugal, to come to Paris, and he desired him to apply without delay to the French Minister there "parce que le Portugal sera bientôt cassé." I urged also the state of my countrymen who are here, and he comforted me with a repetition of the vague assurance so often given—"that a general measure would be shortly taken respecting them."

Sunday, November 13th. In consequence of Dalton's desire I saw him this morning, he wished to communicate to me that the Irish would be attached à la suite de corps immediately and afterwards united into a corps, when the expedition was to take place. He showed me a list of the names and the order in which he had ranged them for commission. I reminded him of one or two he had forgotten. Before this conversation, there was a stranger and he in conversation about the probability of an expedition this winter, which the stranger denied, saying there were not above seven sail of the line ready in Brest. He answered, and I thought seemed embarrassed at my presence, that it was true there were not above eight sail actually ready, but there would be twenty in a very short time.

Tuesday, November 15th. In consequence of a rumour that the French had landed in Ireland, I called on my friend Dalton, but he says it is not possible. "It must have gone" said he "from Spain or the Western coast of France; now we have not a soldier on the Spanish territory, and as to the Western Coasts I can assure you there are no troops as yet embarked."

Thursday, November 17th. The rumour of an expedition for Ireland having sailed still gains ground, but principally among the Americans. Mr [Joel] Barlow told me that he hears six of them have sailed from Bayonne, Carunna, Ferrol, Rochfort, Brest and some other places. This is absurd, but a Mr Livingston, a relative of the American Minister, assures me that one is on the point of sailing from Brest, that he knows there are twenty sail of the line ready there and has the strongest reason to believe that Massena set out for that place the day before yesterday. Others say that Massena is gone to Nice. At any rate I suspect the rumours are the consequence of something having transpired from the bureaux relative to the intention of Government.

Saturday, 19th. Encore des bruits. Every one says today that Angereau is landed in Ireland. I don't believe a word of it, but I am unwell, and cannot go out. I am sure, however, that if it was true and known Dalton would have written me a note. Lawless also tells me, a friend of his

who had opportunities of knowing, assured him that an expedition would very shortly sail from Brest and that the Irishmen in Paris would be hurried off suddenly; this corresponds with Dalton's hint on the same subject.

Monday, December 6th. Saw Dalton this morning in consequence of a proposal I was desired to make to Government on the part of Thos. Read, for making an insurrection in the British Navy. Read, as I had previously learned is very honest but cracked. He had made something of his proposal personally known thro' another channel, so that I did not take Dalton unawares. He said the measure proposed by Read could not be taken, as an exchange of prisoners must be made from the situation in which the two countries stand to one another. At any rate, said he, four months, the time mentioned by Read, are now too long. *The French Government will now very shortly do something, or not do it at all.* He mentioned that he had a personal conversation with the first consul about Dowdal and his fellow travellers coming from Spain, and that the first consul desired to know would they take a destination without coming to Paris, on which I must write to them. I asked him confidentially, among friends, whether anything was to be done soon, he answered,—“*Oui, tenez-vous à cela,*” and after a little pause, before four days, said he, the Irishmen in Paris will get their orders to set off. I answered that tho' I was glad they were provided for, it was not about that I was asking. I know it is not, said he, but about the expedition. He told me before the conversation began that some United Irishmen, whom he could not name, had let suspicion fall on their conduct by being too intimate with Englishmen. Perhaps, says he, their circumstances may have forced them; but we are going to provide on that, at any rate it is now of no great consequence as all the English are being sent away. I said I believe Mr O'Connor, Dr. McNeven and myself were perhaps more in the line than any other United Irishmen of seeing Englishmen. As to you, says he, all the English say that you are of all the United Irishmen the best intentioned for the liberty of his country, so much so as almost to make the Government look on you suspiciously. He said this with a half laugh, but query, are the French Government to look on every man suspiciously in proportion as he is well intended for the liberty of his country?

I see by some letters on his table that O'Connor is in full confidence and procuring commissions in the new corps for men who were never United Irishmen, while the real United Irishmen are unprovided for. In the course of our conversation he suggested to me to give an account of Swiney's mission and offered to translate it. I am sure he does it because he thinks matters are coming to a crisis. I shall set about it directly, but I sha'nt ask him to translate it. I will do it myself and address it to the Minister at War.

Thursday, 8th. Dalton's promise is out, the orders are this night issued for the Irish of the corps to go without delay to Morlaix and receive further orders from McSheehy. My letter to the Minister of War is not yet finished, writing French is a slow business.

Saturday, December 10th. Sent off my letter to the Minister this morning, I took the opportunity of alluding to the language held by poor Robert [his brother] and all his friends, respecting the French and plainly stated the misfortunes that would follow if the French attempted to interfere in the internal affairs of Ireland, and pointed out what I thought ought to be their conduct. Vide the letter. I enclosed it to Dalton to deliver, but it is brought back with word that Dalton was this morning sent off in the utmost hurry on a mission; query to what place? As I could not go out myself McNeven has taken the letter to the Bureau de la Guerre to give strict charge that it may be put into the Minister's own hands. Harty has called here this evening, he says Dalton's mission is on that subject, but he will be back in a few days. The greatest activity he says, is used and a great sudden exertion making; he says there are twenty five thousand men at Brest and a General in Chief, under whose orders they are. The General is neither Massena, nor Bernadotte, but one, he says, that he prefers to either, having an honest character than Massena, and being a better General than Bernadotte, he made a considerable figure in the Army of Italy. Gen'l Harty says he is not at liberty to mention his name, but I will probably hear it in a few days. Harty says another Irish Battallion is going to be formed, which will I hope provide for the remainder of the Irish.

Monday, December 12th. Called on Gen'l Harty this morning and pressed some provision

being made for enabling the Irish to travel to Morlaix. He said the application had been already made and would probably be granted, but he supposed not soon enough to be received before they set off. I will endeavour to enable the poorest of them to go. He mentioned again the formation of another battalion and hinted that those who did not show their devotion to the cause would be considered as English subjects and sent to Verdun. I mentioned to him that I wished to concert some mode of directing the mind of First Consul, without making a formal requisition that by taking from him the merit of originating the measure would perhaps predispose him against it, to the dangers of the Irish holding his commissions if they should be taken. The Directory had suffered them to be executed and in so doing they acted weakly, but it would be more consistent with the known energy of his character to protect those who bore his commission. Harty did not think Bonaparte would depart from what was the established custom in that respect, *as he did not know what insurrections might be raised against himself*. He would be probably unwilling to begin the example that the French emigrant suffered in the same way and as long as our efforts could be considered a mere insurrection he did not believe any such step would be taken. I answered that I believed every liberal man thought the English and the coalesced powers ought to have protected the emigrants; that I asked no more than what France had done for the Americans, that if France did not think our insurrection lawful it ought not to profess to come and free us, that if it thought our attempt to throw off the English yoke lawful, it ought to protect us and consider us aliens to England. That what I would propose was that the First Consul should declare the Irish in France should be answerable for their bearing his commission, and I was certain the English would attempt nothing against us. That as to our efforts being considered as a mere insurrection it was in the Consul's power to remedy that by recognising our independence. I was aware of his unwillingness to recognise any particular government in Ireland, 'till his forces were there and properly supported, and therefore he would sign no treaty with me as the agent of my government, but I was willing to relieve him from that and make a sacrifice by proposing that he should conclude a simple recognition of the Independence of Ireland, with all the United Irishmen in France who were known to have been leaders and I would sign only as one of them, and in this treaty refer the details 'till a properly organized government should declare itself in Ireland and give powers to its Minister to treat with the French Republic. I repeated that I had thought on all this and could put it very strongly in a formal demand; but I would wish the idea to proceed from the First Consul if any mode could be devised for suggesting it to him. We were interrupted, but he promised me he would speak of it to the Minister of War next Wednesday.

Saturday, January 21st, 1804. I have for this sometime past too much neglected to continue these notes, but I will now endeavour to bring forward my arrears.

Finding Genl. Harty did not speak to the Minister of War and that nothing effectual was likely to be done that way, I determined to prepare a memoir on the subject. I had spoken to him of it on the 12th December. While I was occupied on that subject Mr. O'Reilly arrived from Ireland and brought me some extracts of my brother's speech, which completely contradicted the abuse he had been said to utter against the French, I therefore determined to lose no time in laying this before the Government, together with some details he had given me respecting the political and military situation of England and Ireland. When these were finished I gave them to the Minister thro' Harty and had some reason to perceive their good effects. My brother's speech gave very great satisfaction, it was printed in the *Moniteur*, *Argus* and every other paper, and was equally acceptable to the People and Government. I followed this by some further details respecting the military state of Ireland sent to me by Dowdall, who with three others had escaped to Spain. My memoir respecting the protection of the Irish officers and the Independence of Ireland was delayed by the translation and other causes, 'till—

Wednesday, Jan. 4th. I gave it to Dalton with a letter for the Minister at War. After having given it, I had reason to see that our affairs looked better. I got Swiney's arrears, some succours for individuals and a promise of more.

Wednesday, 18th. Finally Dalton delivered to me an answer to the Memoire promising that the first Consul had communicated it to the Minister at War, who had directed him to reduce it to writing. After he had done it, the Minister approved of it and desired him to inform me that he

would confirm it to me by word of mouth whenever I pleased, for the detailed contents of the answer see itself. It promises every protection to the Irish officers and reprisals if any of them should not be treated as prisoners of war. It promises that the General commanding the expedition should have sealed letters by which he will be directed to publish on landing the First Consul's promise that he will not make peace without stipulating the independence of Ireland, if his forces shall be joined by a considerable body of Irish. It promises that Ireland shall be in every respect treated as was America in the war for its independence. In case of failure of the expedition it promises to all fugitive United Irishmen either places in the brigades or pensions. It expresses the First Consul's wish for the formation of a Committee and suggests that it might issue proclamations to make known those matters, which should be inserted in the *Argus* and different journals of Europe. After I had read this Dalton mentioned that it was the First Consul's wish that Mr. O'Connor and I should be of that Committee and that he was instructed to make copy of that paper, leaving out the first sentence, for Mr. O'Connor. This proposal has embarrassed me more than I can well express; but one reason decided me. If at any time hereafter the promises which have been made us should be violated I would not leave it in anyone's power to blame me and say my pride or obstinacy frustrated the good intentions of the French Government. Besides, if, which I believe, the First Consul really means well towards Ireland, he is, however, of a character to have things only done in his own way, and I could be of no further use to Ireland if he took offence at my refusal. Dalton had signified that when the Committee was formed the Government would only communicate with it and thro' it, so that I determined to divest myself of my ambassadorial capacity with a good grace. I told him that with the feelings Mr. O'Connor and I had towards one another, I would never act along with him, if he and I were to be the Committee or the major part of it. But that if it were to be composed of such a number as that our passions and prejudices and differences would be lost in the cooler feelings of others, I would acquiesce. Dalton asked me who I thought would be fit members of such a Committee. I said H. Evans, Sweetman, McNevin, McDonnell, and Lawless. He said he had been desired to see Lewins, but had answered that no one had confidence in him and that he would be very unfit. He desired me to think on the subject and he would fix a time for my seeing the Minister, so we parted.

I consulted Sweetman, who highly approved of my conduct and thought that as the Consul had required a Committee it could not be declined. But he started apprehensions about our property and an idea, which had forceably impressed itself on me, that we and our proclamations might be used for the purpose of bullying England into peace and we agreed that we must try and keep clear of that rock. A letter I had received from McNeven tended to confirm that idea, he states as his opinion that matters are not in sufficient forwardness at Brest, that he hears there are but eight sail of the line equipped, that in six weeks there will be sixteen. But he looks on six weeks as the ultimate limit of time this season. His suspicion was confirmed by Angereau wanting to get a person to go to Ireland and bring back *consignments*, which certainly could not be done in less time.

With these impressions I went to the Minister's by appointment this morning. Before I saw him I had a long conversation with Dalton. O'Connor offers to go into the Committee heart and hand. He has mentioned as fit members Chambers and McCormic. I believe he has also mentioned others not United Irishmen, or who are not known as such, and also H. Evans and Sweetman. I stated my fears to Dalton about the delay of the expedition and some of my reasons. He certainly did not seem to me very clear that the expedition would take place this season, but I could plainly see he had no idea it would be in even a month's time. I stated my wish as an individual that my acting in that Committee should be sanctioned by the approbation of my countrymen at Morlaix. Against which he very strongly advised me as a friend, he would not wish me to do it. Even when Ambassadors are recognised they must in doing the business of their country, *conform themselves to the Genius of the Government near which they reside*. A delegation would do me no good and had never done me any and the confidence of Government in me resulted not from that but from my individual character, my services, suffering and the known devotion of my family to the cause of my country. The only argument which he used that had weight with me was that I had already had the suffrages of my countrymen to act even alone with the French Government, *à fortiori*, I had it to my being one of a committee when that Government chose to act

by such an organ. At length I saw the Minister, who confirmed to me every part of the Consul's answer to my Memoir. I expressed all my gratitude for the communication, that with regard to the committee there were some circumstances probably unknown to the First Consul, that ought to be considered. Almost every one of those who might be deemed eligible for that committee had their property in the hands of the English Government, which would undoubtedly confiscate all and as most of us were fathers of families it was natural we should look to our families. He interrupted me by saying it was not intended to expose us to any risk. The names of the committee might be kept secret and the necessary proclamations published without names, that our countrymen would still give credit to them. That in short we could act as we chose for these objects, but the First Consul wished a body to which he could adapt himself and that would combine all interests and keep up the necessary communications with Ireland. I answered that the conduct of those who might go into the committee would be very much regulated by the knowledge of what state affairs were in. If matters were near the point men would naturally run such risks as they would not feel warranted in doing if the crisis were remote. He said "we can't tell you the secrets of the Government;" and after an instant's hesitation "it is the intention of Government to do it in six weeks. I do not say it will be done then because I can't answer for the weather, but everything will be ready and the English expedition will also be ready then." He pressed the forming of the committee, saying—"fix among yourselves upon the proper persons, I suppose five will be enough, and when you are agreed you can take such steps for your own security as you may think fit." "Mr. O'Connor and you need have no difference, your lines are not the same, he is military and *has been always in that line*, you are for the civil administration. He desires to act in *the way he has been accustomed to and it will put him at the head of the Irish Troops.*" "He says he does not know whether he has their confidence, if he has not, will put another in his place." So that all my suspicions are confirmed, and my friends must act with great circumspection.

The Minister also mentioned Lewins, but instantly said, he is not trusted by any of you, and would be unfit. He expressed a wish to get some one to go to Ireland to communicate the substance at least of the Consul's answer to me. I observed that when speaking on the subject of the time of the Expedition going and the possibility of its being delayed, he did not confine himself within the limits of that answer, but went the length of his former assurance,—“it is the intention of the First Consul not to make peace 'till the independence of Ireland is recognised.” At the conclusion he requested me to give him my own ideas of the best place for debarkation and the number of forces that would suffice and when the committee was formed he would wish for theirs. I speaking of the possible number of that Committee, which I said ought to be more than five, Dalton said to me “I have a person to propose to the Minister whom you do not know, but whose respectability will I am sure secure your approbation.” On my looking inquisitive, he said he could not communicate his name 'till he had obtained his permission. If I conjecture right he is a man very unfit, because not of our principles and I suspect foisted in by O'Connor.

When I returned home I met McDonnell just returning from the country and shewed him the First Consul's answer &c. He agreed that a Committee must be formed, as it is asked for, and I believe he will consent to be one. Sweetman also called on me, Evans has refused; he disapproves of the Committee and is not sufficiently polite to bend to the First Consul's wishes. He says it can do no good that is not done. All Europe knows the state of Ireland, and it wants no preparations from a Committee. He is not far wrong, but it would be very culpable in me to object to its formation on that ground. He suspects it is some trap and meant to deceive us, if deception be intended I ought doubly to wish for its formation, both the better to see into and counteract the deception and to relieve myself from the entire responsibility of being a dupe and the instrument of deceiving my country.

Sweetman proposes procuring a person to send over to have our properties secured by our friends, and who might perhaps also be the bearer of any political message; I will see him tomorrow.

Tuesday, February 7th. As on the last occasion, I have a considerable arrears to pull up. Sweetman failed entirely in procuring the person he counted on for going to Ireland and no one seems very anxious to hurry the formation of the Committee except the Government, whose agents

spoke of it several times. The reluctance on my part arose from the notions already mentioned, from a growing conviction that no immediate expedition would take place, and from perceiving O'Connor's efforts for gradually setting aside those I have named and slipping in persons of his own nomination. The present fears of peace are very much done away by the failure of the American offers of mediation and by the personal animosity which prevails between the two governments, but the other reasons for declining the Committee become every day stronger. In the mean while I presented to the Minister the plan of operations that seemed to me best calculated for Ireland and shortly after Gen'l Donzelot, Chef D'État major du Camp de Brest, requested an interview with me in which we had a very detailed conversation. Every time I saw Dalton some sounding conversation arose about the Committee, in which he either stated some objection against some one of those I had originally mentioned, such as—"prisque McNeven est là bas, nous l'y laisserons il pourra nous y être utile," or else he asked me would not Chambers be a good man, or Sampson, tho' he was a great egotist and vain, yet he had connections and fortune, or Arthur McMahon, who might act as Secretary. Apropos of this last, I believe him very honest and that O'Connor would be mistaken in his subserviency, but the reason he was mentioned I am convinced was that he had been obliged to lay himself under some pecuniary obligation to O'Connor. Dalton also said that the objection respecting the danger to our families and properties might be removed by mutually giving an oath of secrecy. But I had seen enough to convince me that no Committee was necessary and that no proper one would be formed, and that no blame might fall on me for thwarting it prematurely I quietly let matters take their course 'till this morning. I had occasion to see Dalton on a very secret and important subject, which he said was an additional motive for forming the Committee. I then asked him whom Government had in contemplation to place on it, he said O'Connor and myself, Sweetman, Chambers, Sampson, another gentleman whom he named of his own friends, and who if he was ever an United Irishman and a republican would be very proper, and finally Arthur McMahon. I then said that I had many observations to make on that subject when ever was the proper time; he said to make them now. I then went on and observed that when I had consented to go into a Committee with Mr. O'Connor, I did it under the impression that an expedition was on the point of sailing and that a proclamation and provisional measures were urgently wanting. Under that impression I was willing to make great sacrifices which I could not so readily do under my present conviction that no expedition was speedily intended, and that the Committee would only be occupied about things of which I could not see the end, nature, or object. Dalton said he had observed to the Minister the other day that there would be a great deal of difficulty in forming a Committee; observe this was the first time I had appeared to make any, and that men would not willingly risk their fortunes in an affair "*qui pourrait trainer.*" I said that was unquestionably true and objection against forming any Committee; but that further I must observe that when I consented to be one I said provided it was composed of independent men and that any consequences of Mr. O'Connor and my personal feelings might be lost in the independence of the rest. I had mentioned some on whom I was convinced the choice of the United Irishmen would fall if they were to choose. They had all been set aside one by one, as I was sure on Mr. O'Connor's objections and others mentioned, as I was equally sure on his suggestion. I then asked him if it was not Mr. O'Connor who had named Chambers, Sampson & McMahon, he said it certainly was, and, either said himself, or repeated O'Connor's expression of them, which I think was the fact "*qu'ils seraient assez nuls.*" I said I was very certain Mr. O'Connor objected to those of my naming, because he knew they would not be his instruments, and he proposed the others hoping, whether truly or falsely, that he might make them so; that for my part I would never consent to lend whatever name or character I had to the acts of himself and his instruments. I begged it therefore to be expressly understood that tho' I saw no use of the Committee in the present state of things, yet I gave it no opposition, but reserved to myself the right of withdrawing myself from it if it should consist of such men as should not be selected out of the United Irishmen in France, and as would not be chosen by the United Irishmen in France or Ireland, if they were permitted to make an election. I forgot to state that both McNeven and Swiney had written to me against going into any Committee with O'Connor, and stated that to be the opinion of their friends at Morlaix.

Saturday, Feb. 17th. I had today occasion to have another interview with Dalton on a subject which I cannot well commit to paper. But I am more and more convinced that it is not intended to do anything speedily for Ireland, which would if possible indispose me more than I was to the projected committee; but in truth all idea of that seems past as will appear by the following conversation. Dalton told me he had been last Sunday at Malmaison, at a ball of Madame Bonaparte, that the Chief Consul had taken him aside and talked to him a great deal about me, that he expressed great anxiety that Mr. O'Connor and I should be brought together and to act together. Thinking this alluded to the Committee, I began to repeat what I had before said, that if a sufficient number of really independent men could be brought together, I should not oppose it, but he interrupted me and said it was not a committee the Consul alluded to, but that *we two* should act together without any committee. I instantly replied that was what I never would do and asked what necessity was there for the measure, had we been giving different advices and opinions? He said, no, on the contrary we agreed in all our suggestions; I then said there could be no reason for doing what, if I did, I should hold myself criminally responsible to my country. For I took the opportunity of alluding to what the Minister said were the intentions of the French, to put O'Connor at the head of the Irish Army on landing, and I said the Government must have been grossly deceived if it believed him a Military man. Who had told them so? I affirmed it was not the fact, and that he had never seen any service or array of troops, nor was he qualified for any such station. His answer was most remarkable "The French you know have sometimes a singular and excentric way of accomplishing their objects, and perhaps they would prefer placing in that situation a man who knows nothing, so would let himself be directed, than one who might take advantage of his military knowledge and not be so much under orders." "Au reste," says he, "the Government wont be deceived." If they think O'Connor will be under orders from diffidence of himself and his knowledge, they are grossly deceived, if they think he will let himself be at their orders from other motives they may know him about as well as I do.

Thursday, March 1st. In consequence of a paragraph which has appeared in yesterday's *Argus*, attacking the United Irishmen and one of their fundamental principles, religious liberty, and their formally maintaining the necessity of a Catholic Establishment in Ireland, I have prepared a very strong letter to the Ministry requiring its being disavowed as speaking the sentiment of Government, and if that should not be complied with, withdrawing from all further connection with Government.

Indeed I have many accounts to be dissatisfied. I wrote to the Minister at War the 22nd of February on the subject alluded to in my last as one I ought not to commit to paper, but which is really of great importance and requires a very prompt decision; it has been dragging on this month and that letter was to hurry their decision, but I have yet received no answer. The manner in which the appointments have been made at Morlaix show that they were made by O'Connor's influence under cover of McSheehy's discretion and I understand is to have some great military command, far out of proportion to the others, and all is kept a secret from me, who have not been at all consulted.

Saturday, March 3d. Delaney has not yet translated my letter to the Minister, and the delay vexes me exceedingly; but what vexes me still more and astonishes me above measure, is that O'Connor is appointed a General of Division, and is to set off in fifteen days for Brest! He says that he has the First Consul's promise that when they land in Ireland, Angereau will yield the command to him, is that possible? I am to dine at Angereau's tomorrow where he is to be. O'Connor is to make McSheehy head of his staff, that accounts for the appointments at Morlaix. O'Connor is going on rapidly to the object I know he aims at, being First Consul in Ireland, but I hope my country men will have spirit and virtue to prevent him.

Monday, March 5th. I gave in my letter to Lesperat, Berthier's Secretary, yesterday morning and he says he is sure the answer will be favourable. I dined yesterday at Angereau's where I certainly was received with every mark of distinction and politeness. O'Connor was there and he had the impudence to come up and speak to me, but I answered him very coldly. I mentioned to Angereau in conversation that the season for the expedition seemed passed. He said not and that all the sea officers said we had yet 'till the end of April. I put him in mind of the little Naval

preparation at Brest. He said he had himself seen sixteen sail of the line ready and in ten days there would be twenty one. That they would sail from different ports and in short would have enough for transporting thirty thousand men. I objected to the crews as not being sailors; he confessed they were not experienced, but they were practising every day and the officers were good. All this indeed McNeven's letter from Brest itself confirms. He spoke in the warmest terms of Ireland and assured me everything would be so conducted as to give the people the utmost satisfaction. Trugnet and Donzelot, were also there, and all speak of the expedition as immediately to take place, and they are all going down to Brest without delay. But I do not believe they are so near sailing, indeed Trugnet in conversation with me admitted the probability that the King's illness might bring about peace and prevent it. Harty has called on me this morning, he was at the Consul's yesterday, who personally told him he would get his orders for going to Brest directly, and asked him abruptly if O'Connor and I were agreed yet. He said the question embarrassed him but he answered we were "d'accord au fond sur nos affaires," which I am sure is not the fact. He says Angereau has great consideration for me and the Consul &c. I suppose to make O'Connor's appointment palatable to me. He says that if I had chosen a military line, I would have had as high and that I am as much thought of, perhaps so, but not as much listened to, nor as respectfully treated, as may be seen by the Minister not condescending to answer my applications, will see what the last will do, its rather a tarter.

Saturday, March 10th, 1804. This day's *Argus* contains an article that may be considered as coming from the orders of Government in consequence of my remonstrance and disavowing the former publication as speaking the language of Government. So far it is satisfactory, but it is very dryly so and further if it proceeds from Government I am treated very cavalierly, for no communication or message direct or indirect has been made to me, nor any apparent notice taken of my letter.

I shall therefore avoid doing anything and keep myself in the background unless Government chooses to show me some little civility and to convince me that they wish for the continuance of my communications.

This diary of Mr. Emmet was contained in three parts, evidently home-made, by stitching together a number of sheets small enough in size to be carried in a coat-pocket. The manuscript we have given was very closely written and ends abruptly, leaving several blank pages at the back of the third part which would have been utilized in all probability if the record had been continued during the following six months of Mr. Emmet's residence in Paris. It is to be regretted that we are left in ignorance of the cause, or final affront from the French Government, which compelled Mr. Emmet to give up his position and leave France during the following October to settle in the United States.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF SOME STATE PAPERS CONNECTED WITH BRITISH RULE IN IRELAND
AND SOME ALLEGED FACTS IN RELATION TO THE UPRISING IN 1803.

Some years since the writer obtained permission to inspect a portion of the Irish state papers from 1798 to 1804, which were then supposed to be deposited in the State Department, London. But after a search it was found that this section of the papers had been sent some years before to Dublin Castle for classification before being placed on deposit for public inspection.

After the arrest of Thos. Addis Emmet his father's house and his own were searched and every particle of manuscript found was seized and carried off by the Government officials. This loss of family papers caused great difficulty and inconvenience afterwards, and the writer's object in examining these records was to obtain copies of any letters or documents that could be found of national interest or bearing upon the family history.

On visiting Dublin Castle it was ascertained that these papers were in the custody of Sir Bernard Burke, but on presenting the permit the writer was informed that under no circumstance could these papers be opened for public inspection. With this introduction, and being disappointed in the main object of his search, it naturally followed that the writer employed Burke to institute the systematic search of the English and Irish public records, which was carried on for years under his direction.

The history of the Emmet family was a subject of frequent conversation, and on one occasion Sir Bernard admitted that he had made a partial inspection, several years before, of the papers from 1798 to 1804. In explanation of the bar put upon these papers, he furthermore stated that he had satisfied himself the public interest would not be served by anyone having a knowledge of their contents, and consequently he had called the attention of the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Marlborough) to them, with the request that they be sealed up. He then conducted the writer to one

of the upper stories of John's Tower, Dublin Castle, where the state records were kept, and in an out-of-the-way corner pointed out a wooden box corded up and sealed. Across one of the cords was pasted a sheet of paper, on which was written a recommendation, signed by the Duke of Marlborough himself, that, for the public good, these papers should not be inspected for a term of years, the exact time named being now forgotten. On being further pressed for additional information, Sir Bernard admitted that he could give no accurate information about the mass of papers, which did not at that time interest him, as he had limited his attention almost entirely to an inspection of those connected with the bringing about of "the Union" and those bearing upon the uprising under Robert Emmet. His object in having them sealed up and forgotten was to insure, if possible, their preservation for historical purposes hereafter.

As the writer was not a subject of Great Britain, Burke doubtless thought that he could be more confidential, and his communication was accepted at the time in confidence, but circumstances have since removed the obligation of silence. To all appearances Burke was one of the "Castle People," and as a retainer of the Tory Government he was obliged to be subservient, in order to insure his position and the support of himself and family. For all that, it is believed that at heart he was a true Irishman. After the writer had become well acquainted with him he was fully impressed that Burke felt a deep sympathy for Robert Emmet and for everything pertaining to his memory. Under the circumstances, therefore, he would naturally be more communicative with official information to a member of the family than he would be to one without such natural interest in the subject. His statement was to the effect that the methods employed by the British Government to bring about "the Union" were almost beyond human conception, and constituted a most damnable record of crime, corruption and bribery. But his statement in reference to Robert Emmet was naturally of the greatest interest to the writer. These papers showed that when Napoleon had nearly closed the English ports with his fleets and for a time had nearly destroyed the British commerce the English people became so restless and the Tory Government so unpopular that it was thought necessary to devise some means of diverting the public attention. Sir Bernard Burke also made the following positive statement that he had read among these state papers a letter from Pitt, the English Tory Minister, then at the head of the British Government, addressed to Secretary Marsden, directing that another outbreak should be gotten up in Ireland "at all hazard," and suggested that "Robert Emmet,

who was in Paris,* *should be approached for the purpose.*" Burke also found an unbroken chain of evidence to show that in consequence of this mandate from the Government an agent, carefully instructed for the purpose, went to Paris, approached and misled Robert Emmet, inducing him by misrepresentation to return to Ireland. He, moreover, said these papers clearly showed that from the time of Emmet's landing until the outbreak in Dublin took place he was aided in every way by the police to perfect the movement. In fact, it was made most evident that the Government agents in Dublin were informed of every move, and were as thoroughly conversant with the whole affair as if it were directed by the "Castle." Madden, in his study of these times, without being able to gain any accurate information as to the origin or purpose of the move, obtained the clearest evidence that Mr. Emmet was misled and betrayed from the beginning of his course. All Dr. Madden's investigations on this point, though conducted independently of Burke and by access to different material, go to confirm the latter's testimony—*i.e.*, that the movement did not begin with Robert Emmet.

Henry Grattan, in a letter to Fox, dated December 12th, 1803, refers to Lord Hardwicke's administration and his methods of suppressing the insurrection as follows: "*Mr. Pitt had never been able to raise a rebellion by his measures if he had not been assisted by the gross manners of his partizans.*"

Madden, in his life of Robert Emmet, states: "There is no doubt that the conspiracy of 1803 originated not with Robert Emmet, but with parties in Ireland *who contrived to keep their real objects undiscovered and their names, too, unrevealed*,—who managed to have projects of renewed rebellion taken up by leaders of 1798 who escaped expatriation,—men not of the highest order, intellectually or morally—who having remained in Ireland, found means to enter into communication with some of the principal leaders then in France, and through them with the First Consul and his Ministers."

The men "who had escaped expatriation" held an immunity, as we must now believe, being in the employ and pay of the British Government, and consequently were able to gain and hold the full confidence of the Irish leaders by their apparently consistent patriotism.

It would seem as if Robert Emmet himself felt it advisable at that time to withhold certain portions of the history of the movement. It may

* Robert Emmet had been living abroad practically ever since a few months after his resignation from Trinity College, in April, 1798. At this time, when he was deceived and induced to return to Ireland, he had already made all his arrangements to accompany his brother to America.

have been that he desired to shield certain individuals he believed to be patriots, and whose connection with the movement he thought was unknown to the Government. But, with the knowledge we possess to-day, the probabilities are great indeed that these very individuals whom he fully trusted were at that time spies and informers in the pay of the British Government. In the speech delivered at his trial Robert Emmet said: "I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, 'the life and blood of the conspiracy.' You do me honour over much; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of the superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conception of yourself, my lord—men before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I would bow with respected deference."

As there exists no higher authority than Dr. Madden on this subject, we must again quote his views as expressed in his life of Emmet: "Nothing can be more clear, from the official documents and parliamentary papers I have placed before my readers, than that Lord Hardwicke was kept in total ignorance of the preparation for Robert Emmet's conspiracy 'till the very evening of the outbreak on the 23^d of July, and *that Mr. Marsden was in possession of all the secret knowledge that was necessary to have enabled the Government to have seized on Emmet and his associates four months before that outbreak, and to have prevented the insurrection from ever having been attempted at all.* But that result would not have suited the views of Lord Castlereagh. There was a new French invasion apprehended. It was to be anticipated by another prematurely exploded rebellion. Castlereagh's hand was assuredly in the direction given to the Irish Government by Mr. Marsden, without the knowledge of the Lord Lieutenant, who was a straightforward, good man, incapable of any act of state villainy such as Castlereagh delighted in secretly performing. The Orangemen, be it remembered, at that period were indignant with Lord Hardwicke for setting his face against the old Camden policy of allying the Government with Orangeism, or rather dividing the power of the state with that faction. The Irish Government was to be made to feel that Orangemen could not be done without. *The old traitors in the camp of the United Irishmen, who had not then been discovered, were brought into communication with those members of the faction, to whom the mysteries of the haute politique of its Machiavellian régime were confined, and the result was the concoction of a mass of lying reports, transmitted to the United Irish leaders in France in 1802, purporting*

to give an exact account of the real state of things in Ireland, and showing it to be most favourable for a renewed attempt on the part of the United Irishmen.”*

Dr. Madden, after exposing the part played by the Orangemen in exciting disturbance among the Irish people, goes on to picture the misery that had fallen upon Dr. Emmet and his wife. He then continues: “Orangemen of Ireland, who secretly fomented seditious designs of disaffected men in 1802, who connived at their machinations and *allowed conspiracy to go unchecked, 'till young Emmet was sufficiently deceived to be easily destroyed*—these are your triumphs; the desolation of the home of an aged, virtuous couple, the ruin in which all belonged to them were involved, the ignominious death of their youngest, gifted child. These are your achievements! Of what avail are they now to your discredited Frankenstein-lived institution? And what advantages to England’s imperial interest have accrued from them?”

Robert Emmet must have obtained some intimation, between the time of the outbreak and his arrest, of the infamous trickery employed by the Government against him. He certainly realized and expressed the belief that he was condemned to death before his trial commenced. To-day we may add to this charge, that he was condemned to death before he had ever committed an overt act, and that the English Tory Government, through its Minister, conceived, bore, and gave birth to this plot for his judicial murder.

Sir Bernard Burke was an invalid for some time before his death, and must have been in ignorance of what was done in his office. But at some time during the Tory administration previous to the last Liberal one, the papers which have been so much referred to must have been discovered by some official of the Government and from prudent motives destroyed.

Soon after the Liberal party came into power search was made, by permission of the authorities, for this box of papers, but not a trace of its contents could be found. In fact, nothing remains to-day but the corroboration given by Dr. Madden to prove the truth of Sir Bernard Burke’s statement.

While the circumstantial evidence is all in favor of the truth of his statement, it will now, unfortunately, in some respects have to stand unproved, since those who are cognizant of the facts are never likely to divulge their secret.

* This statement of Dr. Madden is a remarkable confirmation of the one made by Sir Bernard Burke, and his conclusions were most sagacious, as he could not have had access to the papers seen by Burke.

Certainly some one, during this period of Tory rule, had free access to these papers and with no desire for their preservation. A short time before Mr. Gladstone's last administration went into office the writer purchased in Dublin several papers, to be presented hereafter, connected with Robert Emmet's arrest and trial. These documents were beyond question at some time part of these state papers and could only have been taken out in Sir Bernard Burke's absence, and after the writer had seen in 1880 the corded and sealed box containing them. Anyone familiar with the methods of a Government office, and especially with one in Ireland, would feel fully satisfied that no official would dare to take the responsibility of breaking the seal which protected these papers, unless ordered to do so by some one with the weight of the British Government behind him.

CHAPTER X.

ROBERT EMMET LIVING ABROAD. HIS SOCIAL POSITION IN PARIS. HIS RETURN TO IRELAND ON FALSE REPRESENTATIONS, MADE, IT IS BELIEVED, BY AGENTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. AN ACCOUNT OF ANNE DEVLIN.

In April, 1798, Robert Emmet resigned from Trinity College, as has been stated, and shortly afterwards visited his brother Thomas in Fort George on his way to the Continent. After spending the summer chiefly in Switzerland, he finally settled down in Paris to await his brother's expected release from prison, intending to accompany him and his family to the United States. Beyond these facts absolutely nothing is known of his life there for some two years. We are even deprived of his correspondence, for very few of his letters are known to exist. Yet he doubtless wrote to his family while abroad, but his letters were either not preserved or they passed into the possession of the English Government when the family papers were seized. The writer, after a diligent search during the greater portion of a lifetime, has only been able to obtain from his hand a book of manuscript notes taken during a course of physics at college, and of which a sheet will be reproduced.

Dr. Madden gives in his *Life of Robert Emmet* but two letters written by him. These were written the night before his execution, and were thought to have been all of his writing extant. About thirty years ago a distant connection of the family, now dead, but at that time living in Paris, had in his possession a number of letters written by Thos. Addis Emmet and some by his brother Robert to the Marquise de Fontenay. The Marquise and her husband had fled to Ireland during the French revolution and had become friends of the Emmet family. In the letters written by Mrs. Elizabeth Emmet to her son in Fort George she refers to this family under the dates of April 10th and December 18th, 1800.

The possessor of these letters at that time wrote an article on them to some English paper for the sole purpose apparently of publishing the letters of Robert Emmet. The following abstract of it was reprinted in one of our New York newspapers: "Unpublished letters of Robert Emmet. The following curious and highly interesting relics of the

devoted and unfortunate Robert Emmet have been placed at our disposal for publication. They consist, as may be seen, of some letters of Robert Emmet never before published. The letters were addressed to members of a noble family, who had once sought and found in Ireland refuge from revolutionary persecution. Our correspondent says:

“The relation of the noble French exiles of '93 are proud to connect their names once more with those of the exiles of '98 and the hero of 1803, and to acknowledge with gratitude services received in misfortunes. Besides these papers the translator had a large collection of letters written by different members of the family and by Thos. Addis Emmet. In compliance, however, with the wish of a near relative of the latter distinguished patriot, and now living in Paris, he has only given a few extracts from those touching on historical events. As may be seen by the style, the letters are translated from the French, that being the language in which these noble victims of revolution and oppression corresponded.’”

The following are the letters:

ROBERT EMMET TO MADAME LA MARQUISE DE FONTENAY.

PARIS, RUE D'AMBOISE No. 9,
October 6th, 1801. O. S.

I write to you, my dear Madame, according to promise, although I cannot yet inform you exactly of the time of my departure. I even feared that the arrival of the gentleman of whom I spoke to you might force me to remain here a week at least. I have just learned that my father has put up Casino for sale for £2,000 sterling, and that he expects to dispose of it immediately. I need not tell you how grateful this news was to me. I have at last the hope of having us all united, and of enjoying the only happiness which now remains to us,—that of looking back on the past in the society of friends who esteem us, with the full conviction of the purity of our motives.

I beg you will remember me to M. de Fontenay, and tell how anxious I am to see him. With kind regards to Mr. and Mrs. Bellow, believe me, my dear Madame, with sincere attachment, your young friend—

ROBERT EMMET.

ROBERT EMMET TO MADAME LA MARQUISE DE FONTENAY.

PARIS, Dec. 19th, 1801.

I should have written much sooner, my dear Madame, if I had been able to satisfy you on the two things you inquired about. The Lord Cornwallis, now at Amiens, is the same who was in Ireland; the time he is remain there is uncertain; a month has been spoken of, but as his stay is not fixed, you should lose no time if you have anything to send to him. For my part, it is with very great pleasure that I communicate to you the news which has just reached me this evening. Two of the prisoners of Fort St. George, Tennant and ——, have been already set at liberty, and the others are expected to be immediately liberated. I feel also glad to inform you that I had some time ago formed the resolution of not soliciting the interference of this government, but of simply asking whether they had yet made any stipulation for us or not. This I did, and having received an evasive answer, I left the place without making any demand, telling them at the same time, that we merited their intervention at least as much as the patriots of Naples. I just learned by a letter from London, that the principal motive that influenced the British Government in making the peace, was the declaration of Lord Cornwallis, that if ten thousand men landed in Ireland the

country would be infallibly lost. I have also been informed by a gentleman coming from London, that it is the intention of the British Government to proclaim a general amnesty, and to provide a system of conciliation in Ireland. So that, if we have not found friends to acknowledge or appreciate our services, we found enemies at least capable of estimating our importance.

I am in want of nothing, my dear Madame. If I were, I am quite convinced of the friendly interest you take in me; apart from the affectionate manner in which you wrote to me; but in this respect, the liberality of my father has left me in want of nothing.

I shall write home without delay, as much to learn the opinion of my friends on the subject of this news, as to speak of the estate you mention; if I have anything more positive I shall let you know at once.

Farewell, dear Madame, kindest regards to M. de Fontenay.

R. EMMET.

P. S.—It is said in the papers that Lord Cornwallis and the other members are going to spend some time at Morfortune, at Joseph Bonaparte's, until the opening of Congress, so you will have time sufficient to execute your projects.

To Madame Gabrielle de Fontenay, chez Madame de Ruray,
a Ponce pres Mountoine par Vendome, Loire et cher.

ROBT. EMMET TO MADAME LA MARQUISE DE FONTENAY.

SATURDAY, April 24th, 1802.

I was prevented from writing to you, dearest Madame, by a sore eye, from which I suffered for the last two months. I was obliged to consult a physician, in the absence of my friend Lawless, who left Paris for some time. I am, however, now nearly well.

The news contained in your letter gave me great pain, and I feel deeply for all you had to suffer in a country which is no longer for you what it once was; and I sympathise the more with you from the fact that I believe I am myself on the point of making a sacrifice by returning to Ireland, which though it is by no means so great a one as yours is, will nevertheless be a very painful one to me. The letter which I enclose in this will probably give you the same information which I received this morning. My brother is determined to make America his residence when he obtains his liberty, and he is anxious, if my ideas agree with his, that I should accompany him. The rest of my family will be obliged to remain in Ireland, so that just when I supposed that the peace would enable us all to be united, I have left for alternative but to choose between those who are dear to me in this world and decide on which I must abandon. If I only thought of myself, if I only took into consideration the sorrows that are before me in Ireland, and the advantages I would find in the society of my brother, I would joyfully share his fate; but on the other hand, I find that my father and mother have left me perfectly free to make my choice, and have made the sacrifice of their own wishes, and that sacrifice shows me that I must not allow myself to be carried away by personal motives.

I have therefore determined on returning to Ireland, provided I can do so without contracting any engagement that might compromise my honour. No one better than you, dear Madame, knows how much it has cost me the resolution of returning to a country where, in the presence of all that must awaken the souvenirs of the past, I must forget every thing—that I had hopes, friends, tender ties, perhaps. I am not, however, certain that this can be done, and I doubt it myself. I am not, in any case, to leave, until time will show us more clearly the intention of the British Government; but this uncertainty is still more painful.

You see that I open my mind fully to you, but I do so because I am aware that the interest that you take in us is fully equal to that we take in your welfare, and those of M. de Fontenay. Farewell, dear Madame.

I remain sincerely, your friend,

R. EMMET.

P. S.—The letters which I enclose in this were brought by Mr. Barnes, of Dublin, and I believe they contain a letter of introduction for himself. I was forced to take off the envelope to put them

in with mine. I see by the English papers that the prisoners of Fort St. George are to be liberated, but I doubt, more and more, that I can return to my native country. My address is 298 Rue de la Loi.

Madame Gabrielle de Fontenay,
Ponce pres Moutoine, Loir et cher.

Years after when the writer first learned of the existence of these papers he made every effort to obtain them, but without success, as the former owner had died, and it is not known what disposition was made of them. Consequently it is to be regretted that copies of all these letters had not been made, or that the owner had not been permitted to publish them when he was desirous of doing so, as so little material can now be obtained.

In October, 1802, Robert Emmet returned to Ireland from Paris. We have seen from his mother's last letter to her son Thomas that Robert remained for a short time at Casino, and was there in December, at the time of his father's death. Shortly after this event Mrs. Emmet closed Casino and changed her residence, as we have seen, to Bloomfield, where she died a few months later. After Mrs. Emmet's change of residence to Bloomfield, another suburb of Dublin, Casino seemed deserted. At this time it is likely that Robert Emmet began his operations in town, but he often used this place as a refuge after a price was put upon his head.

In the basement room to the left of the entrance and at the front of the house he had constructed an underground passage running to a summerhouse some fifty yards distant, and by this tunnel he frequently succeeded in avoiding arrest and making his escape. The sides of this room were wainscoted with narrow planks, and on one side he had a secret door carefully concealed by the joining of the boards. One morning, just at dawn, Major Sirr, "the town major," and terror of Dublin, with his men surrounded the house and effected an entrance so suddenly that Mr. Emmet had a very narrow escape. Major Sirr had accurate information of Mr. Emmet's presence in the house, and, finding the bed warm, he resorted to intimidation to discover his place of concealment. But he failed to get any information from Anne Devlin, the young woman in charge of the house. Finally Sirr removed the oxen from a tipcart that was passing, and placing a rope around the girl's neck he tied it to the end of the tongue or pole. Then his bodyguard got into the back of the cart, thus tilting it up and suspending her as from a gallows. Several times she was thus hoisted into the air, these men jumping out of the cart and letting the body fall to the ground when they thought her dead. Each time, however, as soon as she revived, and with



ANNE DEVLIN.

the first breath, she freely expressed her opinion of them and was immediately strung up again. At length, thinking she was dead, they marched off, but fortunately for her the noose had been adjusted by an unskillful hand. She recovered, and it is a remarkable circumstance that this poor woman was again subjected to a similar hanging after Robert Emmet's arrest, but for all she lived many years afterwards.

From this we see that the name of Anne Devlin has justly been rendered historical by her devotion and integrity to Robert Emmet and to his family during these days of sorrow and adversity, when friends were few indeed.

Dr. Madden, in his *Life of Robert Emmet*, writes: "The extraordinary sufferings endured and the courage and fidelity displayed by this young woman have few parallels, even in the history of those times which tried people's souls and called forth the best, occasionally, as well as the basest of human feelings. She was tortured, frightfully maltreated, her person goaded and pricked with bayonets, hung up by the neck, and was only spared to be exposed to temptations, to be subjected to new and worse horrors than any she had undergone, to suffer solitary confinement, to be daily tormented with threats of further privation, 'till her health broke down and her mind was shattered, and after years of suffering in the same prison, where others of her family were confined without any communication with her, she was turned adrift on the world, without a house to return to or friends or relatives to succour or to shelter her. And yet this noble creature preserved through all her suffering and through forty subsequent years the same devoted feelings of attachment to that being and his memory which she had exhibited under the torture, in her solitary cell in Kilmainham gaol, in her communications with the terrorists and petty tyrants of the Castle and the gaol.

"The fidelity and attachment of this menial servant to a beloved master, proof against all fears, superior to all threats and temptations, will not be forgotten. The day will come when the name of Anne Devlin, the poor, neglected creature who, when I knew her, was dragging out a miserable existence, struggling with infirmity and poverty, will be spoken of with feelings of kindness not unmingled with admiration."

By a most fortunate circumstance the writer came into possession of a portrait of Anne Devlin, and it is a great satisfaction that he has been instrumental to a degree in having a likeness preserved of her.*

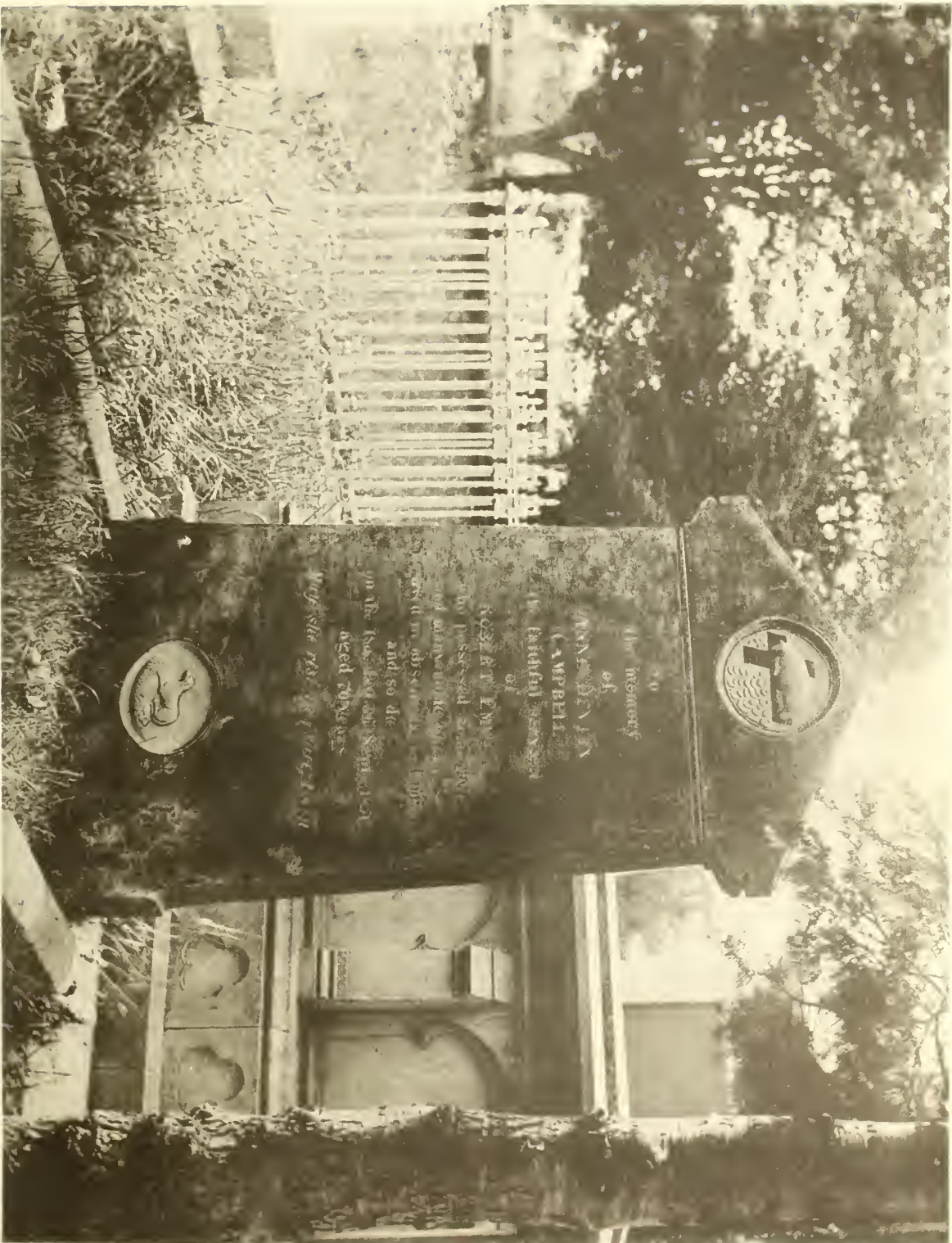
* This portrait of Anne Devlin was obtained through the kindness of the Hon. Patrick Egan, the recent United States Minister to Chili, who during a visit to Dublin some years ago obtained a copy of the one in possession of Dr. Madden. True to the custom of her day, her chief effort at adornment, as shown by her likeness, was expended on her headdress.

Dr. Madden, at his own expense, placed a monument over this noble woman's grave in Glasnevin. On it he had sculptured a most appropriate emblem in the figure of an Irish wolf dog, now extinct, but which in the days of old was considered the most noble of animals. The following epitaph is inscribed upon it:

To the memory of Anne Devlin, (Campbell)
The faithful servant of Robert Emmet,
Who possessed some rare and noble qualities;
Who lived in obscurity and poverty, & so died
The 18th September 1851
Aged 70 years.

The writer received from the lips of Dr. Madden even a more detailed account of the history and suffering of this martyr to the barbaric rule of the English Government in Ireland. But he made no mention of the fact, learned since his death, that after discovering her whereabouts he made the days of her old age pass in comparative comfort, through means contributed from his own scanty resources. This was the greater charity, for he had then become burdened with debt in consequence of the unprofitable publication of his work on "The Lives of the United Irishmen."

The time will certainly come when the memory of Anne Devlin will be honored by the Irish people, and in close connection should be remembered the name of the good Samaritan, Richard R. Madden, from whose hands this poor woman received her only earthly reward. After Anne Devlin's release from prison she began the struggle for existence unaided, without seeking assistance. It was only after her death and the publication of Dr. Madden's work that those who would have gladly aided her, learned for the first time of the sad history of her old age.



In memory of
ANNE DEVLIN
nee CAMPBELL
the faithful servant
of
ROBERT LEWIS
who passed away
on the 21st day
of JANUARY 1871
aged 60 years
and so the
body was buried
on the 23rd day
of JANUARY 1871



GRAVE OF ANNE DEVLIN.

CHAPTER XI.

THE UPRISING OF 1803. ROBERT EMMET'S ARREST, TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

On the 18th of July, 1803, there was an explosion in a depot in Patrick Street, Dublin. This was supposed at the time to have been due to an accident, but the probabilities are that it was done by some traitor, in obedience to orders from "the Castle," to precipitate the movement. This is not improbable, as the Government apparently took no notice of the matter, although the roof of the house had been completely blown off and with a loud concussion. Under ordinary circumstances such an occurrence would instantly have attracted the attention of the police and the matter would have been investigated at once.

Robert Emmet's plans were to wait for the expected invasion of England by the French. But after the explosion he was forced, as doubtless it was intended he should be, to act quickly and before he was fully prepared, fearing a discovery of the movement by the police.

Therefore an attempt was made on July 23d to take the Castle of Dublin by surprise, with every prospect of success, as it was known that the gateway was left open and unguarded, as if the authorities were in profound ignorance of the danger. Now, we know that this was done for the purpose of creating this impression. But the movement was a failure from the beginning, owing to the desertion of those who were in the employ of the Government and the lack of discipline and precision of those of Emmet's followers who remained.

Mr. Emmet, realizing that he had been betrayed, refused to give the signals which would bring the country people in force into Dublin, for he stated: "I would have given it the respectability of insurrection, but I did not wish uselessly to shed blood; I gave no signal for the rest, and they all escaped."

Robert Emmet, with several of his followers, successfully reached the Wicklow Mountains, and could have escaped to France had he not blindly determined to have an interview before leaving Ireland with Sarah, the

daughter of John Philpot Curran, to whom he was engaged to be married. To accomplish this he returned alone in a few days to the house of a friend in Dublin, a Mrs. Palmer, who lived at Harold's Cross.

He chose this location, as it was situated on the road leading to Mr. Curran's country place, and from this point he made frequent but unsuccessful attempts to communicate with her. Some one betrayed his place of concealment, as well as the manner by which friends were to rap on the door to gain immediate admission. Consequently, on the evening of August 25th, Major Sirr surrounded the house, and gaining immediate admission, seized Mr. Emmet before he had time to conceal himself. Some years ago the writer had pointed out to him a house as the one in which Robert Emmet was arrested. It was situated on the left side of the road to Rathfarnham, looking towards the country, and was just beyond the bridge over the canal at Harold's Cross. However, on describing this to Dr. Madden, he claimed it was not the correct house, the true one being on the same side of the street, but somewhat further on and a little back from the main road.

It was most fortunate that the old gentleman was not only able to show the writer the proper house, but also where Robert Emmet had prepared a place of concealment behind the wainscoting in a small wing, shown in the picture, of Mrs. Palmer's house, which at the time was not in use and filled with rubbish. Luckily the house was photographed at the time of the visit, for within a year it was completely demolished,* as the writer has been informed, and the site was again built upon.

Some years ago the author obtained, as has been stated, several papers which must have been at some time in the Irish Government archives, and a portion of those which Burke had sealed up, and these are of the greatest historical value in relation to the arrest and trial of Robert Emmet.

One of these is the original warrant for the reward due the betrayer of Mr. Emmet's place of concealment. This will be reproduced and referred to hereafter. Another of these papers is of more importance, as it is believed to be what was then termed in Ireland "the Devil's Brief," an instrument of injustice long in vogue in that unhappy country, and one from which many an innocent man has suffered. Up to within a recent period it was not an uncommon thing in Ireland to use this procedure for the conviction of any person whom the authorities felt disposed to

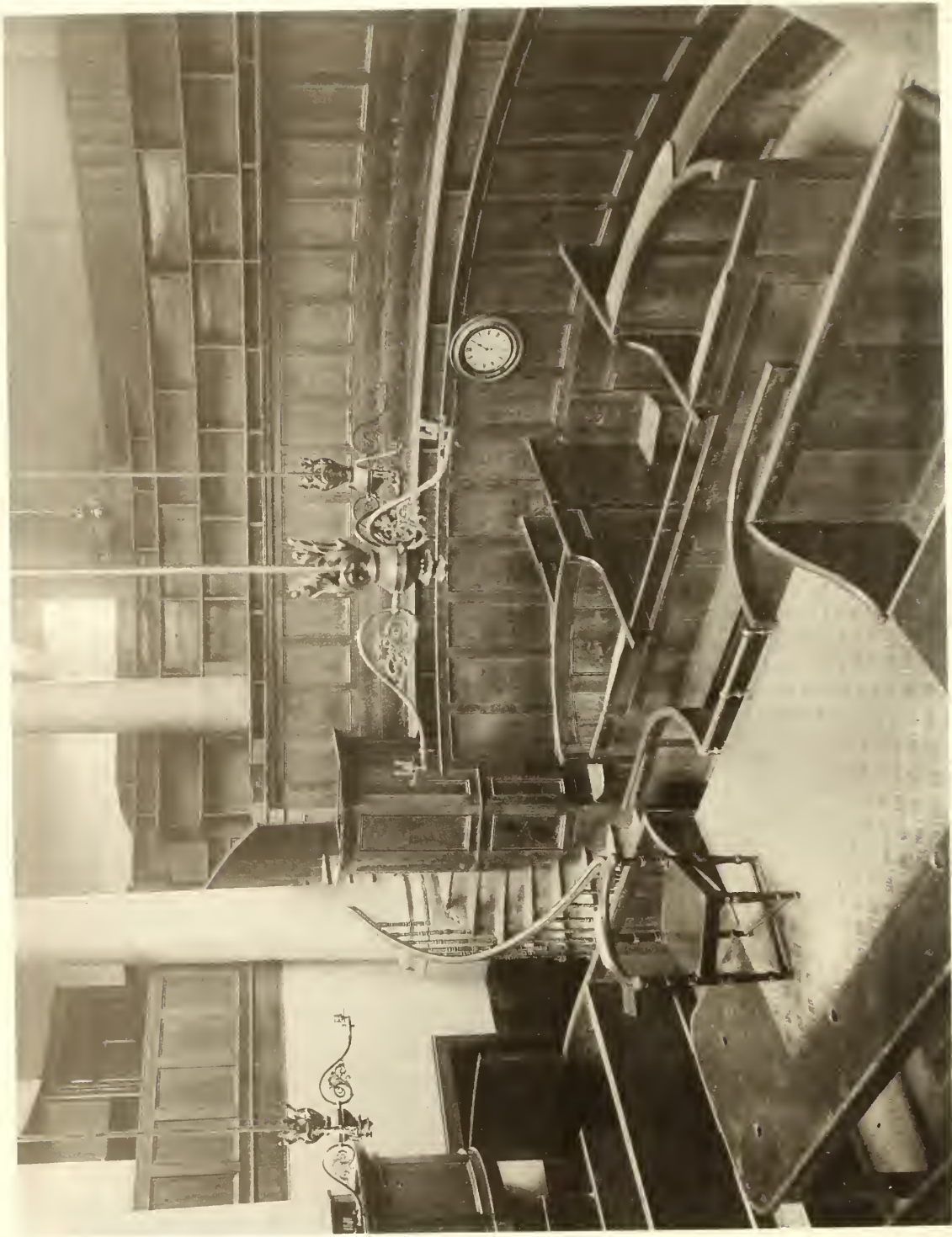
* Unfortunately Dr. Madden has not given in his *Life of Emmet* the number of the house, or any definite description of it, so that now it will be almost impossible to designate the exact site.



THE HOUSE IN WHICH ROBERT EMMET WAS ARRESTED.

A RECESS IN THE WALL OF THE ROOM WHERE ROBERT EMMET WAS ARRESTED, WHICH HE HAD OFTEN USED BEFORE AS A HIDING PLACE.





THE COURT ROOM IN THE GREEN STREET COURT HOUSE DUBLIN, WHERE ROBERT EMMET WAS TRIED.

get rid of. Unfortunately there has been no time in Ireland, for some hundreds of years past, that the British Government could not prove anything desired, and against anyone, by a set of hirelings of alien descent, who, though perhaps born in Ireland, never possessed anything else in common with their place of birth.

Robert Emmet was tried for high treason on September 19th, 1803, in the old Green Street Court House, where for many generations past all "political offenders" tried in Dublin have had in this room their quota of injustice meted out to them. With the exception of the introduction of the gas-fixtures and the clock over the dock in which Robert Emmet stood throughout his trial, no change has been made in the appearance of the room since that time. The position of the judge is not shown in the representation of the room. The witness was placed in the chair shown between the judge's bench and the dock, while the jury occupied a small gallery on each side of the bench, a small portion of the one to the left being shown in the illustration close to the gas-fixture.

It is a well-known fact that Robert Emmet made no defense by the examination of witnesses, and it was thought in accordance with the advice of his supposed friend and counsel, the "Judas" McNally, who was even at that time in the pay of the British Government.*

In the report of Robert Emmet's trial we find Mr. McNally said: "As Mr. Emmet did not intend to call any witnesses, or take up the time of the Court by his counsel stating any case or making any observation on the evidence, he presumed the trial was now closed on both sides." And Robert Emmet is reported as saying in his speech: "Why then insult me, or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that the form prescribes that you shall put the question; the form also confers a right of answering. This, no doubt, may be dispensed, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, *since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before your jury were impanelled.*"

Therefore, as Mr. Emmet made no defense and examined no witnesses,

* Leonard McNally had been the confidential adviser of the United Irishmen, and he was the counsel almost invariably employed for their defense. It is, however, clearly shown by the "Cornwallis Correspondence" and other authorities that this man was throughout in the pay of the then existing Tory Government, and that he regularly betrayed to the prosecution, from day to day, the secrets confided to him by his clients. When the sentence of death was passed upon Robert Emmet, McNally threw his arms about his neck and kissed his cheek with apparent sympathy, and yet it is now known, from the Secret Service Money Expenditures which have been published, that on that day McNally was secretly paid one thousand pounds by the British Government, and that he was in the receipt of a secret pension until his death in 1820.

it became necessary for the Government officials to suddenly change their plans and to pursue a course which does not correspond closely with the brief. It is not improbable that Robt. Emmet himself determined on following this course, but when decided, McNally, to maintain his influence, was obliged not only to acquiesce, but even to advocate it. By some fortunate circumstance this brief prepared for his trial was not destroyed, and was filed away with the other papers connected with the prosecution. It was prepared, beyond question, before the trial, a procedure which was not unusual and has always been considered a legitimate one when the evidence could be gotten together. But with a knowledge of the peculiar circumstances in this case the suspicion becomes a conviction that this document is a "Devil's Brief," and the inference is not an unreasonable one that the "arrangement of evidence for Emmet's trial" was gotten up even before his arrest. This is based on the belief that by the order of the English Minister, Pitt, the police were the chief directors in the "Emmet insurrection." The needed testimony, therefore, was not difficult to obtain, under the circumstances, at any time by drilling before the "trial" a sufficient number from the "Battalion of Testimony,"* and it was not difficult to determine beforehand that "Wilson will prove it."

The document has been given in facsimile, on account of its great historical interest in connection with the trial of Robert Emmet, and the reader can compare the evidence given in the brief with the official account of the trial published by the Government in the newspapers, one of which has been reproduced.

* Dr. Madden, in the first volume of "The Lives of the United Irishmen," second edition, page 465, gives a document furnished by a correspondent to the *Dublin Press* in 1798, in which it is shown that Major Sirr at that time had no less than sixty-one men in his employ who could turn their hands to any crime or dirty work at his bidding. Dr. Madden writes: "It appears by the statement of this correspondent, that the members of this battalion of testimony were regularly drilled by Major Sirr and an officer of the name of Fox, and instructed in the art of swearing, deposing, and their other business of informers and fabricators of information."

A certain number of these wretches seem to have been attached, with quarters furnished at every police center. They became experts with the use of the "pitch cap" and every other species of torture.

When a Government official was about "to present," not infrequently, an innocent man, and it would be thought advisable that the "friends of the Government" should not appear too prominent in furnishing evidence of the prisoner's guilt, these "loyal men" then proved most expert in "preparing witnesses" from the prisoners, who became at length willing to swear to anything that they might escape additional torture and preserve their lives.

The names of all those who bore false witness at the bidding of the representatives of the English Government in Ireland have never been published, but at least four of those who testified on Robt. Emmet's trial and against the prisoner were on Major Sirr's staff, and beyond question McNally, his counsel, was also in the pay of the British Government.

Proofs for the Trial of Robert Emmet, in the order which seems to me most advisable.

~~Benny~~ - to prove - His treaty with Emmet by the name
~~R. W. Lewis~~ - his being ~~paid~~ of the payment of the fine
 that he was ~~companion~~ for Butlerfield.

Synell - The Lease of Butlerfield & Dowdall's signature to it.

Frayne - Expressions given, his living, and establishment there, and how long he remained there.

Glennig - Seeing Emmet in the Iron Yard & Depot & his conduct there.

~~James~~
~~Barlow~~

~~Wilson~~ - The Lease of the Depot to Howley.

~~Smith~~ - Who and what Howley was.

~~Coll~~
 Howley - Seeing Emmet in the Depot and what passed there to the taking out of the Beavers in the evening.

Colgan P -

McGee - That the people at first assembling were ignorant how they were to be armed, and how they were led to the Depot and armed there.

B. This confirms Glennig. Wilson can prove most of the same facts.

Quady - The fighting with the Troops.

Caultman - The Large Proclamation.

Col. Russell - The Small Proclamation.

Ald. Dwyer - Some papers found ~~in~~ in the depot.

Evelyn — to prove
~~Mr. Green & Mr. Cantrell~~
~~George & Thomas~~
Lindsay private
Michael Chas. Payne Serj^t

Other papers found in the Depot.

~~of~~
The Desk, Trunk, French Shirt,
removal of the Desk, and papers
found in it.

Doyle

Emmet's appearance in the Court-
house, and the manner and
circumstances of it.

Robinson
~~W. Robertson~~

If necessary, that Doyle told him
the same story at the time.

W. Bagnell

That the Party in Green Uniforms
came to her House and their
conduct there.

Mrs Palmer

Emmet's first coming to her House
in January or February under a
feigned name & his stay and
conduct there; his second coming
in July with all the circumstances
of it.

Joseph Palmer

Many of the same matters if
necessary, & that by Emmet's
desire he did not put his name on ^{Doc}

Major Swan

The manner and circumstances
of his arrest & the papers found.

~~W.~~

W. Patten

His Handwriting to the several
papers above proved and to his
Letter from Amsterdam if necessary.

13 It may become necessary from Fleming's Examination
to prove the time of the Explosions in Patrick Street
if so.

Wilson — will prove it.

Arrangement of
evidence - or
Summative trial

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The following is the text of the supposed "Devil's Brief." The portions which were stricken out, on afterthought, will be shown in the facsimile.

PROOFS FOR THE TRIAL OF ROBERT EMMET, IN THE ORDER
WHICH SEEMS TO ME MOST ADVISEABLE.

Rawlins	To prove his having said that he was come from Brussels.
Iynell	The Lease of Butterfield & Dowdall's signature to it.
Frayne	Possession given, his living and establishment there, and how long he remained there.
Fleming	Seeing Emmet in the Inn Yard & Depot & his conduct there.
Farrell	Seeing Emmet in the Depot and what passed there to the taking out of the Beam in the evening.
Colgan	D ^o .
McCabe	That the people at first assembling were ignorant how they were to be armed, and how they were led to the Depot and armed there. N. B.—This confirms Fleming.—Wilson can prove most of the same facts.
Brady	The fighting with the Troops.
Coultman	—————
Rice	The Large Proclamation.
Col. Vassall	The Small Proclamation.
Ald ^r Dailey	Some papers found in the depot.
Evelyn	To prove other papers found in the Depot.
Lindsay private	The Desk, Trunk, French Shirt, removal of the Desk, and papers found
Michael Cha ^s Frayne serj.	in it.
Doyle	Emmet's appearance in the Mountains, and the manner and circumstances of it.
M ^r Robinson	If necessary, that Doyle told him the same story at the time.
M ^{rs} Bagnell	That the Party in Green Uniforms came to her House and their conduct there.
M ^{rs} Palmer	Emmet's first coming to her House in January or February under a feigned name & his stay and conduct there; his second coming in July with all the circumstances of it.
Joseph Palmer	Many of the same matters if necessary, & that by Emmets desire he did not put his Name on the door.
Major Sirr	The manner and circumstances of his arrest & the papers found.
M ^r Patten	His Handwriting to the several papers above proved and to his Letter from Amsterdam if necessary. N. B. It may become necessary from Fleming's Examination to prove the time of the Explosion in Patrick Street if so Wilson will prove it.

Endorsed—Arrangement of evidence for Emmet's trial.

Immediately on the termination of the trial, there was issued by the Government, and for the public, an official version of the speech made by Robert Emmet before sentence was passed upon him. A broadside also, giving an account of the execution and of the advice alleged to have been

uttered by Emmet at his trial to the Irish people, was distributed through the streets of Dublin so soon after the execution that, in a period lacking the enterprise of the present day, no other inference can be drawn but that it was printed before the event took place. If this be true it was done for a special purpose, as the British Government wished the Irish people to believe that Robert Emmet, at the last moment regretting his course, had urged all true Irishmen to forcibly resist any interference on the part of France.

If a broadside as described was issued just after the trial, another in the possession of the writer, and which is reproduced, must have emanated from the same source on the following day; and while a somewhat truthful relation of the execution is given, the same purpose for its issue in regard to France is most evident.

THE TRIAL AND DYING BEHAVIOUR OF MR. R. EMMETT,

Who was Executed September the 20th, for High Treason.—Together with his Solemn Exhortation to his Countrymen to reject the proffered Friendship and Assistance of Despotic, Cruel, and Perfidious FRANCE.

On Monday September 19, ROBERT EMMETT was put to the bar, at Dublin, on trial for High Treason. The prisoner challenged nineteen peremptorily out of the panel for a Petit Jury, and six were set aside by the Crown.

The Attorney General took a retrospective view of the public calamities incident to the spirit of insurrection which had hitherto prevailed the minds of the common people of that country.

The prisoner at the bar, if Mr. Attorney was properly instructed, would appear by substantial evidence, together with a variety of corroborating circumstances, to have been the prime source, origin, and spirit of the recent insurrection in this city, so enormously wicked in the conception, but so truly contemptible and puerile both in the plan and execution.

The prisoner, in a speech marked by some traits of ingenuity and elocution, justified the conduct imputed to him, on firm and long adopted principles.

The Jury returned a verdict GUILTY, without leaving the box; and Lord Norbury pronounced sentence of DEATH on him.

At ten o'clock this morning, (Sept. 20), a confidential friend of this unfortunate Gentleman was permitted to visit him at Kilmainham gaol. The visitor, a Professional Gentleman of considerable eminence, on his entrance into the culprit's chamber found him reading the Litany in the service of the Church of England in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Gamble, the Ordinary of Newgate; after which he made a hearty breakfast. Retiring afterwards to a room with his friend, after certain family communications, he adverted to the circumstance of having his pockets examined in the dock on the preceding evening, for some instrument with which it was apprehended he might destroy himself. He disclaimed such notion, alledging it was incompatible with the religion he professed.

The culprit was led from Kilmainham gaol under a strong military guard, composed of detachments both of Cavalry and Infantry of the Regular Troops quartered at the Barracks. He arrived about three o'clock at the temporary gallows, in Thomas-street, in a carriage with two clergymen. In his progress thither his demeanour, however, did not appear of that serious cast befitting the awfulness of his situation, or the religious sentiments he had uttered in the morning. He gazed about, particularly in Dirty-lane, the scene of his exploits, with a species of light inattentive smile, approaching a laugh, until he was carried to the place of execution, and spoke and nodded to some of his acquaintance with the greatest coolness. After mounting the platform attached to the

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The admirable description which he drew of the French fraternity must powerfully operate on that part of the people of Ireland, who seek, through the agency of the First Consul to disunite these countries.

"I have," said he, "been accused of being actuated by a wish to bring about a revolution of this country, through the means of French influence. I deny that either myself or the Provisional Government, had any such idea in contemplation. Our own resources were sufficient to accomplish the object. As to French interposition, it cannot be too much deprecated: and I exhort the people of Ireland to be ware of such assistance. I urge them in the strongest manner to burn their houses—may even the very grails on which a Frenchman shall land. Various opportunities have occurred to me of witnessing the misery and desolation they have produced in every country where they have gained an entrance, under the specious pretences of aiding the Inhabitants who considered themselves in a state of oppression."

Printed by G. & Co., Printers, Upper Mary-le-bone, &c.

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We have seen in the diary kept by Thos. A. Emmet while in Paris, that the French were very indignant on reading the Government version of Emmet's speech. This publication, as intended, was doubtless in part responsible for the loss of interest on the part of the French Government, and in so much deprived Ireland of her long-promised help.

The news of Robert's arrest and of other members of the family was brought over in an open boat to Mr. Emmet in France. Shortly after he also received in the same way as full a copy of the official version of his brother's trial and execution as was permitted to be published in the newspapers of Dublin. It is believed that the news of Robert Emmet's arrest was the first intimation Mr. Emmet had of his brother's actual connection with the movement.

The probabilities are that when Robert Emmet was persuaded to return to Ireland by the agent of the British Government he felt pledged to keep his own counsel. There exists no evidence that Robert Emmet had belonged to the organization of the United Irishmen previous to his return, as he had been out of Ireland since he resigned from college. Thos. A. Emmet shows by his diary that he was the secret agent in Paris of the United Irishmen, but, not expecting an actual outbreak until he could obtain a pledge of aid from France, he apparently said nothing to his brother about his mission or about the United Irishmen, thus showing, in all likelihood, that he was not a member of that organization.

Robert Emmet, on the other hand, being ignorant, until his return to Ireland, of his brother's special connection with the United Irishmen,

naturally did not disclose the plot confided to him in confidence by the British agent. Therefore a visit to his parents, before going to America with his brother and relatives, was no doubt made to appear as the ostensible reason for his visit to Ireland. When Robert Emmet reached Dublin he found, as he stated, a movement already organized and "the business ripe for execution." How much of this was prepared for his benefit by the agents of the Government has yet to be discovered; but it is likely that the organization accomplished by the United Irishmen was a different movement, and of its existence at that time the English Government probably had but little knowledge. But the fact was doubtless known to the Government, as it was an open secret in Paris, that the French were preparing and were anxious to aid the Irish in gaining their absolute independence. To counteract this friendly feeling the British Government seized the opportunity of misrepresenting Robert Emmet's speech, to destroy, if possible, all this interest on the part of the French Government.

A great effort was made by the friends of Robert Emmet to obtain, immediately after the trial, a correct version of his speech, and a number of these who were present and heard it delivered shortly after reduced their recollection of it to writing. The writer has in his possession a cotemporary copy, which Dr. Madden himself, on account of the similarity of the handwriting, for a long time regarded it as the first draught of the speech made by Robert Emmet himself. It is doubtless a copy of the speech written down from memory immediately after the trial, and probably by some schoolmate who had been taught by the same writing-master. By comparing several of these copies and the official report which was taken at the time for the Government, and which is reliable when divested of the special political interpolation, quite an accurate version probably was thus obtained. Dr. Madden took a great deal of care and trouble to insure his obtaining an accurate version, and, in addition to the above, he availed himself of the testimony of a number of persons who were present at the trial and heard the speech delivered. There can be no question that Robert Emmet has been misrepresented by both friend and foe, for the form popularly known as his speech contains much that he never uttered. Appreciating his careful work and the credit due Dr. Madden for his efforts, the writer has accepted his judgment on what must doubtless be received in the future as Robert Emmet's authentic declamation, when called upon by Lord Norbury,—“What have you, therefore, now to say why judgement of death and execution should not be awarded against you according to law?”

Mr. Emmet, standing forward in the dock * in front of the bench, said :

My lords, as to why judgement of death and execution should not be passed upon me according to law I have nothing to say ; but as to why my character should not be relieved from the imputations and calumnies thrown out against it, I have much to say. I do not imagine that your lordships will give credit to what I am going to utter ; I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of the court. I only wish your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories, until it has found some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms with which it is at present buffeted. Were I to suffer only death after being adjudged guilty, I would bow in silence to the fate which awaits me ; but the sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, but also the difficulties of prejudice. Whilst the man dies his memory lives ; and that mine may not forfeit all claims to the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alledged against me. I am charged with being an emissary of France. It is false—I am no emissary. I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France. Never did I entertain the remotest idea of establishing French power in Ireland. From the introductory paragraph of the address of the provisional government it is evident that every hazard attending an independent effort was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of introducing a French Army into this country. Small indeed would be our claim to patriotism and to sense, and palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, if we were to sell our country to a people who are not only slaves themselves, but the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. And, my lords, let me here observe that I am not the head and life's blood of this rebellion. When I came to Ireland I found the business ripe for execution. I was asked to join it. I took time to consider, and after mature deliberation I became one of the provisional government ; and there then was, my lords, an agent from the United Irishmen and provisional government of Ireland in Paris, negotiating with the French Government to obtain from them an aid sufficient to accomplish the separation of Ireland from Great Britain ; † the preliminary to which assistance had been a guarantee to Ireland similar to that which Franklin obtained for America. But the imputation that I, or the rest of the provisional government, meditated to put our country under the dominion of a power which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the globe is utterly false and unfounded. Did we entertain any such ideas how could we speak of giving freedom to our own country ? How could we assume such an exalted motive ? If such an inference is drawn from any part of the proclamation of the provisional government, it calumniates their views, and is not warranted by the fact.

Connection with France was indeed intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought aid, and we sought it,—as we had assurance we should obtain it,—as auxiliaries in war and allies in peace.

Were the French to come *as invaders or enemies* ‡ *uninvited by the wishes of the people*, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes ! my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last intrenchment of liberty would be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I

* The dock in which the prisoner stood, as shown in the view of the court-room, is the inclosed space just under the clock, with the witness-stand in front, and just beyond was situated the judge's bench, with a gallery on each side for the jury. The door under the clock opened into a passageway leading down to the prison cells under the building.

† This would seem to corroborate the supposition that Robert Emmet thought his brother was acting in Paris for this purpose alone, and consequently that he would not have felt at liberty to inform his brother fully of the communication which he had received in confidence from the secret agent of Castlereagh and Marsden.

‡ Mr. Emmet only stated what would be his course under a certain contingency, the true meaning of which the British Government entirely subverted in the official version printed in the broadside which has been given.

should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish; because I should feel conscious that life, even more than death, would be unprofitable when a foreign nation held my country in subjection.

Reviewing the conduct of France to other countries, could we expect better towards us? No! Let not any man attain my memory by believing that I could have hoped to give freedom to my country by betraying the sacred cause of liberty, and committing it to the power of her most determined foe. Had I done so I had not deserved to live—and dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execration of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would give freedom. What has been the conduct of the French towards other countries? They promised them liberty, and when they got them into their power they enslaved them. What has been their conduct towards Switzerland, where it has been stated that I had been? Had the people there been desirous of French assistance and been deceived by that power, I would have sided with the people—I would have stood between them and the French, whose aid they called in, and to the utmost of my ability I would have protected them from every attempt at subjugation. I would in such a case have fought against the French, and in the dignity of freedom I would have expired on the threshold of that country, and they should have entered it only by passing over my lifeless corse. Is it then to be supposed that I would be slow in making the same sacrifices for my native land? Am I, who lived but to be of service to my country, and who would subject myself to the bondage of the grave to give her freedom and independence—am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of French tyranny and French despotism? My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to meet the ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the scaffold's shame, or the scaffold's terrors would be the imputation of having been the agent of the despotism and ambition of France; and whilst I have breath I will call upon my countrymen not to believe me guilty of so foul a crime against their liberties and against their happiness. I would do with the people of Ireland as I would have done with the people of Switzerland, could I be called upon again to act in their behalf. My object, and that of the rest of the provisional government, was to effect a total separation between Great Britain and Ireland—to make Ireland totally independent of Great Britain, but not to let her become a dependent of France.

[Here he was interrupted by Lord Norbury.]

When my spirit shall have joined those bands of martyred heroes who shall have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field in defence of their country, this is my hope, that my memory and name may serve to animate those who survive me.

While the destruction of that government which upholds its dominion by impiety against the Most High, which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the field, which sets man upon his brother, and lifts its hand in religion's name against the throat of his fellows who believe a little more or less than the government standard, which reigns amidst the cries of the orphans and the widows it has made—

[Here Mr. Emmet was interrupted by Lord Norbury. After a few words on the objects, purposes and the final prospects of success, he was again interrupted, when he said:]

What I have spoken was not intended for your lordships, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy; my expressions were for my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of affliction.

[Lord Norbury again interrupted the prisoner.]

I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience and to speak with humanity,—to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer with tender benignity his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime of which he was adjudged guilty. That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done I have no doubt; but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions—where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate prisoner whom your policy, and *not justice*, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated?

My lords, worse to me than the scaffold's terrors would be the tame endurance of such foul and unfounded imputations as has been laid against me in this court. You, my lord, are a Judge, I am the supposed culprit. I am a man, you are a man also. By a revolution of power we might change places, though we never could change characters. If I stand at the bar of this court and dare not vindicate my character, *what a farce is your justice!* If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, *how dare you calumniate it?* Does the sentence of death which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body condemn my tongue to silence, and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but while I exist I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions; and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lords, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the Searcher of all hearts to show a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions or actuated by the purest motives—my country's oppressors or—

[Here he was interrupted and told to listen to the sentence of the law.]

My lords, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the community from a reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away for a paltry consideration the liberties of his country?

Why then insult me, or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that the form prescribes that you should put the question, the form also confers a right of answering. This, no doubt, may be dispensed with, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, *since sentence was pronounced at the Castle before your jury were impanelled.* Your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit, but I insist on the whole of the forms.

[Here Mr. Emmet paused, and the court desired him to proceed.]

I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, "the life and blood of this conspiracy." You do me honour over much; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of the superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conception of yourself, my lord; men, before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and who would not deign to call you friend—who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand.

[Here he was interrupted by Lord Norbury.]

What, my lord, shall you tell me on my passage to the scaffold—which that tyranny of which you are only the intermediate minister has erected for my death—that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor? Shall you tell me this—and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it?

I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my short life; and am I to stand appalled here before a mere remnant of mortality? Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonour; let no man attain my memory by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but of my country's liberty and independence.

The proclamation of the provisional government speaks my views—no inferences can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement. I would not have submitted to a foreign oppression for the same reason that I would have resisted tyranny at home.

[LORD NORBURY: Mr. Emmet, you have been called upon to show cause, if any you have, why the judgement of the law should not be enforced against you. Instead of showing anything in point of law why judgement should not pass, you have proceeded in a manner the most unbecoming a person in your situation; you avowed and endeavoured to vindicate principles totally subversive of the government—totally subversive of the tranquillity, well being and happiness of that country which gave you birth—and you have broached treason the most abominable. You, sir, had the honour to be a gentleman by birth, and your father filled a respectable situation under the government. You had an elder brother whom death snatched away and who when living was one of the greatest ornaments of the bar. The laws of his country were the study of his youth, and the

study of his mature life was to cultivate and support them. He left you a proud example to follow, and if he had lived he would have given your talents the same virtuous direction as his own, and have taught you to admire and preserve that constitution for the destruction of which you have conspired with the most profligate and abandoned, and associated yourself with hostlers, bakers, butchers, and such persons, whom you invited to council when you erected your provisional government. . . .]

EMMET: If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns of those who were dear to them in this transitory scene—dear shade of my venerated father look down on your suffering son, and see has he for one moment deviated from those moral and patriotic principles which you so early instilled into his youthful mind, and for which he is now to offer up his life.

My lord, you are impatient for the sacrifice. The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim; it circulates warmly and unruffled through its channels, and in a little time it will cry to heaven. Be yet patient! I have but a few words more to say—my ministry is now ended. I am going to my cold and silent grave; my lamp of life is nearly extinguished. I have parted with everything that was dear to me in this life for my country's cause, and abandoned another idol I adored in my heart—the object of my affections. My race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I am ready to die. I have not been allowed to vindicate my character. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world,—*it is the charity of its silence*. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dares now vindicate them,—let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace; my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then and not 'till then, let my epitaph be written—I have done.

Dr. Madden was by no means certain that he had embodied *all* that Robert Emmet spoke, as he had left out every word in reference to which the slightest doubt existed; but in the end he was fully satisfied that every sentence of his version was correct, and had undoubtedly been spoken by Robert Emmet.

It was doubtless part of the plot, arranged before the trial, that Lord Norbury should frequently interrupt Robert Emmet by uncalled-for charges in reference to the French, and by annoying remarks, probably hoping to irritate him and make him lose the thread of his argument, and if possible to prevent him from publicly exposing, as Emmet wished to do, the true condition of the country and the reasons for the uprising of the people. During these frequent interruptions, and in direct answer to Lord Norbury, Mr. Emmet made several remarks which were excluded by Dr. Madden as not strictly belonging to the speech proper, and because different versions did not agree exactly as to what they were. The official report for the Government did not, from some sense of decency, contain *all* that Lord Norbury did say, and no one present at the trial dared at the time publish what they had heard. But all who Dr. Madden questioned, and who had been present, confirmed in a general way the statement that much had been omitted, and they also agreed as to Norbury's uncalled-for abuse and frequent interruptions, with a settled purpose, which had

✓ People Deputy Quarters his Account for
 Duty the said State Taxes after being appointed to it
 all as in and according to the same taken by the following
 ...

		P	s	d
Sept 7	To Walter Clau. his Duty to the 15 th 0-0-39 days at 9...	6	6	9
	To 3 rd Party still to be	6	6	9
	To Lawrence Bayly's his 2 ^o to 2 ^o 20 days at 2 ^o still 2 ^o	1	12	6
	To John Bayly's his 2 ^o to the 16 th 10 days at 2 ^o	"	9	9
	To John Bayly's his 2 ^o to the 16 th 3 ^o at 2 ^o inclusive	"	16	3
	To John McKeown's his 2 ^o to the 11 th 2 ^o 50: at 2 ^o 2 ^o	"	16	3
	To John McKeown's his 2 ^o to 2 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o	1	2	9
	To Michael Dooly's his 2 ^o to the 14 th 1 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o	1	2	9
	To John Kelly's his 2 ^o to 1 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o	1	2	9
	To John Dooly's his 2 ^o to 1 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o	0	16	3
	To John Hayes's his 2 ^o to 11 th 2 ^o 50: 2 ^o 2 ^o	"	3	3
Sept 8	To John Cunniff's his 2 ^o 40 days duty	1	15	9
	To Henry Howley's his 2 ^o to the 17 th 2 ^o 110: 2 ^o at 2 ^o	1	19	0
	To John McKeown's his 2 ^o to the 15 th 2 ^o 120: 2 ^o at 2 ^o	2	5	6
	To John McKeown's his 2 ^o to the 20 th 2 ^o 140: 2 ^o 130:			
	To John Dooly's his 2 ^o to the 28 th 2 ^o 133: 2 ^o	4	11	0
	To Daniel Dooly's his 2 ^o to the 6 th of Oct. 2 ^o 40 days at 3 rd Party	4	7	6
	To 3 rd Party 40 days at 3 rd Party	2	8	9
	To 3 rd Party 70 days at 3 rd Party	1	10	0
	To 30 days Duty to the Surgeons just as he attended him at 3 rd Party	4	7	6
	To 2 ^o 2 ^o 2 ^o to two Men Fire Military who attended here night 2 days at 3 rd Party	9	15	0
	To 30 Gallons Malt Liquor each Fifth for them at 12 th Gall	1	15	0
	To 60 lbs at 4 th Party	"	10	0
	Was Receipt	57	1	0
	To Dominick Doyle's extraordinary Diligence, and Care in watching Redoubts at various times of the Night and the above named Persons	11	-	6
		69	1	6

Received the above Sum of Pounds
 ...
 ...
 ...

evidently been determined upon beforehand. Yet in consequence of the excitement at the time and the period which had elapsed since the trial, these witnesses were unable afterwards to supply Dr. Madden with a confirmative account sufficient in detail to supply what had been omitted and forgotten.

The majority of the printed reports, however, agree that when Lord Norbury interrupted and charged Robert Emmet with having entered into the movement for his own advancement and gain he answered, with an outburst of indignation, somewhat as follows: "O! my country! was it personal ambition that influenced me? Had it been the soul of my action, could I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family, have placed myself among the proudest of your oppressors?"

Then again he was interrupted and called upon to listen to the sentence, since by his action in causing the rebellion he was "responsible for all the blood which had been or would be shed in the business." He replied: "I do not fear approaching the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my past life. But, my lord, were it possible to collect all the blood that you have shed into a common reservoir,—for great indeed must it be,—your lordship might swim therein."

This is not an exaggerated statement. O'Connell, in a noted speech* delivered during a trial in 1813, thus stigmatizes Lord Norbury's zeal as a judge: "Why, in one circuit during the administration of the cold-hearted and cruel Camden, there were one hundred individuals tried before *one* judge; of these, ninety-eight were *capitally convicted*, and *ninety-seven hanged!* One escaped, but he was a soldier who murdered a peasant, a thing of a trivial nature. *Ninety-seven victims in one circuit!*"

Mr. Emmet's "trial" was terminated by the death sentence at half-past ten o'clock at night, the prisoner having been kept fasting and standing in the dock all day. It will be seen, however, by the charge made against the Government for the keep of prisoners in Newgate that three shillings and sixpence was the cost of Robert Emmet's support on the day of his trial.†

* Memoir and Speeches of D. O'Connell, Vol. I., page 498.

† This document, which has been reproduced, was doubtless another of the state papers which disappeared with the chest which had been put aside in Dublin Castle. It is signed by Trevor, the Superintendent or Head Gaoler of Newgate and Kilmainham prisons, a man whose genius for devising different methods of torture, to increase the misery and suffering of the unfortunate prisoners intrusted to his care, has been equaled by only one individual within the knowledge of the writer. This distinction may rest with Major Cunningham, who was the presiding genius in charge of the New York Provost Jail and Sugar House prisons during the time the British troops held the city of New York in the Revolution. So long as a page of American history is preserved Cunningham will be remembered, and for the same reason the name of Trevor will not be forgotten in

Robert Emmet was hung at an early hour on the following day, September 20th, 1803, in Thomas Street, Dublin, nearly opposite St. Catherine's Church, and after the execution his head was severed from the body.

Ireland. This man would torture, scourge and half hang his prisoners apparently for his own amusement and often without provocation. It has been affirmed that he stated his object was simply "to create a healthy dread" on the part of the prisoners "for their master."

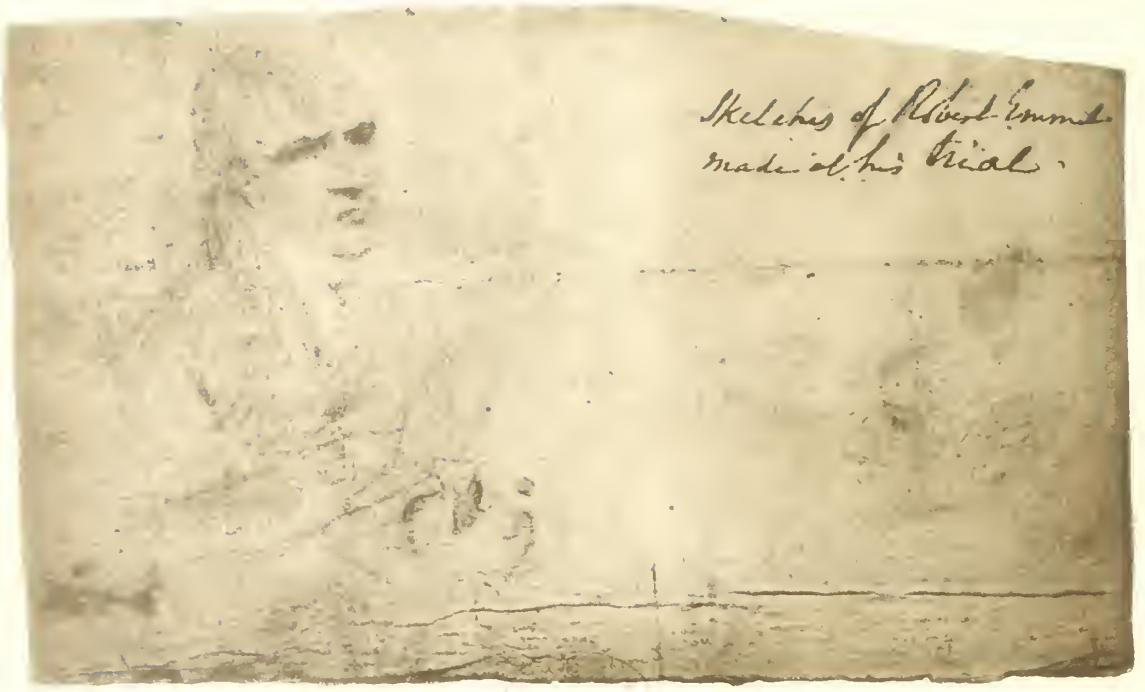
This brute, having already exhausted every means of torture known to him, on two occasions strung up Anne Devlin, as we have shown Major Sirr did, and did so apparently to test her power of endurance.

At one time there were a number of state prisoners confined in Kilmainham, against whom the Government possessed no evidence, and in consequence of the injustice done by their arrest, the officials responsible had not dared to release them. These gentlemen were allowed to bear their own expenses, and while they were kept in close confinement, they were sometimes permitted, on paying for the privilege, to meet together for some portion of the day in the prison yard.

Dr. Madden, in his *Life of Robert Emmet*, refers to the treatment of the prisoners by Trevor and to a memorial drawn up by the state prisoners as follows: "The State Prisoners of Kilmainham Gaol addressed a memorial to the Viceroy, Lord Hardwicke, the 12th August, 1804, complaining of the hardships they suffered, and of the barbarous and tyrannical conduct of the Inspector of Prisons and the Superintendent *in particular* of Kilmainham, Dr. Trevor." This memorial was signed by fourteen of them, amongst others by Messrs. John Patten (the brother of Mrs. Thos. Addis Emmet), Hickson, Tandy, Long and Mason (the cousin of Robert Emmet). The following passage refers to the treatment of Anne Devlin: "His treatment of all, but especially of one unfortunate State Prisoner, a female, is shocking to humanity and exceeds credibility. He drives, through exasperation, the mind to madness, of which instances have already occurred."

In corroboration Dr. Madden refers to the *Memoir of St. John Mason's Imprisonment*, Dublin, 1807; and he also quotes from *Appeal to the Public*, by James Tandy, page 72, Dublin, 1807, as follows: "Two of the State prisoners were discharged in a state of the most violent delirium;"—"and a third, from the cruelty of incarceration, was for a length of time in a straight waistcoat."

The quotation made from Dr. Madden's work is to show the wreck of the mental faculties generally sustained by the Irish political prisoners, as a consequence of the rigorous treatment to which they are always subjected, a practice not confined to our day. Death has not infrequently resulted, as in Mandeville's case a few years ago, and instances of imbecility, or of insanity, it is believed, have been at no time rare from the beginning to the present time, of which we have had several recent examples.



*Sketches of Robert Emmet
made at his trial.*

PORTRAIT OF ROBERT EMMET.
By Petrie.



Scott G. Smith

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE LIKENESS OF ROBERT EMMET. HIS DEATH MASK. IN REFERENCE TO HIS PLACE OF BURIAL. SARAH CURRAN.

No likeness of Robert Emmet is known to have existed previous to the time of his trial, the two portraits which have been reproduced being from sketches taken at that time. The finished sketch was done by Comerford, and the other was drawn by the elder Petrie. Comerford at that time was a noted miniature painter in Dublin, and it is said he drew the outline of Emmet's face hastily on a piece of brown paper held in the palm of his hand, finishing it afterwards at home. He had to catch the likeness very rapidly to avoid attracting attention, for at such a time anyone would have been regarded with suspicion that showed enough interest in the prisoner to wish to preserve his likeness. The reproduction is from the original drawing and the only portrait of Robert Emmet known to have been taken from life. Mr. Robert Holmes obtained it from Comerford, and his daughter, Mrs. George Lenox-Conyngham, presented it to the writer shortly before her death. Mr. Holmes, shortly after it came into his possession, employed Comerford to paint a finished miniature from this sketch, which he sent to his brother-in-law, Mr. T. A. Emmet, in New York, keeping the original for himself. This miniature passed, after the death of the father, to the eldest son, Judge Robert Emmet, and it has remained in that branch of the family. Comerford's sketch has never been given to the public before this reproduction, but it will be easily recognized as the original of the profile portrait generally known as Robert Emmet's likeness, and which was taken from the miniature sent to Mr. Emmet. Dr. Petrie drew a three-quarter face and a profile on the back of a letter. These bear a resemblance to the Comerford portrait, but Petrie succeeded in showing more character in his drawing. He afterwards published an engraved portrait from the three-quarter face drawing, but he failed in doing justice to his original sketch by not showing the character Robert Emmet possessed and the supreme contempt with which he regarded the judge and his display of justice. The profile likeness in the Petrie drawing which is placed between

the two of Robert Emmet, is supposed to have been intended for Lord Norbury, the presiding judge, who seems to have laid aside his false teeth for some purpose.

A physician in Dublin obtained many years ago from Petrie's widow the whole collection of portraits and drawings made by her husband, and from this physician this sketch of Robert Emmet was purchased by the writer.

Mr. John Mulvany, the artist who painted the large historical picture of "Sheridan's Ride," has recently produced for the writer a portrait of Robert Emmet, which in all probability will be accepted in the future as the most truthful representation now to be obtained of Emmet's general appearance.

The portrait is made from a study of the death-mask and from a combination of Comerford's and Petrie's sketches. This plan has been undertaken in the past by others, but each effort heretofore proved unsatisfactory and was abandoned. The artist has followed chiefly Petrie's sketch, as it indicated the most character. The expression exhibited by it was undoubtedly caught by Petrie at the moment while Emmet had been speaking, and in one of the pauses when the judge is insinuating that he had made his terms with the French for his own personal advantage. The supreme degree of contempt which Robt. Emmet felt for the course pursued in conducting the trial, which was but a libel on justice, and his righteous indignation at the charge made by the judge are shown in this picture.

It is true that the expression is not one which would be selected as a prominent feature in the likeness of a friend. But this represents a special incident in an historical scene which will be held ever dear in the memory of the Irish people. Moreover, Mr. Emmet was not only vindicating himself at this moment, but also the action of the Irish people themselves who were in sympathy with his course, and from this standpoint the likeness will probably be accepted.

The death-mask here represented is a copy made in 1880 from the original one taken by Petrie on the night of Emmet's execution. The original at this time belonged to Dr. Madden, and, unfortunately, had been covered with a thick coat of white paint, which takes away somewhat from the sharpness of outline. But more of the mask hereafter. In this connection it is of interest to quote Dr. Madden's description of Robert Emmet's appearance, based as it is upon the testimony of a number of persons who knew him: "In stature he was about five feet eight inches; slight in his person, active, and capable of enduring great fatigue; he walked fast, and



ROBERT EMMET AT HIS TRIAL.
BY JOHN MULVANY.

"I am charged with being an emmissary of France
It is false"



DEATH MASK OF ROBERT EMMET TAKEN BY THE OLDER PETRIE.



DR. MADDEN POINTING OUT THE SUPPOSED GRAVE OF ROBERT EMMET IN THE PROTESTANT CHURCH YARD, GLASSNEVEN NEAR DUBLIN.



SUPPOSED GRAVE OF ROBERT EMMET IN THE PROTESTANT PARISH CHURCH YARD,
GLASNEVEN NEAR DOUBLIN.

was quick in his movements. His features were regular; his forehead high and finely formed; his eyes were small, bright and full of expression; his nose sharp, remarkably thin and straight; the lower part of his face was slightly pock-pitted; and his complexion sallow. There was nothing remarkable in his appearance except when excited in conversation, and when he spoke in public on any subject that deeply interested him. His countenance then beamed with animation—he no longer seemed the same person—every feature about him seemed subservient to the impulses of generous feelings and harmonized with his passing thoughts.”

An important addition may be made to this description which would be useful at some future day if necessary to identify his remains. The inner corner of the two upper middle teeth had been broken off, so as to leave quite a space between them when the teeth were together. This mutilation was clearly shown in the mask possessed by Dr. Madden.

The place of Robert Emmet's burial remains to this day in doubt. But it was the opinion of Dr. Madden towards the close of his life that the body was buried in the Protestant parish churchyard at Glasnevin, an opinion which should carry great weight, for certainly no man ever gave the subject closer investigation. Shortly before Dr. Madden's death the writer had the good fortune to see him and to obtain from him many interesting facts. The old gentleman had become quite infirm, being past eighty years of age, but he kindly came up from his residence near Dublin to point out the different places connected with the family history. He was first driven out to Glasnevin without knowing his destination, and on getting out of the carriage at the church he did not at first seem to recognize the place. But after entering the churchyard, leaning on the writer's arm, he suddenly became excited in his manner, and increasing his pace, he started off alone. Passing to the left of the church he walked around behind it, and placing his hands on a rough headstone near the wall he exclaimed: “This is Robert Emmet's grave, which Mr. ———, the tailor, showed me over fifty years ago.” A photographer having been employed to accompany the party, an instantaneous impression of the scene was taken while the old gentleman was speaking. The Doctor had not visited the spot since he was taken there by the tailor, who claimed to have assisted in removing Emmet's body and in digging the grave. If this be true it must have been dug directly across the footpath, as is evident from the position of the other graves and the dates on the nearest headstones.

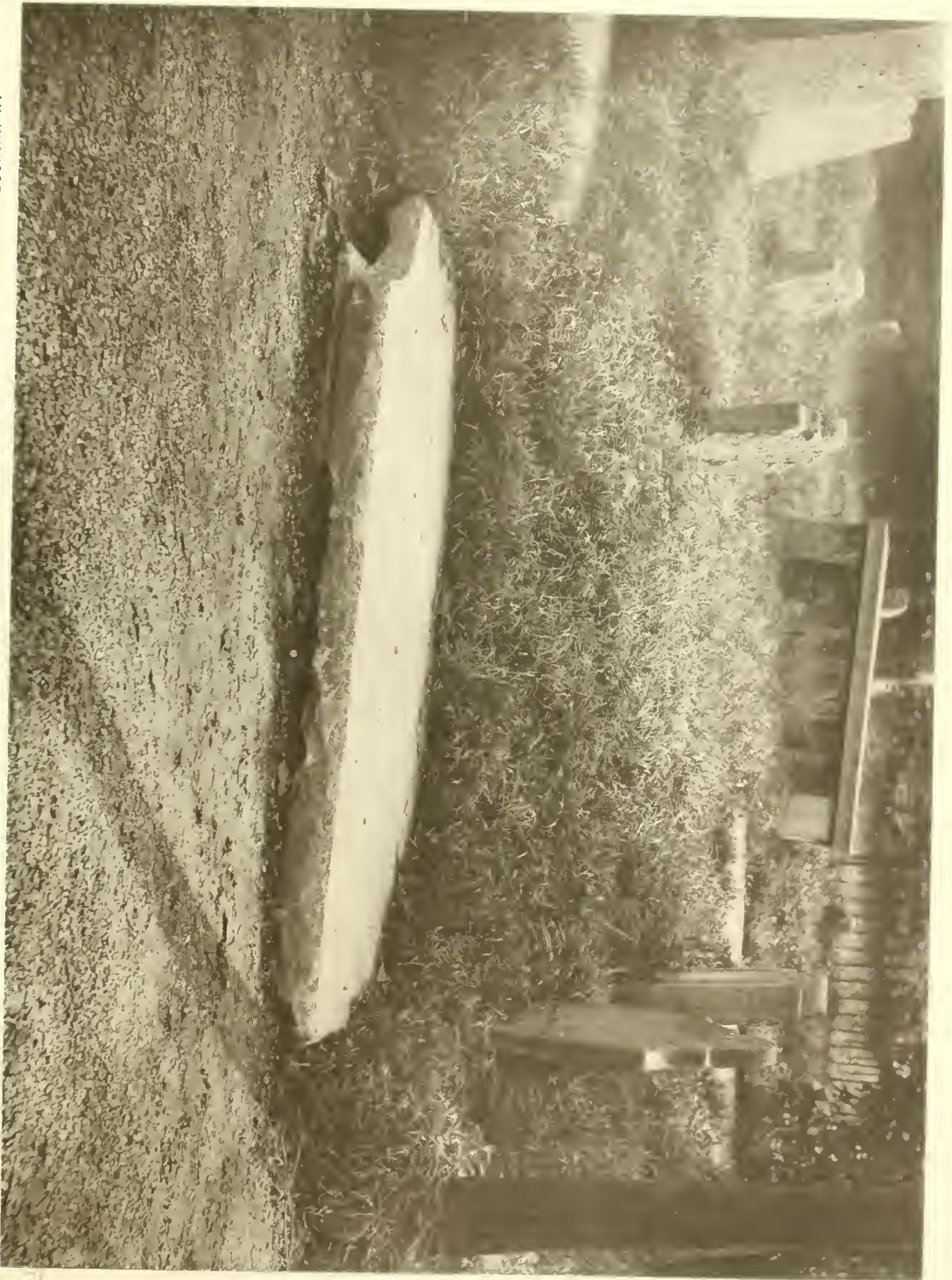
After the execution the body was taken to Bully's Acre, or Hospital Fields, as it was sometimes called, the Potter's Field of Dublin. It is believed that the body was not buried, but was put aside where it could be

easily gotten at in case it were claimed. That night the body was sought for by the Rev. Thomas Gamble, of Dublin, who was the only friend of the family not imprisoned or in exile. When Mr. Gamble found the body he immediately went to obtain a permit to remove it. While he was absent getting this permit, Dr. Petrie came to take a cast of the face, and likely also with the purpose to make some disposition of the body.

It is said that being unable to procure some water to prepare his plaster, he took the head, which had been decapitated after the execution, with him to some neighboring house. During his absence Mr. Gamble returned and with some assistance took away the box containing the body, but what he did with it still remains a mystery. Dr. Madden was informed that Dr. Petrie had the skull in his keeping until a short time before his death, when he gave it to some physician who lived in Galway. No one who knows anything of Dr. Petrie's life and views would doubt, if this be true, but that he made careful provision for its preservation. When the time comes for writing Robert Emmet's epitaph this relic will certainly be forthcoming, and it may prove the only portion of his body obtainable.

On the night of Robert Emmet's execution the people were in a great state of excitement, as the country was under martial law; consequently it would have been almost impossible for a few individuals, and without a guard of troops, to have taken the body into the city; moreover, it would have been far easier, and a more natural course, for them to have taken it across the country to the nearest burying-ground. Glasnevin was the nearest churchyard out of town and the most likely place for them to have carried the body, as the wall had been broken down some years before, and the burial could have been accomplished there without disturbance or the delay of getting a permit. One may easily see directly behind the grave where the break was repaired years afterwards with material different from that used in the original wall.

The fact that Mr. Gamble was the assistant curate in St. Michan's Church is the only plausible reason which can be advanced in support of the plea that Robert Emmet was buried there, where a large flat, un-inscribed stone is said to cover his grave. If the body could have been gotten into town it naturally would have been taken to St. Peter's Church, for it was well known that the family had a vault there and that Robert Emmet's parents had been buried there but a short time before. No good reason can be advanced for a selection of St. Michan's Church, with which the family had not the slightest connection. These two churchyards were not far from each other, and both were surrounded at that time, it is said,



AN UNSCRIBED TOMB STONE IN ST. MICHAN'S CHURCH YARD, DUBLIN, WHICH IS SHOWN AS COVERING ROBERT EMMET'S GRAVE.

15
CIV

by a high wall. Therefore it would have been necessary even for Mr. Gamble, the assistant curate of the church, to have hunted up the sexton to gain admission, and even then he could not have dug the grave without first obtaining a permit for burial, and the circumstance would then have been recorded. But the right did exist to bury Robert Emmet at St. Peter's Church, in Anugier Street, while an attempt to place the body of a stranger in the other, under the circumstances, would have needed an explanation, with every likelihood of a refusal from those in authority. These in brief were the reasons advanced by Dr. Madden for believing that Robert Emmet's grave was in the Glasnevin parish churchyard.

As the first step toward settling this mooted question, it will be necessary to locate and open Dr. Emmet's vault at St. Peter's Church to determine whether or not Robert Emmet's body is there. It is true that, so far as is known, the family vault has not been opened since the remains of his mother were deposited there, a few days before her son's death. But with the connivance of the sexton it would have been a matter of but a few moments to have placed the body in the vault, and this could have been done at night without a permit and without attracting attention. But to have dug a grave in St. Michan's churchyard at the spot claimed would have been impossible, either by night or day, without attracting attention.

In regard to the doubt and uncertainty as to where Robert Emmet was buried, Thomas Moore wrote :

O, breathe not his name! let it rest in the shade
Where, cold and unhonoured, his relics are laid;
Sad, silent, and dark be the tears that we shed,
As the night dew that falls on the grass o'er his head.

But the night dew that falls, though in silence it weeps,
Shall brighten with verdure the grave where he sleeps;
And the tear that we shed, though in secret it rolls,
Shall long keep his memory green in our souls.

The seal of the United Irishmen and two others which have been preserved show us Robert Emmet's artistic taste and talent for designing. Dr. Madden presented to the writer one of these which had been in his possession for some fifty years, and it was the one worn by Robert Emmet on the morning of his execution. The design, which is an original one, represents a willow tree nearly prostrated by the storm, and below the motto "Alas my country."

Just as Mr. Emmet was leaving the prison on his way to the scaffold he

passed a Catholic priest whom he had known in better times, and seeing the priest's expression of profound sympathy he pulled this seal from his fob ribbon and handed it to him. Unfortunately, the name of the priest has now been forgotten by the writer, but on his death he willed the seal to his friend, Dr. Madden. The Doctor stated, when he gave it to the writer, that he had fully verified its authenticity on the evidence of several persons who had been present at the time and had witnessed the occurrence. In addition he stated that the seal had been fully identified by his friend, Mr. John Patten, who recognized it beyond question as one he had seen his kinsman, Robert Emmet, wear for some time.

After the trial and the disposal of the victim it became necessary to give "the pieces of silver" to the person who had betrayed Emmet's place of concealment. It will be seen from the reproduction that the name given in the warrant with Major Sirr is one borne by a family closely connected, for a century at least, with this branch of the Emmet family. On obtaining possession of this paper, it was suspected by the writer that this individual may have been the informer as to Robert Emmet's place of concealment. But on investigation it is made evident that the Wm. Taylor mentioned was a clerk in the employment of the Government, whose special business was in connection with the disbursement of the Secret Service money.

This warrant is signed by Alexander Marsden, Under Secretary in the Civil Department of the Chief Secretary's Office. He was essentially the executive officer of Irish affairs, and it was in his power to keep the Chief Secretary, as well as the Lord Lieutenant, in ignorance of Pitt's command and the move he himself had made to bring about an uprising in Ireland, with Robert Emmet as the nominal leader.

The following is a copy of the warrant issued for the payment of the reward offered for the arrest of Robt. Emmet:

DUBLIN CASTLE, 14th November, 1803.

GENTLEMEN :

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant desires that out of the Money issued to you for payment of Rewards for discovering and apprehending Persons charged with being guilty of High Treason & treasonable Practices, you will pay the following Sum.

To Major Sirs Three Hundred Pounds for apprehending Robert Emmet who has been convicted of High Treason, and to Mr. William Taylor Three Hundred Pounds to reimburse a like sum advanced by him on the same account.

To Henry Blake, Esq^r. for the Persons who apprehended Quigley, Stafford and the two Parrots, who are charged with High Treason, Three Hundred Pounds.

I am Gentlemen

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

A. MARSDEN.

To W^m Kemmis, Esq^r
Crown Solicitor.

Dublin Castle 14th Nov. 1792

Barbours

My dear Sir
The King's Majesty the King's Lieutenant
desires that out of the Money allotted to you for payment
of Rewards for discovering and apprehending Persons
charged with being guilty of High Treason and treasonable
Practices, you will pay the following Sums

To Major Sir John Mordaunt
for apprehending Robert Emmet who has been convicted of
High Treason, and to Mr William Taylor Three Hundred
Pounds to reimburse a debt due advanced by him on the
same Account

To Henry Blake Esq for the Person who
apprehended Lewis Bayly Stafford and the two Carrolls, who
are charged with High Treason, Three Hundred Pounds.

I am

Dear Sir

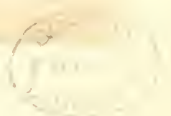
Your most Obedient

humble Servant

Arthur

To the
Barbours

1792



It cannot be questioned but that this document also must have been one of the state papers contained in the chest which disappeared from the Record Office, Dublin Castle, and could not have been stolen unless the whole contents of the chest had been tampered with.*

The most superficial sketch of Robert Emmet's career would be incomplete without making some reference to Miss Sarah Curran. A mere statement of the dry details of their connection must offer but little interest to the general reader, and yet to attempt more must prove a failure so long as the tale of "The Broken Heart," by Washington Irving, exists.

While it is believed that their actual engagement had not been of long duration, still it would seem that the attachment on Robert Emmet's part had begun in boyhood. His letter to Madame de Fontenay of April 24th, 1802, apparently shows that no engagement then existed, but a portion of it seems to refer to his own feelings and expresses some doubt as to their being reciprocated. When alluding to the sacrifice he would have to make if he returned to Ireland, he writes: "I must forget everything,—that I had hopes, friends, tender ties perhaps. I am not, however, certain that this can be done, and I doubt it myself."

Miss Curran was about twelve years of age when Robert Emmet entered Trinity College, and a very close and intimate relation existed between the two families before the political troubles had assumed definite shape, or it was even suspected that the Emmet family was in sympathy with them. Mr. Curran was essentially a self-made man, his success and future preferment resting with the good-will of the Government, and lacking all interest in revolutionary movements, it was most natural that he should have exercised his influence to terminate the intimacy after young Emmet's views were known.

The letters written by Robert Emmet on the night before his execution to Mr. Curran and to his son Richard, who had been an old school-mate and college friend, give the only insight we have into his feelings. These letters never reached their destination, but were seized by Major Sirr. On Sirr's death they were found amongst his papers, and are now in the Trinity College Library. They were as follows:

I did not expect you to be my counsel. I nominated you, because not to have done so might

* It would have been easier to have removed the chest by direction of some one in authority, as if for the purpose of sending it to another department, than for any official to have carried off these papers which related to Robert Emmet, together with a number of others which could have been secured at the same time if the purse of the writer had not been taxed to obtain those of the greater interest to him. The probability is that it was removed that the contents might be destroyed, and the official intrusted with the matter reserved a few papers, which he was able to dispose of to his own advantage.

have appeared remarkable. Had Mr. —— * been in town I did not even wish to have seen you, but as he was not, I wrote to you to come to me at once. I know that I have done you very severe injury, much greater than I can atone for with my life; that atonement I did offer to make before the Privy Council, by pleading guilty if those documents † were suppressed. I offered more—I offered, if I was permitted to consult some persons, and if they would consent to an accommodation for saving the lives of others, that I would only require for my part of it the suppression of these documents and that I would abide the event of my trial. This was also rejected, and nothing but individual information (with the exception of names) would be taken. My intention was, not to leave the suppression of these documents to possibility, but to render it unnecessary for any one to plead for me, by pleading guilty to the charge myself.

The circumstances that I am now going to mention I do not state in my own justification. When I first addressed your daughter I expected that in another week my own fate would be decided. I knew that in case of success many others might look on me differently from what they did at that moment, but I speak with sincerity when I say that I never was anxious for situation or distinction myself, and I did not wish to be united to one who was. I spoke to your daughter, neither expecting, nor in fact, under those circumstances, wishing that there should be a return of attachment, but wishing to judge of her dispositions—to know how far they might be not unfavourable or dis-engaged, and to know what foundation I might afterwards have to count on. I received no encouragement whatever. She told me she had no attachment for any person, nor did she seem likely to have any that could make her wish to quit you. I staid away 'till the time had elapsed, when I found that the event, to which I allude, was to be postponed indefinitely. I returned by a kind of infatuation thinking that to myself only was I giving pleasure or pain. I perceived no progress or attachment on her part, nor any thing in her conduct to distinguish me from a common acquaintance. Afterwards I had reason to suppose that discoveries were made, and that I should be obliged to quit the Kingdom immediately. I came to make a renunciation of any approach to friendship that might have been found. On that very day she herself spoke to me to discontinue my visits. I told her that it was my intentions, and I mentioned the reason. I then for the first time found, where I was unfortunate, by the manner in which she was affected, that there was a return of affection, and that it was too late to retreat. My own apprehensions, also, I afterwards found, were without cause, and I remained. There has been much culpability on my part in all this, but there has been a great deal of that misfortune which seems uniformly to have accompanied me. That I have written to your daughter since an unfortunate event has taken place was an additional breach of propriety, for which I have suffered well; but I will candidly confess that I not only do not feel it to have been of the same extent, but that I consider it to have been unavoidable after what had passed; for though I will not attempt to justify in the smallest degree my former conduct, yet, when an attachment was once formed between us—and a sincerer one never did exist—I feel that, peculiarly circumstanced as I then was, to have left her uncertain of my situation would neither have weaned her affections nor lessened her anxiety; and looking upon her as one whom, if I lived, I hoped to have had my partner for life, I did hold the removing of her anxiety above every other consideration. I would rather have had the affections of your daughter in the back settlements of America, than the first situation this country could offer without them. I know not whether this will be any extenuation of my offence; I know not whether it will be any extenuation of it to know that if I had that situation in my power at this moment, I would relinquish it to devote my life to her happiness; I know not whether success would have blotted out the recollection of what I have done; but I know that a man with the coldness of death on him need not to be made to feel any other coldness, and that he may be spared any addition to the misery he feels, not for himself, but for those to whom he had left nothing but sorrow.

* Reference is doubtless here made to Mr. Holmes, who married Robt. Emmet's sister, and who Robert supposed was at that time in England. But we have seen that Mr. Holmes unfortunately arrived in Dublin the night of the attempted uprising, and that he was arrested as a suspected person while on his way to his residence. He was imprisoned in Dublin Castle for some time, and when at length he was released he proceeded home, to have the door-bell answered by his wife and for her to drop dead in his arms.

† Miss Curran's letters, which were found on his person when he was arrested.

The original letter was neither dated nor signed, but no doubt can exist that both this and the one to Richard Curran were written the night before Mr. Emmet's execution. The following letter was written to Miss Curran's brother :

MY DEAREST RICHARD :

I find I have but a few hours to live, but if it was the last moment, and that the power of utterance was leaving me, I would thank you from the bottom of my heart for your generous expressions of affection and forgiveness to me. If there was any one in the world in whose breast my death might be supposed not to stifle every spark of resentment, it might be you. I have deeply injured you. I have injured the happiness of a sister that you love, and who was formed to give happiness to every one about her, instead of having her own mind a prey to affliction.

O Richard! I have no excuse to offer, but that I meant the reverse; I intended as much happiness for Sarah as the most ardent love could have given her. I never did tell you how much I idolized her. It was not with a wild or unfounded passion, but it was an attachment increasing every hour, from an admiration of the purity of her mind and respect for her talents. I did dwell in secret upon the prospect of our union. I did hope that success, while it afforded the opportunity of our union, might be a means of confirming an attachment which misfortune had called forth. I did not look to honours for myself—praise I would have asked from the lips of no man; but I would have wished to read in the glow of Sarah's countenance that her husband was respected.

My love, Sarah! it was not thus that I thought to have requited your affection, I did hope to be a prop, round which your affections might have clung, and which would never have been shaken; but a rude blast has snapped it, and they have fallen over a grave.

This is no time for affliction. I have had public motives to sustain my mind, and I have not suffered it to sink; but there have been moments in my imprisonment, when my mind was so sunk by grief on her account, that death would have been a refuge. God bless you my dearest Richard, I am obliged to leave off immediately.

ROBERT EMMET.

Shortly after the death of Robert Emmet, Sarah Curran left her father's house, driven forth penniless and an outcast, depending upon a few friends in Cork for shelter. While there she met a former acquaintance, Capt. Henry Sturgeon, of the British Army, who addressed her. He was a most estimable man and she well knew his great worth, but she declined his suit in remembrance of her lover—"For her heart in his grave is lying." Capt. Sturgeon persisted, and at length was accepted, but with the assurance on her part that his ardent affection could only be returned by her esteem. Moreover, she frankly told him that in her destitute condition she found it necessary to obtain a home and a protector. She accompanied her husband to a milder climate, but she gradually passed away, dying of a broken heart.

In the May number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1808 appeared the following, under the head of "Obituary, with Anecdotes of Remarkable Persons:" "At Hythe, in Kent, of a rapid decline, aged 26, Sarah, wife of Capt. Henry Sturgeon, youngest daughter of the Right Hon. J. P. Curran, Master of the Rolls, in Ireland."

Thos. Moore, with all his faults in after life, by forgetting the past, the sorrow and suffering of his native land, and by his readiness to deny his birthplace to gain position and curry favor among his Tory friends in England, did atone for it all by his early poetry relating to Robert Emmet. He has written nothing to the memory of Emmet which does not strike a reciprocal note in the sympathies of every Irishman the world over, let his political bias be what it may.

How tenderly and with what exquisite refinement does he portray in the following verse the sorrows of the poor broken-hearted girl, who had ceased to live many months before her existence came to an end:

She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,
 And lovers around her are sighing;
 But coldly she turns from their gaze and weeps,
 For her heart in his grave is lying.

She sings the wild song of her dear native plains,
 Every note which he loved awaking—
 Ah! little they think who delight in her strains,
 How the heart of the minstrel is breaking.

He had liv'd for his love; for his country he died—
 They were all that to life had entwined him;
 Nor soon shall the tears of his country be dried,
 Nor long will his love stay behind him.

Oh! make her a grave where the sunbeams rest
 When they promise a glorious morrow.
 They'll shine o'er her sleep like a smile from the west—
 From her own lov'd island of sorrow.

Her remains were eventually laid to rest in her native land, but to this day her grave is unmarked and as unknown as that of her lover.

Dr. Madden quotes from the *Literary Souvenir* of 1831, in which the writer gives a description of Sarah Curran, who "was about the ordinary size, her hair and eyes black. Her complexion was fairer than is usual with black hair, and was a little freckled. Her eyes were large, soft and brilliant, and capable of the greatest variety of expression. Her aspect in general indicated reflection, and pensive abstraction from the scene around her. Her wit was keen and playful, but chastened; although no one had a keener perception of humour or ridicule. Her musical talents were of the first order; she sang with exquisite taste. I think I never heard so harmonious a voice."

Among the Petrie drawings which came into the possession of the



SARA CURRAN.



writer was one marked "A likeness of Sarah Curran." If this be her likeness, the sketch must have been taken towards the close of her life, for the general appearance of the features, and particularly of the mouth, bears all the evidence of the disease from which she suffered; but it would seem to represent a somewhat older person than Mrs. Sturgeon was at the time of her death. Her features have become indistinct in the sketch, but the eyes are unmistakably hers as they have been described, and resemble closely those represented in all the portraits of her father.

The following is from a volume of original poems published in London in 1833, and written by Mrs. Elizabeth E. Lenox-Conyngham, the daughter of Mrs. Holmes and the niece of Robert and Thos. Addis Emmet:

WEEP NOT FOR THE DEAD.

Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him—but weep sore for him that goeth away; for he shall return no more, nor see his native country. But he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more.—Jeremiah xxii., 10 and 12.

Not for the dead—nor for the unconscious weep,
Whose country's ruin troubleth not their sleep;
There is a mockery in the tears ye shed
For them who from the wrath to come have fled—
No! weep not for the dead.

Your grief afflicts not them—they do not hear
The tones whose lightest sound was once so dear;
Would you awake them, if you could, to know
What we, they loved and left, must undergo?
Wake not the dead to woe.

Weep ye not for the dead! a blessed doom
Hath closed on them the portals of the tomb;
Their quiet memory dreams not of the past—
Their anchor through eternity is fast—
Their changeless fate is cast.

Weep ye not for the dead—but weep, weep sore
For them who go, and shall return no more;
Weep for the vanquished, captive, exile bands,
Condemned to waste away in foreign lands,
With nerveless hearts and hands.

Weep for the weary, wayworn, aged men
Who deemed they ne'er should leave their homes again;
They go, they go from that beloved home—
They go, in distant dreariness to roam,
And back they shall not come.

THE EMMET FAMILY.

Weep for the delicately nurtured young,
 Whose childish accents must renounce the tongue
 In which their mothers taught them to lisp forth
 Praise to their God—good will to all on earth,
 The tongue that hailed their birth.

Weep for the widowed bride, on whom the blight
 Of desolation resteth—whose life's light
 Is quenched within the tomb of one that lies
 In the fallen land she learned from him to prize—
 Fallen, never to rise.

Weep for the brave—the banished, baffled brave,
 Bereaved of all they vainly bled to save—
 The brave who still would gladly die to free
 The native country, they shall never see—
 Dear, even in slavery!

Weep, weep for these; but let no senseless tear
 Flow for the dead. Exempt from grief and fear,
 The land that bore them pillowed their head—
 Their graves among their fathers' graves are spread—
 Then weep not for the dead.

 THE EXILE.

[Written by Robt. Emmet, Jr., 1797.]

Ah! where is now my peaceful cot—
 Ah! where my happy home?
 No peaceful cot, alas! is mine—
 An exile now I roam.

Far from my country I am driven,
 A wanderer sent from thee,
 But still my constant prayer to heaven
 Shall be to make thee free.

CHAPTER XIII.

THOS. ADDIS EMMET, WITH A PORTION OF HIS FAMILY, EMIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES, AND FINALLY SETTLED IN NEW YORK.

We have now reached a point where we take leave of Irish affairs and accompany the exiles to the United States—to a land of promise and yet not of strangers—for Ireland, from the earliest settlement of the country, had given a larger proportion of her sons, by birth or direct descent, to the army, the navy and the Senate, and also of that class which furnished the special labor and brain work needed to develop the country, than had come from any other nation or people.*

England's misrule for centuries had driven the Irish people into exile and to wander over the earth in quest of a haven. In the American colonies they, as good citizens, became preëminent in every walk of life, and they prospered, as in fact they have done everywhere but in the mother country.

Thomas Addis Emmet left Paris, in the autumn of 1804, for Bordeaux, where he embarked, on the 4th of October, for New York. He was accompanied by his wife, his eldest son, Robert, and three daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, who were born in Ireland, and Jane Erin, born in Fort George. A daughter, Catherine, was born in Paris on January 11th, 1804, and died shortly after birth. The three younger sons, John, Thomas and Temple, remained in Dublin until March, 1805, when they joined their parents in New York. Nothing is known of the incidents of the voyage beyond the fact that Mr. Emmet and his family arrived in New York on November 11th, 1804, to begin life anew.

The first step towards becoming identified with this country was taken by Mr. Emmet three days after his arrival, when he declared and placed on record his intention to become an American citizen as soon as he could be naturalized.†

* It would be but just if this fact was more generally known and appreciated.

† The original volume in which this declaration for naturalization was recorded, with all others for some sixty years, was subsequently sold by the city, or by some official from the City Hall, for waste paper, and was purchased by the late George Moore. From the public sale of Mr. Moore's effects in 1894 it came into the possession of the writer, and is now in the Lenox Library.

He brought with him a number of introductory letters from Lafayette and others. One, in the possession of the writer, from Gen. Kosciuszko to Gen. Gates, is as follows :

DEAR GENERAL :

Permit me to recommend to your acquaintance and friendship Mr. Emmet good republican and sufferer for his opinion. be so kind as to make his residence so agreeable as you can in your town and recommend him to your friends.

As to me I am always your friend, and I hope you will be ever mine.

T. KOSCIUSZKO.

My respects to your lady

Paris 29 July 1804

rue le Province—No: 43.

To Gen'l. Gates, New York.

Mr. Emmet's first intention was to settle on a farm in the State of Ohio, as that seemed to offer the best means of furnishing a ready support for his family, and, if the opportunity presented, he intended to resume the practice of medicine. He spent several months after his arrival in Washington, and in seeing the country with reference to deciding as to his future course. At length, George Clinton, then Governor of the State of New York, to whom he had also brought a letter of introduction from Kosciuszko, with De Witt Clinton, his nephew, then Mayor of the City of New York, Daniel D. Tompkins, afterwards Vice-President of the United States, and others, urged him to remain in New York, where there was an opening at the Bar, made by the recent death of Alexander Hamilton. As soon as it was known that Mr. Emmet had decided to remain in New York, the objection was at once raised that, as an alien, he could not practice until he had become naturalized. To test the question he made application for permission to practice in the "Mayor's Court," then presided over by De Witt Clinton. He was requested by Mr. Clinton to put his application to the Court in the form of a letter setting forth his claims for granting the plea. As this document was certainly Mr. Emmet's first legal effort in this country it should be placed on record, particularly as it is such an able and clear exposition of the subject that a legal training is not necessary to appreciate its worth. This application was as follows :

APRIL 7TH, 1805, NO. 43, WATER ST., NEW YORK.

SIR :

Availing myself of your permission, I take the liberty of laying before you some observations, on the subject of my application, to be admitted a practitioner in your court. I shall confine myself entirely to the question, how far my situation as an alien, creates any LEGAL disability or objection to its being granted. What effect that situation ought to have in the *discretion* of a Court, I shall not presume to say ; but shall content myself with acknowledging that I should consider the admission as a favour only, and as one of the very highest kind. The liberality I have already

experienced, and the disposition to extend it further, which you have been pleased most strongly to express on your part, leave me no room to apprehend the necessity for urging anything on that head.

I shall now proceed to shew that alienism creates no such legal disability. This I consider certain, because in the Statute or Common law, no disqualification of that kind is anywhere created or recognised; nor is any rule or principle to be found, from which it could be inferred, except the position be true, that an alien cannot legally hold an office. That position is not true and even if it were, it would be inapplicable, because the professional situation of Attorney, Solicitor or Counsellor, is not an office, in the strict, legal acceptance of the term. These propositions I shall discuss in their order.

Allow me to observe, in the outset, the great difficulty of actually proving the negative, *that no such disqualification is to be found*. If I were arguing with an adversary, I should call on him to produce the law, which created any prohibition of that nature,—the authority, the adjudication or the dictum, which stated any such disability; and I should contend, that until he had done so, it was not incumbent on me to prove anything, in as much as I should come under the maxim, that what the law does not prohibit, it permits. That line of argument, however, I do not mean to pursue. I avail myself indeed of the maxim, that the law permits all that it does not prohibit, but I shall endeavour to show that no law whatsoever has made that prohibition, or created that disability.

If any such prohibition has existence, it must be found either in the Constitution and Laws of the United States, in those of this State, or in so much of the English law as is still binding here.

After looking very carefully over *the Constitution and Laws of the United States*, I can not find anything regulating the admission of Solicitors, Attornies, or Counsellors; it is not a point touched upon by them, and therefore they certainly create no disability or prohibition. Respecting the rights or disqualifications of Aliens, the same thing may be said. Those laws provide rules for naturalization, but none of them say anything of what an Alien can or can not be, except the articles in the Constitution, which require Citizenship of a certain standing, for some offices.

The Constitution and Laws of the State are equally silent respecting the incapacities of aliens, if you except the Acts, which partially removes one of those incapacities by giving a restricted permission to purchase and hold land. Those laws however, and the State Constitution, take notice of the Professors of the law, in its different departments; but not so as to create any prohibitions; leaving the entire matter of their admission, except the requisite oath, and their entire regulation to the Courts themselves.

It is then perfectly clear that none of those laws create any objection to my receiving the favour I solicit, and that if any such exist, it must be found under the *English Common Law*. I say the Common law, for by the act for the amendment of the law &c, none of the English Statutes are law in this State. If any English Statute touching this question, therefore could be produced, of which I am not aware, it could do me no injury; and even the necessity of making it, would afford a strong proof, that without it no such objection could have force.

Turning over the English books, I find the Common law disqualification of foreigners entirely reduced to those which are well known—viz:—an alien can not hold a freehold in lands by purchase or inheritance—cannot be tenant to the curtesy, nor endowed,—cannot maintain a real or mixed action, nor, if an alien enemy, any action at all. These disqualifications relate solely to Estates and their incidents, and they are the only ones known to the Common law. Certain others relating to carrying on trades, having apprentices &c, and are therefore out of the question. Permit me then to ask is there anything resulting from these disqualifications, which were of mere feudal origin, to raise by analogy, inference or implication of any kind, an obstacle to a foreigner being permitted, if otherwise competent by knowledge and the performance of previous requisites, to act professionally in the Courts of Justice? It certainly was a thing not likely to happen often, because the diversity between the English laws and language, and those of every other country, rendered it scarcely possible, or desirable, for any foreigner to practice at the bar. Perhaps, however, some subsequent observation may lead to the belief, that in former times, foreigners may have actually

practiced in certain English Courts, with which their own laws were to a great degree common—and at this day, I am persuaded the only objection to an American being admitted in England, if he had kept the necessary terms, would arise from the oath of Allegiance, which is required by Statute, or from reasonings respecting it.

The objection against my application has I believe been put in this way—*an Alien can not be a Counsellor or Attorney because he cannot hold an office.* With the utmost submission and respect, I conceive that proposition to contain two errors—one, that an alien can not hold any office, and the other, that the situation of counsellor, or even of attorney is an office within the strict meaning of that term.

By no law-writer that I have been able to consult, do I find the position laid down as true *at Common law, that an alien could not hold any office.* I find on the contrary, that he could. It is laid down, 1st Com: Dig: 431, title Alien, (D. 3.) that if the King *grant an office* to an alien, it does not make him a denizen; for it shall not enure to two intents. For that position he quotes 3. Sec. 243—which I have not immediately by me, and have not been able to consult; but I have no doubt the question is correct, and it proves that the King's grant of an office to an alien, shall enure to the purpose of his holding it, and that, tho' he still continues an alien. It is also stated, 1st Com: Dig. 426. title Alien (c. 2.) and for which he quotes 2. Rol. 93, that a corporation may purchase, *tho' the head of the corporation be an alien*; thereby admitting the fact, that an alien could be the head of a corporation, which undoubtedly is to hold an office. Indeed, no doubt can exist that aliens were by the law permitted to be corporations, both sole and aggregate. Before the Reformation there were very many religious houses, consisting entirely of foreigners, known by the name of foreign Convents and Priors—that they were corporations, if it could be doubted, is evident from their having held large and extensive estates, which were subsequently seized. Many aliens formed corporation sole. During the times of the Papal Power, Italian and other foreign Clergymen used to go over to England and be promoted to Ecclesiastical Benefices. This arose to a very great height; but when Richard the second was inclined to break the Pope's influence in England, his Parliament passed the 3. Ric: 2. Cap. 3. which prohibited aliens from taking benefices, without the King's licence. This statute confirms two facts, 1st that aliens might before that have legally held benefices without obtaining the King's consent; and 2nd that after that they might have done the same thing, on obtaining a licence, which neither naturalized them, nor made them denizens, but left them aliens still.

Here I would beg leave to remark, that altho' I can produce no proof of the fact, and it is impossible, I believe to ascertain it at this day, yet it seems very probable that when the Ecclesiastical and Equity Courts were struggling to adopt almost entirely the civil law, and when the practitioners therein, as well as the judges were clergymen, those foreign Ecclesiastics, who had come from countries, where the civil law was generally adopted, were very frequently admitted to practice as civilians.

It may be asked, then, since the Common law creates no disqualification to an Alien holding office, what prevents him in any case? I answer, in England many things, not applicable to this argument, principally the landed tenures necessary for certain offices, as those of Coroner, Knights of the Shire, or Peer of Parliament, the official oaths to be taken, the charters and bye-laws of corporations, particularly Acts of Parliament, and lastly the unwillingness to name a foreigner, on the part of the crown, body or person having the right to appoint. And it is very observable that when that unwillingness did not exist on the part of the crown, directly after the Revolution, which by the bye, conferred the very highest office of the state on William the Third, an office which had been before inherited by James, the first, and which it was never supposed that any law disqualified either of them from holding in consequence of alienism. When William came to the throne, the desire of gratifying his followers, caused him to grant them many offices and even to have them naturalized and to create them Peers of the Realm. This produced the generally excluding law, the 12 & 13, W. 3, Cap. 2, which enacts that no alien, tho' naturalized or made a denizen, should enjoy any office or place of trust, either Civil or Military. On this statute I would observe, that if it had been merely calculated to prevent the enjoyment of offices by denizens or naturalized persons, it would have probably said so, and simply enacted that no denizen or naturalized person should

enjoy &c., but by using the larger expression, which excludes *all* aliens, it shows the doctrine to have been recognized as law that aliens could hold office.

It appears to me certain then, that there is no common law disqualification of this kind, unless the office by its nature requires landed tenure. Is there anything and what, in the American codes to disqualify an alien?

In the federal constitution and laws I know of nothing—except that the Constitution guards certain of the most important offices of the State to Citizens—the most important of all to a non-naturalized citizen; and it requires the members of the federal and State Legislatures and all Executive and Judicial officers to be bound by oath to support the Constitution. Under the protection of this oath, without super-adding even that of allegiance, it leaves the nomination of aliens as officers to the discretion of those in whom may be vested the powers of appointment. This liberal conduct was consonant to the spirit of the times, in which the Constitution was made, and was not I am convinced the result of mistake or omission. The Acts of Congress made no material alteration in this respect, that I have found, except that by the Army Act, all officers and privates, &c. are obliged to take the oath of Allegiance.

In this assertion, that by the Common or United States law there is no general disqualification to an alien from holding office, I am confirmed by the very highest authority. At Washington, many of the most respectable characters, with whom I had the honour of being acquainted, were of that opinion. The President, (Jefferson) repeatedly, in conversation on this subject, not only maintained that, whatever prudential reasons might regulate the discretion of the Court, there was no legal objection to my being admitted to the Barr, but he went further and first suggested to me the position I have stated, that there was no general legal disqualification to an alien holding office—he added that many instances to the contrary might be produced, and expressed his conviction that if the matter were accurately investigated, the idea would be found to originate in mistake. At the same city, there is actually an instance, as I am assured, of an alien holding an office with a salary, under the House of Representatives. I mean that of Mr. Laurie, who is chaplain to that House, and has not been three years in the country.

It only remains then, on this position, to enquire whether *the Constitution or Laws of this State* have created any such disqualification. The Constitution has required that certain officers, which it specifies shall be free holders, and with that restriction, has left the appointment of all officers to the discretion of those having the power of making it. The Act concerning Oaths, has imposed the Oath of Allegiance on every officer civil and military—but no act has created any other incapacity, necessary to be noted here, then what may result for the difficulty of taking that oath.

I hope the foregoing statement will be considered as demonstrating the error of the position, that by law an alien can not hold any office. But even were it true, I shall now endeavour to show that *the situation of Counsellor, or even of Solicitor or Attorney, is not an office within the strict meaning of that term.*

Permit me to premise, that it is become a matter of some consequence, not I hope to me, but certainly to others of considerable worth and respectability, to ascertain the truth of this doctrine. Some Gentlemen have been found guilty under the Duelling Act,—one of the penalties it inflicts is an incapacity to hold any office of honour, profit or trust. To them, therefore, as well as to me, it is of importance to establish that their profession is not an office.

Attornies have often been called officers of the Court and undoubtedly for the purpose of checking and controlling their conduct, they are so entirely at its discretion, that it has never before been worth while to discuss the question, how far they are officers in the proper legal or political acceptance of the word. Counsellors have not been so frequently considered in the same light, and on the received distinction between those two situations was founded on an opinion given me by the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania [Thos. McKean] that if he presided as he had done for many years, in the Supreme Court of that State, he would instantly admit me as a Counsellor, tho' he might hesitate to do so as an Attorney—at that time we spoke on the supposition that an alien could not hold an office. I do not however mean to ground anything on the distinction between attornies and counsellors, but shall consider them in the same light.

In 3 Bac: Abr. 718, title offices and officers (A), it is laid down on the authority of Carth, 478, to be a rule, that where one man hath to do with the affairs of another *against his will, and without his leave*, tis an office. Bacon then, on the authority of 2 Sid. 142, states the difference between an office and an employment—saying that every office is an employment, but that there are Employments, which do not come under the denomination of offices; such as an agreement to make hay, plough land, herd a flock &c., which differ widely from that of Steward of a Manor. Tho' the illustrations are taken from very humble life, yet I think they disclose principles that will support the following definition: *An officer is one who is bound to perform certain things for another, which the party interested in them would not be permitted to perform for himself, and which the officer when duly called upon can not refuse to perform.*

For the existence then of an office, two things are necessary, 1st, that the party interested in the discharge of its functions, will not be permitted to act for himself, and 2nd, that, as a compensation for that incapacity, the officer must act when called upon. Now are either of these two necessary characteristics of an office, to be found in the employment of Attorney or Counsellor? May not a party to a suit, if he pleases, appear and act for himself and can an Attorney or Counsellor be compelled to appear and act for another? So long indeed as he continues in the employment of the party, he is bound to the faithful discharge of his trust, like every other servant or person employed—but his undertaking the employment is in every instance entirely voluntary. As the situation requires peculiar information, of which suitors are not competent judges, and also very considerable integrity, the Courts do right in making provision—that the employment shall not be confided to the ignorant or the dishonest—but they do no more than the Universities and Colleges of Physicians, which only grant degrees and *licences to practice* physic, after due inquiry into the skill and character of the person offering himself—or than Bishops and other heads of Churches do, before they ordain a clergyman. In the fair and rational point of view, they are all professions or employments, in which voluntary services, requiring peculiar learning and good conduct, are performed for voluntary applicants and in consideration of the necessity of such learning and good conduct a power is vested in those who are qualified to judge on those subjects, that they may examine and decide on the fitness of those who wish to enter into the profession, for the mass of society, which is incapable of forming any judgement, respecting at least one of the necessary qualifications. Physic and Divinity are professions open to duly qualified and learned aliens. Why should not the profession of the law be also open to an alien whose studies and learning have been of the legal kind?

The laws of this State seem to recognize the distinction between this profession and an office so called. But before I examine them I would premise that officers act under a *Commission or Warrant*, that is under an order to do, or a security from injury for doing certain things which they are bound to do; but lawyers receive only a *licence* or bare permission to practice if they choose. The Act of this State concerning Counsellors &c. was passed, and I think the date material, on the 20th March 1801, and enacts (Sec: 4.) that no person shall be admitted a Counsellor &c. without taking an Oath duly to demean himself in the practice &c.—and this is the only oath whatsoever, which it imposes as a preliminary qualification for being *admitted* to practice in those capacities. On the 2nd of April 1801, only thirteen days after, was passed an act concerning oaths, which requires that every person who shall hereafter *be appointed* to any office, Civil or Military, shall take an oath renouncing all foreign allegiance and professing allegiance to this State. Now, I beg leave to observe, that those two acts, at the same time under the eye of the Legislature, and enacted so nearly at once, must be considered as made, if I may say so, *uno flatu*; the one prescribes *the only oath*, and every legal qualification required from the non-commissioned members of the legal Profession—the other act marks out what Oaths, *whether of office or Allegiance*, shall be required from all officers *appointed*, that is, deriving their authority from the Council of *appointment* or any other persons having a right to appoint. A careful examination and comparison of these two acts induced the Supreme Court to decide that Counsellors &c. were not within the purview of the last, which requires the oath of allegiance, and therefore, I presume, if officers at all, not of that description, that if any disqualification for non-citizenship could on general principles be supposed to exist, would fall within it.

These observations have been extended considerably more than was originally intended, and certainly their length stands very much in need of apology. I shall, therefore, only observe, that five courts have now admitted me, and therefore judicially expressed their opinion, that my want of citizenship formed, at least no legal objection to my admission; for altho' I feel, and very gratefully acknowledge, that the peculiar circumstances of my case, have induced them to exercise their discretion towards me, with the utmost liberality—yet I can not pay them so bad a compliment as to suppose they sacrificed the smallest portion of what they conceived to be the law of the land. They dispensed indeed with requisites, which they had themselves created for cases not similar to mine,—and being convinced that I am not an adventurer, whom professional disrespectability or failure has forced to try a new speculation here, but that my imigration to this country has arisen from very different causes, and when they became convinced that no other obstacle lay in my way, but those resulting from their own rules, over which they had entire control, they accorded to me the permission of following the profession to which I was bred, and in which I was known—and by that kind and generous conduct, conferred on me the greatest favour I could possibly receive at their hands.

I beg, Sir, that you will excuse the length of this letter—its importance to myself and to my family have perhaps made me enter too minutely into detail—but as I am conscious I do not submit it to an unfriendly Judge, I venture to lay it before you, with these defects, which I could not now correct, without considerably increasing the great delay, that has already unavoidably occurred, by my being obliged, for those days, to devote myself to other business.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. EMMET GOES TO WASHINGTON, AND IS ADMITTED TO PRACTICE IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. HE RETURNS TO NEW YORK, AND IS ADMITTED TO THE BAR OF THE STATE. AFTER OVERCOMING AN ORGANIZED OPPOSITION INSTITUTED BY THE FRIENDS OF MR. RUFUS KING, HE BECOMES A SUCCESSFUL AND DISTINGUISHED MEMBER OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

Every inducement was offered Mr. Emmet to settle in New York after the Mayor had granted him permission to practice in his court. But before making his decision he visited the city of Washington, where, without any action on his part, he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. On his return to New York the Clintons, Mr. Daniel D. Tompkins and other friends caused a special act to be passed through the Legislature by which Mr. Emmet was admitted regularly to the Bar and entitled to practice in all the courts of the State.

Business was offered to him as soon as he was able to take charge of it. The first case he received was from the Quakers to defend a fugitive slave, and, as we will see hereafter, his last case was for charity.

He had scarcely settled his family and begun his career when he received a visit from his old friend and distant relative, Harman Blennerhassett. We find this visit referred to in "The Blennerhassett Papers" (edited by Wm. H. Stafford, Cincinnati, 1864) in the following manner: "About this time, Blennerhassett, having received intelligence of the arrival in New York of his class mate and friend, the celebrated Thomas Addis Emmet, who had been compelled to flee his country by reason of serious political difficulties, hastened to meet him. The feelings of the exiles, as they again clasped hands on the western borders of the Atlantic, can only be fully appreciated by those who experienced similar vicissitudes. Here he found one with whom he could freely sympathize, and who, in return, could as freely sympathize with him. Often in early life, had they sported together over the same green meadows, and participated in the same amusements. And when, at a more advanced age, they had been honorable competitors for academic honors, no selfish ambition had served to loose the bonds which early childhood welded, although the contest was never so spirited, or the prize was never so dazzling. Still later in life,

they had deplored together the fate of their country; had witnessed her deep degradation and sighed over the hopeless prospects which were shadowed in the distant future. After several weeks spent with his friend, during which time he renewed his former acquaintance in the city, he returned to his family on the island."

Shortly after Mr. Blennerhassett's visit to New York he became acquainted with Aaron Burr, and involved with him in what was charged to be treason against the United States—the fitting out of an expedition for the supposed purpose of capturing territory held by a friendly power. He was arrested and tried with Burr on this charge, but was finally acquitted, as the evidence was insufficient.

Blennerhassett was ably defended by voluntary counsel. In answer to some queries addressed to him from Burr, through Col. Alston, Blennerhassett wrote: "I had no doubt Emmett's friendship for me would bring him hither to assist in my defense, if he thought I stood in need of him; but as I was, on the one hand, determined to expend no money in my defense, I was, on the other, equally averse to bringing my friend on a journey from his large family, or withdrawing his industry from that harvest on which that family depended for their support; but could I engage Mr. Emmett at a suitable compensation, I would write to him forthwith."

Great injustice was done Blennerhassett, for, whatever may have been Burr's ulterior purpose, Blennerhassett's great object was evidently to seek a new settlement for his family in some more genial climate.

He had settled on a large island in the Ohio River, near Marietta, and had made the wilderness about him teem with plenty. But as the Spaniards then held the mouth of the Mississippi River there was no market or outlet for his produce, so for this reason and because of the absence of the social relations to which he had been accustomed he became anxious to change his habitation.

After his arrest his house was nearly destroyed and his estate was made a barren waste by the lawlessness of soldiers who were in charge, awaiting the result of the trial. His family had separated, and in their support, together with the liabilities he had incurred by indorsing notes for Col. Burr and in meeting the necessary expenses connected with his trial, he was at length reduced from affluence to a state of great embarrassment. He returned to his home, not only broken in fortune, but in health. He hoped to save something from the wreck and to obtain some redress from the United States Government for the losses he had sustained, but he was destined to disappointment.



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The medical men of New York always claimed Mr. Emmet as a member of their own profession, and one of the first official recognitions he received was from the Medical Society of the County of New York. This is shown by the following letter, in which he accepts the position of Counselor to that Society, which position he held until his death :

NEW YORK, July 12th, 1806.

DEAR SIR :

Permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your polite note, and to express my regret that I had not the pleasure of seeing you and the other gentlemen of your committee, when you were so good as to call upon me.

I request you to return my most sincere thanks to the members of the Medical Society for the Honour they have done me in appointing me their Counsellor, and to assure them, that in return for their confidence I shall always endeavour to discharge my duty to the best of my abilities.

I have the honour to be Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

James Tillary, Esq., M.D.,
Broadway.

Political feeling was most bitter at the time Mr. Emmet settled in New York, and the city was then a stronghold of the Federal party. Mr. Emmet's friends were all allied to the Republican party, which was the same as the Democratic party of the present day, and being himself a Democrat in principle, he became associated and remained with that party throughout his life. He met with great opposition from the beginning in consequence, as a number of the Bar at once joined in a cabal to crush him. But Mr. Emmet was not a man to be intimidated, nor was he easily discouraged. He quietly overcame all opposition by his exalted character, gradually making lasting friends of those who in the beginning had been most opposed to him, and eventually, notwithstanding every obstacle, he reached a degree of eminence at the Bar seldom gained. Mr. Emmet finally removed the last remnant of this organized opposition to him by an open letter, written in 1807, and published in the public press, to Mr. Rufus King, who was then the candidate of the Federalist party for Governor of the State.

Mr. Emmet was fully satisfied that Mr. King, while the United States Minister to England, had used that position to prevent his emigrating to this country, and consequently he considered Mr. King directly responsible for his long imprisonment. As Mr. King and his friends had been most active in their opposition to Mr. Emmet, he determined to defeat King's election. With this object in view, he addressed an open letter to Mr. King, asking certain questions regarding his attitude towards the Irish

state prisoners while he was Minister to the Court of St. James. This letter Mr. King did not see fit to answer. Mr. Emmet then addressed another letter to him, of which a copy will be given. Notwithstanding the great length of this letter, it covers so much of historical interest in Mr. Emmet's life which became public property, that its insertion needs no apology on the charge of reviving old issues which have long been forgotten. Dr. Madden writes in reference to this letter: "Emmet's correspondence with Mr. Rufus King in 1807, in which the characteristics of his mind are exhibited in a clearer light than any other of his letters which have fallen under the author's observation, will be found well deserving of attention."

LETTER FROM THOS. ADDIS EMMET TO RUFUS KING.

NEW YORK, 9th of April, 1807.

SIR:—From your silence on the subject of my letter of the 4th instant, I presume that I am not to be honoured with a reply. Perhaps this may be owing to my temerity in addressing him whom Mr. Coleman* calls "the first man in the country." Of the height to which your friends exalt, or wish to exalt you, I confess I was not aware when I rashly ventured to question the propriety of some of your past conduct. I thought that in this country you had many equals, and I protest I imagined Mr. Jefferson, for instance, was your superior.

You will, Sir, however, I hope, excuse my ignorance in this respect, and attribute it to the circumstance of my being an alien, and of course not yet sufficiently acquainted with the local politics of this country.

Though you, Sir, have not honoured me with your notice, I have been abundantly honoured by your friends; and yet, extraordinary as it may appear, I mean to pay little attention to their assiduities, but to envelope myself in dignity like your own. As far as they have attempted to attack my character, I shall leave it to be defended by others, or rather to defend itself. Not that I affect to be insensible of the value of public opinion,—but in truth, Sir, in the present pressure of professional business, I have not time to do justice both to you and to myself, and I think it of infinitely more importance to the community, in the existing crises to make known what you are than what I am. You are the candidate for public favour, and your conduct is the proper subject of public inquiry. Permit me, however, Sir, before I enter upon that interesting topic, to make a few general observations touching myself. Mr. Coleman has brought forward some extracts from the reports of the secret committee in Ireland; I think it more than probable that he was not himself in possession of these documents,—from whom did he receive them? There is no person in this country more likely to have them than the gentleman who was at the time the resident minister to London. When you handed them to him, perhaps your memory might have served you to state, that as soon as those reports appeared in the public prints, Dr. Macneven, Mr. O'Connor and myself, at that time State Prisoners, by an advertisement to which we subscribed our names, protested against the falsehood and inaccuracy of these reports; for which act we were remitted to close custody in our rooms for upward of three months, and a proposal was made in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. M'Naghten, an Orangeman, to take us out and hang us without trial! You might also, perhaps, have recollected, for it has been published, that, while we were in this situation, other state calumnies accidentally reached the ears of one of our fellow-sufferers in another prison, who wrote a letter to the editor of the *Courier* in London, for the purpose of contradicting them, and enclosed a copy of his letter to Lord Castlereagh. Upon this Mr. Secretary Cooke was sent to inform him that if he published the contradiction he should be hanged,—to that he replied he was ready to meet the event; upon which Mr. Cooke told him, that since he was indifferent

* Editor New York Evening Post.

about his own life, he must know that if he persevered the whole system of court-martial, massacre and horrors, should be renewed throughout the country. By that menace he was effectually restrained.

Had you thought of mentioning these, you might have jocularly added that though these statements might serve some present party purposes, it was rather more unfair to judge of us by the calumnies of the Irish Government than it would be to judge of Mr. Jefferson and his friends by the editorial articles in the *Evening Post*.

The weapons you are using have been tried in Ireland among my friends and my enemies, where everything was minutely known, and they failed of effect. If I had ever done anything mean or dishonourable,—if I had abandoned or compromised my character, my country, or my cause—I should not be esteemed and believed in Ireland, as I am proud to know I am. I should not enjoy the affection and respect of my republican countrymen in America, as you, Sir, and your friends confess I do.

It would not be in the power of one who had departed from the line of his duty in their and his common country, by simply expressing to them his sentiments of you, to do you such an essential injury as I am accused of having committed.

Another charge made against me is, that I am an alien, interfering in the politics of this country. But be it so for the moment, and let me ask why is it that I am an alien in this my adopted country at this day? Because, in consequence of your interference, I was prevented from coming to it in 1798, and from being naturalized upward of three years ago. Supposing, then, that I should refrain from intermeddling with politics, in every other case, where you are concerned I feel myself authorized to exercise the rights of a citizen as far as by law I may; for you know that it is an established rule of equity and good sense that no man shall be benefited by his own wrong. But how do I come forward? Not as a citizen, but as a witness. Allow me to ask you, if I possessed a knowledge of facts which could prove Mr. Jefferson guilty of a robbery or a cheat, and unfit to be trusted with power, would you think me culpable if, notwithstanding my alienage, I made them known to the public, to prevent their being deceived and misled? And shall I not be permitted, because in consequence of your misconduct I am not a citizen, to testify to facts which will prove you unfit to be entrusted in this country with any kind of delegated power? Whether Peter Porcupine [Wm. Cobbett] or, Mr. Carpenter * ever went through the forms of naturalization, I know not; but perhaps they might both be safely considered as aliens—and yet I have never heard any of your friends censure their interference in the politics of America. I do not mention these gentlemen as my models, nor propose their example as my vindication, but I wish to show the pliability of those principles which are to be erected into a barrier against me.

As a witness then, Sir, I come forward to testify, not to my countrymen, but to the electors of this city, to the whole of the United States, if you should ever aspire to govern them, and I now present you with my evidence.

In the summer of 1798, after the attempt of the people of Ireland for their emancipation had been completely defeated,—after every armed body had been dispersed or had surrendered, except a few men that had taken refuge in the mountains of Wicklow,—while military tribunals, house burnings, shooting, torture, and every kind of devastation were desolating and overwhelming the defenceless inhabitants, some of the State prisoners then in confinement entered into a negotiation with the Irish Ministry for effecting a general amnesty; and as an inducement offered, among other things not necessary to the examination of your conduct, to emigrate to such country as might be agreed upon between them and the Government. When I consented to this offer, for one, and it was the case with the great majority, I solemnly declare that I was perfectly apprised that there were no legal grounds discovered upon which to proceed against me.

I further know that the Crown-Solicitor had in answer to the inquiries of my friends, informed them that there was no intention of preferring a bill of indictment against me. So much for the personal consideration by which I might have been actuated; and now, Sir, to return.

* The author of a scurrilous *Life of Thomas Jefferson*.

The offer was accepted; the bloody system was stopped for a time, and was not renewed until after your interference, and after the British Ministry had resolved openly to break its faith with us. On our part we performed our stipulation with the most punctilious fidelity, but in such a manner as to preserve to us the warmest approbation of our friends, and to excite the greatest dissatisfaction in our enemies. Government soon perceived that on the score of interest it had calculated badly, and had gained nothing by the contract. It was afraid of letting us go at large to develop and detect the misrepresentations and calumnies that were studiously set afloat, and had therefore, I am convinced, determined to violate its engagements by keeping us prisoners as long as possible. How was this to be done? In the commencement of our negotiations Lord Castlereagh declared, as a reason for our acceding to the government's possessing a negative on our choice, that it had no worse place in view for our emigration than the United States of America.

We had made our election to go there, and called upon him to have our agreement carried into execution. In that difficulty, you sir, offered every effectual assistance to the faithlessness of the British Cabinet. On the 16th of September, Mr. Marsden, then Under-Secretary came to inform us that Mr. King had remonstrated against our being permitted to emigrate to America. This astonished us all, and Dr. Maeneven very plainly said that he considered this as a mere trick between Mr. King and the British Government. This Mr. Marsden denied and on being pressed to know what reason Mr. King could have for preventing us, who were avowed republicans, from emigrating to America, he significantly answered "Perhaps Mr. King does not desire to have republicans in America." Your interference was then, sir, made the pretext of detaining us for four years in custody, by which very extensive and useful plans of settlement within these states were broken up. The misfortunes which you brought upon the objects of your persecution were incalculable. Almost all of us wasted four of the best years of our life in prison. As to me, I would have brought along with me my father and his family, including a brother, whose name perhaps you even will not read without emotion or sympathy and respect. Others nearly connected with me would have been partners in my emigration. But all of them have been torn from me. I have been prevented from saving a brother, from receiving the dying blessings of a father, mother, and sister, and from soothing their last agonies by my cares—and this, Sir, by your unwarrantable and unfeeling interference.

Your friends, when they accuse me of want of moderation in my conduct towards you, are wonderfully mistaken. They do not reflect, or know, that I have never spoken of you without suppressing, as I do now, personal feelings that rise up within me, and swell my heart with indignation and resentment. But I mean to confine myself to an examination of your conduct as far as it is of public importance.

The step you took was unauthorized by your own government. Our agreement with that of Ireland was entered into on the 29th July. Your prohibition was notified to us on the 16th of September. Deduct seven days for the two communications between Dublin and London, and you had precisely forty two days, in the calms of summer, for transmitting your intelligence to America, and receiving an answer! As you had no order, then, what was the motive of your unauthorized act? I can not positively say, but I will tell you my convictions. The British Ministry had resolved to detain us prisoners contrary to their pledged honour and you, Sir, I fear, lent your ministerial character to enable them to commit an act of perfidy which they would not otherwise have dared to perpetrate.

Whether our conduct in Ireland was right or wrong, you have no justification for yours. The Constitution and Laws of the country gave you no power to require of the British government that it should violate its faith, and withdraw from us its consent to the place we had fixed upon for our voluntary emigration. Neither the president nor you were warranted to prevent our touching these shores, though the former might under the Alien Act, have afterwards sent us away if he had reason to think we were plotting anything against the United States. I have heard something about the law of nations; but you are too well acquainted with that law not to know that it has no bearing on this subject. Our emigration was voluntary, and the English government had, in point of justice, no more to do with it than to signify that there was no objection to the place of residence we had chosen.

Another circumstance which compels me to believe a collusive league between you, in your capacity of resident minister from America, and the Cabinet of St. James's is the very extravagant and unwarrantable nature of your remonstrance, which, had the ministry been sincere towards us, they could not possibly have overlooked. If they had intended to observe their compact, you, Sir, would have been very quickly made to feel the futility of your ill-timed application. You would have been taught that it was a matter of mere private arrangement between Government and us, with which you had no more to do than the Minister of Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, or any other neutral power.

What inference ought fairly to be made from the facts I have stated, every man must decide for himself. On me they have forced a conviction, which, if you can shake it, I shall much more gladly forego than I state it here, that in the instance alluded to you degraded the dignity and independence of the country you represented, you abandoned the principles of its government and its policy, and you became the tool of a foreign state, to give it a colourable pretext for the commission of a crime. If so, is it fit that you should hereafter be intrusted with any kind of delegated authority? What motives you may have had for that conduct, if in truth it was yours, I can not undertake to say. Mr. Marsden seemed to doubt whether you wished for republicans in America; and I shrewdly suspect he spoke what the British Ministry thought of your politics.

Perhaps it may be said that you yourself were deceived by those very calumnies of which I have complained. I sincerely wish I could believe that such were the facts, but observe this argument. We contradicted the misstatements of the Committees of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, by an advertisement written in prison, signed by our names, and published on the 27th of August. It must have reached London on the 1st or 2nd of September; your remonstrance must have been made on or before the 12th, for it was communicated to us on the 16th. The effect produced by our advertisement was electrical, and the debates which it caused on the very evening of its appearance in the Irish House of Commons, was remarkable. As you doubtless read the newspapers of the day these facts could not be unknown to you. Why then should you be deceived by representations which we had recently contradicted under circumstances so extraordinary? Mr. King, did you enter so deeply into the revolution of your country as to implicate your life in the issue of its fortunes? From the strong attachment of your political friends, I presume you were a distinguished leader in these eventful times, if not, you had certainly read their history. Did you remember the calumnies which had been thrown out by British agents against the most upright and venerable patriots of America? Did you recall to mind the treatment which had been given, in South Carolina to Gov^r Gadsden, to Gen^l Rutherford, Col. Isaacs and a number of others who had surrendered to that very Lord Cornwallis with whom, through his Ministers, we negotiated; and that those distinguished characters were, in violation of their capitulation and the rights of their parole, sent to St. Augustine, as we were afterwards to Fort George? * How then is it possible that you could have been a dupe to the misrepresentations of the British Government?

* By some oversight the surname of Col. Isaac Hayne was omitted in the published letter. At the surrender of Charleston, S. C., in 1781, the American officers and the civilians of the city were paroled with the understanding that they were not to bear arms until they had been exchanged, and if those who had plantations would remain quietly at home, it was agreed they would not be disturbed. But under one pretext and another a large number of the most prominent persons of Charleston and its neighborhood were gathered on the prison-ships in the harbor and were eventually sent to St. Augustine, Fla., where, in gross violation of the terms of capitulation, they were subjected to great privations and close confinement. Capt. Isaac Hayne, however, was not of this number, but was allowed to reside on his plantation, with the clear understanding that no further service would be exacted if he conformed to the terms of his parole. At length the British army under Cornwallis passed into Virginia and was cared for at Yorktown, Tarleton and others, commanding smaller bodies of troops, being either captured or driven into Charleston, and the British troops finally held no other portion of the State. At this time Capt. Hayne and other military men on their parole were summoned to Charleston and given the option of entering the British army or of being placed in close confinement. Hayne reported in Charleston and begged that his confinement be deferred for a short time, as his wife and children were desperately ill with smallpox. Department Commandant Pattison, of the British army, who had special charge of the business, assured Hayne that if he took the oath of allegiance to the Crown he could then return home and nothing more would be required of him. A few days after his return home he was ordered to join the army in Charleston, being a British subject in consequence of his having taken the oath of allegiance. Hayne disregarded the summons, as every term of

These remarks I address, with all becoming respect, to "the first man in the country," yet in fact, Sir, I do not clearly see in what consists your superiority over myself. It is true you have been a resident minister at the Court of St. James' and if what I have read in the public prints be true, and if you be apprised of my near relationship and family connection with the late Sir John Temple, you must acknowledge that your interference, as resident minister at the Court of St. James' against my being permitted to emigrate to America, is a very curious instance of the caprice of fortune. But let that pass. To what extent I ought to yield to you for talents and information is not for me to decide. In no other respect, however, do I feel your excessive superiority. My private character and conduct are, I hope, as fair as yours; and even in these matters which I consider as trivial, but upon which aristocratic pride is accustomed to stamp a value, I should not be inclined to shrink from competition. My birth certainly will not humble me by the comparison; my paternal fortune was probably much greater than yours; the consideration in which the name I bear was held in my native country was as great as yours is ever likely to be, before I had an opportunity of contributing to its celebrity. As to the amount of what private fortune I have been able to save from the wreck of calamity, it is unknown to you and to your friends; but two things I will tell you, I never was indebted, either in the country from which I came, nor in any other in which I have lived, to any man further than the necessary credit for current expenses of a family; and am not so circumstanced that I should tremble "for my existence," at the threatened displeasure of your friends. So much for the past and the present, now for the future. Circumstances which cannot be controlled have decided that my name must be embodied in history. From the manner in which even my political adversaries, and some of my cotemporary historians, unequivocally hostile to my principles, already speak of me, I have the consolation of reflecting that when the falsehoods of the day are withered and rotten I shall be respected and esteemed. You, Sir, will probably be forgotten when I shall be remembered with honour; or if, peradventure, your name should descend to posterity, perhaps you will be known only as the recorded instrument of part of my persecution, suffering and misfortunes.

I am, Sir, &c.,

THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

The writer has in his possession a letter written by Col. John Trumbull, of the Revolution, a friend of Washington, the artist who painted in the Capitol at Washington the "Signing of the Declaration of Independence" and other historical paintings. Mr. Trumbull was a man of great integrity, and was generally considered to be one of good sense and judgment, yet this letter shows that he was not above the influence of prejudice. It was

the surrender had been violated by the British authorities. He felt that his parole could be no longer claimed, and that the oath of allegiance had been canceled, from the fact that the American army then held that territory. As his family was now in no immediate danger, Col. Hayne joined the American army in his neighborhood and received a commission as colonel. Shortly after, while making a raid near Charleston, he captured Gen. Andrew Williamson, "the Arnold of the South," who had but recently deserted to the enemy. Col. Nesbit Balfour, the commanding officer at Charleston, ordered out nearly the whole of his force to pursue Hayne's command, which was retreating with its prisoner, and fearing that Williamson would be summarily dealt with on reaching Gen. Greene's headquarters, the American force was overpowered and Hayne was made a prisoner. He was treated with great indignity, thrown into the provost prison of Charleston, speedily tried, as the farce was termed, and sentenced to be hung for desertion, on the joint order of Col. Balfour and Lord Rawden. But as an act of special leniency he was given a respite of forty-eight hours to take leave of his wife and children. When Mrs. Hayne was sent for it was found that she had already died from smallpox.

It is true that Cornwallis was selected by the British commander, Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, to receive Gen. Lincoln's sword at the surrender of Charleston, but he was not at this time in Charleston, nor was he in any way responsible for this military murder. It attracted such a great deal of comment throughout the civilized world, that Balfour and Rawden each attempted to hold the other responsible. Thirty-two years after Lord Rawden, then the Earl of Moira, attempted to justify his conduct in a letter to Col. Henry Lee, claiming that Col. Nesbit Balfour, a worthy member of this office-holding family, was alone responsible for the death of this noble young man.

written from New York on April 7th, 1807, to a Mr. Williams, of Boston, on business matters, but concludes with the paragraph:

We are enjoying all the delights of electioneering—Frenchmen and Wild Irish—Genet and T. A. Emmet, in close alliance with the Clintons against R. King and Americans.

Vive la Liberté.

Your faithful and obliged friend,

JOHN TRUMBULL.

In the letter read and addressed to Mr. King, Wm. Cobbett is referred to by Mr. Emmet, under his literary cognomen of "Peter Porcupine." Cobbett was a violent Federalist and partisan of Mr. King. It is, therefore, evident that a lack of consistency and fairness in political matters is shown to be as much wanting in one generation as in another if the judgment be biased by prejudice. Mr. Emmet was no more of the "Wild Irish" than Mr. Cobbett, and neither had yet been naturalized, but the latter by being a Federalist, instead of being a supporter of the Democratic party, became in the eyes of Mr. Trumbull an American.

Mr. King was defeated in his election by the publication of Mr. Emmet's letter, and he never again sought an elective office.

CHAPTER XV.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY THOS. ADDIS EMMET AND RELATING TO HIMSELF AND FAMILY. NOTICE OF ROBERT FULTON.

Mr. Emmet had now silenced his enemies and overcome all opposition, so that his future course was one of uninterrupted success. Those who had most bitterly opposed him in the beginning became afterwards warm personal friends. Mr. Emmet and Mr. King, however, never met, though more or less social intercourse existed between the children, and on Mr. Emmet's death Mr. King's eldest son was one of the first to offer his condolence, as we will see hereafter.

Mr. Emmet and his friend Blennerhassett were so widely separated that only at long intervals did either succeed in communicating with the other, and in the absence of all mail facilities many of their letters were lost. The following from Mr. Emmet was found in the Blennerhassett Papers :

NEW YORK, Sept. 15th, 1809.

MY DEAR BLENNERHASSETT,

It was not without considerable emotion and pleasure that I received yours a few days since by Mr. Harding, and heard from him the first news I had been able, authentically, to collect of your present situation. Of what is past, it is not fit I should say anything in a communication of this kind; of the future, you will believe me perfectly sincere, when I assure you that your prosperity and happiness will always interest me very strongly. In return for the pleasing intelligence I have had of you, accept similar accounts of me and my family. My success has been greater than I could have calculated upon. My health has been extremely good, and Mrs. Emmett and the children enjoy the prosperity which has succeeded to our trials; such, I trust will also be the event of your present situation. Mr. Harding mentioned to me that he had brought along with him your oldest son Dominick, and placed him at an Academy at Georgetown, Pennsylvania.*

As Mrs. Blennerhassett has brought her mind to part with him, a thought struck me, which I now lay before you, I have three sons [John, Thomas and Temple] at school at Flatbush, Long Island, five miles from this city, under the care of a Mr. Thompson, who is very competent, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and of very unexceptionable character; his wife is a Mary Anne Connell, cousin to Maurice Connell, of Iveragh; came over here a widow, of the name of Yielding, with strong letters from Kerry friends to Mrs. Emmett, and was married in my house to Mr. Thompson. I have mentioned your son to them both, and can answer he would be treated with more than common affection and care; and being at the same school with my own, I should have opportunities of showing him, perhaps, some attention, which, situated where he is, would be

* Probably Maryland, and now District of Columbia.

out of my power. I am not fond of supplanting a person like his present master, who, I presume, would discharge his duty, but I submit the proposition to your consideration.

Adieu, my dear Blennerhassett. Do you and Mrs. B. receive the best wishes of me and my family for everything that concerns you, and believe me,

Sincerely yours,

THOS. ADDIS EMMETT.*

During the War of 1812 Mr. Emmet accepted the command of an Irish regiment, which at a time of threatened attack did service in some of the fortifications erected for the defense of New York. He was elected Attorney-General for the State of New York in 1812, but he resigned the office within a year, as his duties necessitated his passing the greater portion of his time in Albany and away from his family. This was the only office Mr. Emmet ever accepted from the public, and after resigning this one he devoted himself closely to the duties of his profession until his death.

Robert Fulton and Mr. Emmet resided in Paris at the same time, where they became acquainted and a warm friendship sprang up between them.† Mr. Fulton returned to New York about the time Mr. Emmet arrived with his family, and it is not improbable that they crossed in the same ship. From this time until his death Fulton was on the most intimate terms with the Emmet family. He had studied painting under Benjamin West, and detecting evidences of talent in Mr. Emmet's second daughter, Elizabeth, he devoted much of his spare time for several years perfecting Miss Emmet's skill in portrait-painting. He sat, as a critic and model, for Miss Emmet to paint his likeness. From this portrait, well remembered by the writer, an engraving was made by W. S. Leney in 1817 for Cadwallader D. Colden's "Life of Robert Fulton."

Mr. Colden was an intimate friend of both Fulton and the Emmet family, and being familiar with the history of this portrait,‡ selected it for

* For some unexplained reason Mr. Emmet reverted in this letter to the old mode of spelling the name with double "t," as his father spelled it in early life. That it was not an accident has been shown by a document in the possession of the writer which was signed in the same manner and about the same period.

† The diary of Mr. Emmet shows that Fulton at one time expected to join the expedition to Ireland for the purpose of using his recently invented torpedo against the English.

‡ Delaplaine in his Repository attributes this portrait, which he copied, for some reason to West. Delaplaine's book was the first of a number that have appeared since, in which like works the duties of the editor were not laborious, as any citizen could have the privilege of being distinguished and of writing his own eulogy provided he was willing to go to the expense of having his likeness taken under the charge of the editor or publisher, who made this feature profitable. Probably the following extract from a letter written by Mr. Emmet to his daughter will explain why he does not appear in this work, and why Miss Emmet was not given the credit for painting the portrait. The letter is dated February 20th, 1817. "I perceive by Delaplaine's letter that he still holds on. I ought to have written to him in answer to his letter, but did not well know what to say, and indeed forgot it in thinking about other things. *As to sitting for my picture and paying for it*, my vanity is not equal to that, and I can not permit myself to be exhibited as one of the National Worthies on these terms. But if you thought you could make anything out of the picture you have, why then vanity might let it go,—so that the kind of answer I shall give him will depend on you." The writer learned from his aunt, Mrs. Le Roy, many



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THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

his work. But a short time before Fulton's death he assisted her in painting portraits of her father and mother. Both of these are in the possession of the writer, and that of her father is here reproduced. Her mother's portrait will be given hereafter.

Mr. Emmet was Fulton's lawyer in all the various litigations which sprang up in connection with monopolies granted him in different States for the exclusive use of steamboats. There is a tradition in the family that Mr. Emmet after defending a suit in Trenton, N. J., was returning to New York with Mr. Fulton, and not being able to get over on the ferry-boat, they and others attempted to cross on the ice from "Hobuck" ferry point at Mr. John Stevens's place. The ice not being strong and partially covered with water, Mr. Emmet, the heavier of the two, broke through. In his efforts to get Mr. Emmet out Mr. Fulton exposed himself by getting overheated, with the result that he caught a severe sore throat. Without waiting to recover from it he again exposed himself on the following day in very inclement weather, and in consequence of his imprudence he died, at No. 1 State Street, a few days afterward, in February, 1815. The house is still standing.

With the exception of a few letters written by Mr. Emmet to different members of his family, all those which have been found written about this period were of a strictly business character. The following letter is one of interest, written by Mr. Emmet to his daughter Elizabeth, who was then about to be married to Mr. Wm. H. Le Roy, and it was written from Albany while Mr. Emmet was attending the sitting of the State courts:

ALBANY, February 12th, 1818.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH,

Your letter was an unexpected favor, for which I am the more indebted to you, as I had released you from all necessity of writing from any other impulse than affection, I supposed your head would be occupied with the bustle of company to which, even if you were an unwilling partaker of its amusements, you must at present lend yourself. I take for granted your heart was occupied with something more infinitely preferable but which for the present at least, if it did not exclude me, would make my *congé* acceptable. Gratifying as it always is to receive assurances of your love, they are particularly valuable, when my mind is constantly dwelling on your fate and prospects, and they in some measure repay the hopes and wishes that are the companions of my pillow, that close my eyes with prayer and open them again to happy expectations.

I read with all a father's feeling the vague acknowledgment, to which, however, I attach an *individual* meaning, that there is not a *member of the family*, you would wish different from what *they are*. If I understand you correctly, my dearest girl, you are fortunate indeed. The respectability and amiableness of the family are as well known as their wealth, and about that most impor-

years ago and previous to 1850, that this portrait had been borrowed for some public celebration in honor of Fulton, and it was never returned. Delaplaine was allowed to copy Miss Emmet's portrait of Fulton for his work, and knew its history, yet he did not give the artist credit, as her father had declined to incur the expense of having a special portrait painted for the Repository. In consequence of Delaplaine's engraving of Fulton this picture was sold in New York within a few years as an original painting by Benjamin West.

tant and momentous concern to a young woman, the character and disposition of her husband's connections I felt always easy. My own abstraction from mixed or fashionable society, difference of age and pursuits, and my quick departure from New York left me little or no opportunity of forming a sufficient judgement on the all important point, infinitely more momentous than the character and dispositions of his connections.

Most willingly, however, I rely on your Mother's opinion and yours. I believe this is the first letter I ever wrote you, and it is possible the last I shall ever write you by your present name. Which would you prefer, having it filled with the trifling topics of ordinary correspondence or with the more serious effusions of my mind on your intended change of condition? I know you too well not to anticipate your answer, particularly as reading a letter will not produce the same embarrassment and awkwardness that perhaps a conversational lecture would do.

When I used to consider your disposition, talents, and acquirements, and I will now, without flattery say your merits, and looked around upon the young men within the circle of my acquaintance, I confess I have often reflected with solicitude on your future destiny and feared that the heart which found no congenial breast to rest upon, might make for itself an idol of happiness in future that would open the way to grandeur and fashion. But fortune is only an Idol, and not the true god of happiness. The regions of grandeur and fashion are not the bidding places of the blessed, and the heart that devotes itself to this false worship never feels satisfied, and is too often grievously disappointed. Opulence that secures the conveniences and comforts, and a proper share of the luxuries of life, may be a desirable sweetener of the wedded state, and it naturally recommends and fixes attention upon the other merits of its possessor. But I fervently hope that, now you have become intimately acquainted with Mr. Le Roy, whatever he may possess or expect of wealth, is in your eyes by far his slightest recommendation. It is that hope and belief which make me rejoice to think your fate is fixed, and with these views you will feel no disappointment or dissatisfaction at commencing the world, as you both ought to do, without pretensions, and on a prudent scale, that may probably be enlarged by time and industry. His father, I believe, thinks too correctly, not to put him upon acquiring pursuits and habits of business, even if he had the means of increasing his possessions ten fold. He knows that occupation is necessary to the permanent enjoyment of life, and that the man who is not forced to it by necessity, should resort to it from policy. Without it, the best thing he can become, is being worthless, but few stop there. The mind hunting after its natural aliment, employment, supplies the want of it by intemperance, dissipation, and vice.

I hope, therefore, for your sake, as well as his own that he will be a hard working man for years, at least until time and experience shall have given stability to his character. But even if it were otherwise, and that he immediately made you mistress of all the means of living in splendor, I hope you would not slight the graybeard's advice, to indulge it but sparingly. The woman who can afford extravagance and expense, but declines them and prefers more moderate appearances, is almost always estimable and esteemed. But she who flaunts in the sun shine of her wealth, excites the approbation of no one's head or heart and if the vicissitudes of this life afflict her with a reverse, she seldom experiences the consolation of sympathy. The highest praise that, possibly venal writers could give to the Princess Charlotte, of England, was that having at her command the splendor of a Royal Court, she preferred the moderate sphere of private life. As to her, perhaps, it is a fabrication, but the framers of the panegyric knew what was calculated to conciliate the respect and esteem of the world. You seem peculiarly pleased with and fortunate in Mr. Le Roy's connection, and their amiable dispositions will make your duty more easy and pleasant. Cultivate then, not for interest, but for affection. Much as a man may love his wife, her person, her talents, her disposition or accomplishments he will love her a thousand times more if she loves and is beloved by his family. And if she should excite coolness, or dissension between them, her utmost merits would scarcely compensate for the loss she has caused to him. His sisters I dare say are perfectly amiable, and you will have no difficulty in becoming strongly attached to them. But even if it were otherwise, you must shut your eyes against those things, which, if seen, might have a tendency to alienate you from them and the same to all his relations, but above all, love and make yourself most dearly beloved by his father and mother, omit nothing that duty, tender-

ness and affection can do to make yourself acceptable to them. Study them well and if they have peculiarities respect and gratify them.

To this day I remember I never loved your Mother so much, or looked at her with so much delight, as when I saw from my father's and mother's actions that they cherished her as their own daughter, and I dare say Robert [his eldest son] has frequently experienced the same feeling. My Dearest Child you will think I have preached to you a most unconscionable sermon, but I could easily have written you a shorter and a more pleasant, or at least a more sprightly letter.

Perhaps, however, even the prosing of this may have some charms, for it will show you how much your interest and happiness occupy the thoughts and possess the heart of

Your most affectionate father,

THOS. ALDIS EMMET.

Miss Elizabeth Emmet,
18, Courtland Street,
New York.

A few months after his daughter's marriage to Mr. Le Roy, Mr. Emmet again writes to her during his absence in Albany :

ALBANY, January 27th, 1820.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH :

A few days ago I received your letter, which considering the gaieties of the bridal winter was an unexpected pleasure and therefore your previous silence had called forth no side rebukes, but it being unexpected only rendered it the more agreeable. I perceive Jeannette [afterwards Mrs. McEvers] is fairly entering the lists of fashion, and your mother's anxieties only transferred, the last effort of them I suppose has exhausted her, as I have not heard from her since. By every account I perceive that your die and Le Roy's is nearly cast for Genessee, and to tell you the truth it seems to me much more advisable and judicious than the contemplated settlement on the North River, and if the advantages are otherwise equal, more eligible than that on the St. Lawrence.

New York I consider as out of the question, however personally agreeable it might be to us both for the present, but Le Roy's residence then implies a continuance of commercial pursuits and alas I have seen so many noble fortunes, within these few years, swallowed up in the quicksands of trade and speculation, that his continuance in that line would be a subject of very constant anxiety to me. The utmost his father's bounty or affection could give him might easily disappear in the misfortunes of a single year, and by accident, like the fire at Savannah, or the shipwreck on Long Island, over which he could not have the slightest control. In the country good habits, attention, perseverance and proper economy will without difficulty realize a splendid provision for himself, and his family out of what he can now command. The dictates of prudence then are obvious; but there are feelings that plead against them, and which it is natural to suppose are strongly implanted in your breast, about which your husband may be delicate in expressing himself for fear his urgency should seem like indifference to sources of your happiness and on which no one can speak to you more properly than your father, who participates in them; but whose experience in life teaches him that they ought to be combated and subdued. Your removal to the country will separate you from your family and friends and remove you from the society which your acquirements qualify you to ornament and enjoy. It is a sacrifice, but it is only a sacrifice of short and perhaps very transitory gratifications, to secure others, which the course of events renders much more likely to be permanent and which acquire strength and intensity, as our new connections excite our interest in Posterity. The ordinances of Nature do not permit that the affections of our childhood should be powerful motives for our conduct in more advanced life. It gives birth to new affections which supplant the old ones and raises up new objects of love, the hope of whose welfare and prosperity is the paramount principle of action. You have not yet felt this to its full extent, but you will act wisely if you act in the hope and expectation that all those new affections

will acquire their influence over you and what you may now regard as privations, will then be sources of permanent gratification. The removal from such society as you have been accustomed to, will at first require an exertion of your good sense and fortitude, but the void will be speedily filled up by the duties of perhaps increasing occupations of domestic life, and by the attention to these accomplishments which you acquired with a view to society, but which are much more precious in retirement.

They will indeed be secondary, but, perhaps there may be leisure from family arrangements, how delightful will it be to fly to reading, music and painting, and to feel that you were above the necessity of society. Don't disregard them because you will have no motive for exhibiting them; you will, in the pleasure they will afford yourself and the gratification and amusement to your husband in his hours of relaxation.

A country life is never tiresome but when the cultivation of the mind is neglected. When that is attended to in the intervals of employment, such a life is the source of the purest and most lasting pleasures. If the scurvy notion of double postage had not occurred to me, I should have given you another sheet in what ought to be your domestic conduct, style of living, &c., with a very impressive exhortation against useless show and extravagant living in a new country. But I much doubt whether you would think it worth eighteen and a half cents. So give my love to Le Roy, accept my prayers for both of you. Remember me to all and believe me ever your most affectionate father,

T. A. EMMET.

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy,
At Mr. Emmet's, Pine Street, New York.

Very few letters written by Mr. Emmet to his friends in Ireland have been found, and only an occasional rough draft seems to have been preserved. The following, however, is of the greatest interest, as in it Mr. Emmet not only gives a very clear statement of his own prospects, but also a graphic picture of each member of his family. It is written to his brother-in-law, Mr. John Patten, who was then residing in Dublin.

NEW YORK, July 29th, 1820.

MY DEAR JOHN,

It is so long since you have heard from me, and so very long since you have written to me, that you will probably be somewhat surprised at the receipt of this letter. But I am extremely unwilling that any indolence or punctiliousness should stop our intercourse. Your sister cannot but be very desirous to hear of you and from you, although she has for many years totally given up all letter writing; and if you can judge me rightly, you will be convinced that no one can take a warmer interest in your welfare than I do. I then commence a new score with you, in the hope that if you will not pay off your old epistolary arrears, you will at least not contract new debts of that nature.

Do, then, write us all you can about yourself, and as much as you please about the other members of the family. As to my own affairs in Ireland, I confess I am very anxious to see the state of them clearly. The practice of my profession has enabled me to live genteelly and respectably, and to educate my children, so far; but as to accumulating property for them, every effort of that kind on my part has been, I fear, frustrated for ever by the dreadful depreciation of land in the neighborhood of this city; and I tremble to think of the situation in which they would be placed if any accident were to happen to me, of which, thank God, there is no present appearance.

But this unfortunate change in the value of what I hoped would have contributed something not inconsiderable to their support hereafter, makes me more desirous to ascertain exactly what is the situation of whatever I might look to in Ireland, and what even might come against it. I owe a large sum to the people in Wexford, which has given me great uneasiness, and it is one of the



MRS. JANE PATTEN EMMET.

things nearest to my heart to have it paid off with the least possible delay; and I am also indebted to Kitty [his niece and daughter of Temple] some interest money, of which, I am sure she must want at least a part. If you could let her have something out of the rents it would gratify me exceedingly. Furnish me a statement both of the rents and of your sister's fortune, if any of it remains.

You will be desirous of knowing something of our family and fireside. Your sister has had many years of delicate health and nervous spells and anxious hours, but I am happy to think she is not getting worse and on the whole is, I think, improving.

Robert is married, lives in the house with us and has two lovely boys. He is settled in the law, and would have a very good practice if the profession could at present be said to afford any. Tom is also a lawyer and lives with me, though his office is different. As he is a bachelor and with few expenses, he pays his way, and will I think do better.

Elizabeth is married to Mr. Le Roy, and in every sense of the word *well*. She has got a fine fellow in mind and disposition, one of the handsomest young men in the city, and perhaps the most respectably connected in it, with every prospect of wealth and happiness, but she is going to settle nearly four hundred miles from us.

Temple is on the ocean in the U. S. Ship Columbus and at present in the Mediterranean. From his roving life you may one day see him, and unless he should materially change, I am sure you will like him.

The rest of the family is still on my hands. John after spending a year in Italy for his health, is returned home, and with a constitution I hope improved and confirmed. He is studying physic, and has made no inconsiderable progress in chemistry. He is very highly thought of by those who know him, and from the nature of his pursuits and occupations, and his manner of following them, very frequently reminds his mother of you.

The others are fine, valuable and good children, but neither settled nor as far as I can see on the high road to it. The girls are accomplished and well informed, and as they would adorn, so I hope they will be happy in any situation. Your sister joins in warmest love to you. Believe me, dear John, most affectionately yours,

THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

CHAPTER XVI.

LETTERS RELATING TO THE DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE EMMET FAMILY.

The summer residence of the Emmet family was situated on the old Middle Road, and about what is now West Fifty-fourth Street. This was a country road running up to Harlem and branching from the Bloomingdale Road at or near the present junction of Twenty-second Street and Broadway; higher up, above Forty-second Street, the Boston Post Road passed off from it in the direction of the East River. The road in front of the house corresponded to a portion of Fifth Avenue and the grounds about the house to the late site of St. Luke's Hospital. The house itself stood on the north side of Fifty-fourth Street, about fifty yards from the sidewalk of the avenue. Years afterwards, when the city authorities were opening Fifty-fourth Street, the house, which projected somewhat on the line, was set on fire and destroyed by careless blasting.

For a long period the family resided during the winter on the southwest corner of Pine and Nassau Streets, occupying there two adjoining houses, the lower story of the inside one being used for the law offices of Mr. Emmet and his sons. These two houses, with the Presbyterian Church,* on the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets, and its churchyard occupied the entire side of the block from Wall Street to Pine.

The family subsequently lived in John, Fair, Warren, Cortlandt, White, Hudson and at No. 30 Beach Street, on St. John's Square, where Mr. T. A. Emmet subsequently died. But the place on the Middle Road was the headquarters, where the family frequently remained throughout the year and where the sons and daughters grew up. The recollection of this place was associated throughout life, in the mind of every member of the household, with the dearest remembrance of a period which constituted the happiest portion of their lives. Every member of the family was accomplished. All had the brightest dispositions, with an endless store of wit, which naturally attracted kindred spirits about them to add to the common stock of

* This church was afterwards moved up to Eighth Street, opposite Lafayette Place, and is now a theatre.

fun and frolic. The first break in this most united family was made, in 1819, by the marriage of Elizabeth to Mr. Wm. H. Le Roy, who settled on a large stock farm near Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, N. Y.*

The final separation and breaking up of the family circle, however, did not take place until Dr. John P. Emmet left for Charleston, S. C., to begin the practice of medicine. It is true that some of the old spirit was still kept alive until after the marriage of Jane, or Jeannette as she was called in early life, to Bache McEvers, but it was only a shadow of the past.

The pen-drawing made by Dr. J. P. Emmet in 1818 of "An Evening at Home," and which is here reproduced, is a faithful but grotesque representation of the family assembled in the parlor of the old house on the Middle Road. And while it is executed in his usual spirit of caricature, the likenesses have been sufficiently preserved to render it easy to identify each individual.

We have reached a time in the history of the family when its different members begin to scatter from the homestead, the sisters to marry and the brothers to start in life for themselves. A more united family could not be conceived of than this one was, and as only one break has yet taken place, it would be most fitting to give an insight into their life as pictured by themselves in their letters to their absent sister, Mrs. Le Roy, then at Potsdam, N. Y.

These letters will be presented chronologically. The first letter is from Mr. Robert Emmet, the eldest son, to his sister, Mrs. Le Roy:

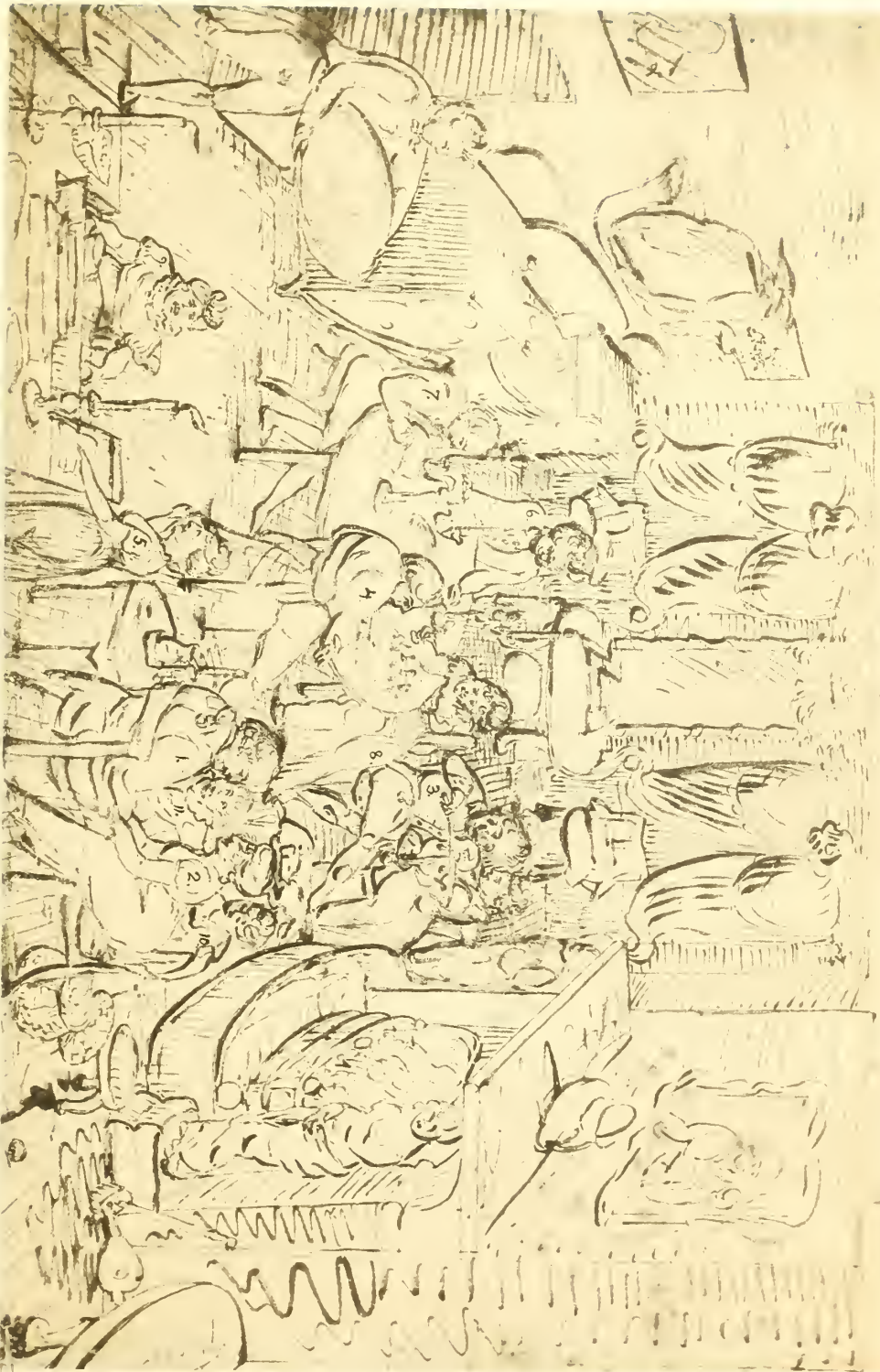
NEW YORK, Aug. 25th, 1821.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH,

I had intended to defer writing my first letter to you for another week, but the pathetic appeal which you made to the family in "Sundry Epistles" and which came pouring in on us today has induced me to believe that you will probably derive more cordial balm from my letter now than at a later day. You must not think of my making such a fuss about this that it is the only one I mean to write to you; on the contrary, although I know I can not be as frequent a correspondent, as indeed any other member of the family, I intend to favor you every now and then, especially when I have any grievance to egg me on, for I have taken it into my head that much comfort results from giving vent to one's pangs on paper. Perhaps it may be some relief to the lowness of spirits, of which you complain, to learn that things are sometimes desperately uncomfortable with us, and that an experiment is now making in the house, the object of which seems to be, to ascertain at what point in the Thermometer of comforts and discomforts family matters will rest when nothing is attended to by anybody. This will no doubt result in a prodigious discovery, like some of the labor saving machines which have been nibbling at poor papa's brains for years past, but in the mean time we may rise unrefreshed from many a half broiled chicken and cup of sham coffee.

* The correspondence between Mrs. Le Roy and her family in New York was preserved by her until a short time before her death, when, unfortunately, she destroyed a large portion of it. The loss of these letters proved a serious one, as we are almost entirely indebted to the contents of those which were preserved for our knowledge of the domestic life of the family during a period of some years.

1878-1879



1. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET. 2. MRS. T. A. EMMET. 3. ROBERT EMMET AND WIFE. 4. T. A. EMMET, JR. 5. ELIZABETH EMMET. 6. TEMPLE EMMET. 7. JOHN PATTEN EMMET.
8. JANE ERIN EMMET. 9. MARGARET EMMET. 10. MARY ANN EMMET. 11. WILLIAM C. EMMET.

AN EVENING AT HOME.

Drawn by John Patten Emmet, October 29, 1818, at the country house of T. A. E. then situated on the Mills Road, New Pitts Avenue. The house was destroyed on opening; Fifty-fourth Street St. Luke's Hospital was erected on the grounds 1867.

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LIBRA

Long habit they say reconciles us to the worst evils, and I can see thro' the vista of time a sufficiently long continuance of the present blissful state of domestic arrangements to wean us most effectually from all preconceived notions of the "fitness of things" as applied to breakfast, dinner, and supper, and convince us of the sublime truth contained in the distich "man wants but little here below" with the addition "nor cares he of what kind."

As for mama she has been so long out of the habit of attending to anything in the house that it is hardly to be expected she should take to it "like a baby to the breast" at this time of need, and I must say that both Jane and Mary Ann betray the most genteel repugnance to those duties that have now seriously and emphatically devolved upon them. Indeed for several days past that unlucky wight Barney has been our Maitre d'Hotel, and like Shacabac, Bluebeard's Major-domo, has been proportionably frisky on the strength of his uncontroverted superintendence over closet and pantry. Fortunately John and Temple to use their own expression, have "wooled him" occasionally or I have no doubt the boy would have lost his senses from a consciousness of his unlimited power, for truly, "the issue of hunger and thirst" have been in his hands. On our return from Long Branch, where we had been as Falstaff says "taking our ease in our inn," we found them all in the delectable state of insensibility as to the good things of this life. The scriptures say—"let tomorrow provide for itself," but they improve wonderfully upon this fear-composing maxim, letting even the blessed day, whose sun was then shining upon them, do itself the same selfish service. Every tumbler and wine glass in the house was "blear-eyed," every knife and fork clothed in a suit of rusty (not russet) brown and every silver spoon counterfeited vile pewter for very shame, and when our necessities compelled us to invoke any of the domestics they opened their mouths, scratched their heads and almost cried "anan," like John Lump in the play.

You may fancy my dear Elizabeth how bitterly we are forced to contrast those halcyon days when you looked after these matters, with the present tragic-comic state of things. I must say it, who should not, Rosina is now the only chieftain fit to rule the destinies of the kitchen and house closets, and it seems to be the general wish of the household that she should be installed the President of Pantries and Chief Captain of Closets. Having as you know a happy turn that way she has most willingly submitted to have those honors buckled on her back. You may anticipate something like a reform when I tell you that the first vigorous measure of her administration was causing all the knives and forks to be plunged up to their handles in mother earth, to divest them more rapidly and effectually of their emblematic incrustations. I am afraid, however, that Rosina's salutary exertions must from her employment, be "like angels' visits, few and far between," and altho' we may occasionally, by way of a jubilee, have a cup of tea made with boiling water and a broiled chicken for breakfast unornamented with parts of its plumage dripping like feathers out of an oil bottle, we may as well make up our minds to live pretty much at sixes and sevens. An ass once quarrelled with his thistle for being covered with dust which he had kicked up himself and it choked him, the moral, slender as it is, may apply to our case. You will say I ought to be in a good humor after venting my complaints so freely, and I believe it has had that effect. I feel much relieved and if you can read my account of the "miseries of Rockfield" [the name of the place] with as much fun as I take in describing them, the end of my letter is accomplished. At the same time, they present a subject for serious lamentations as well as joking, and if you will rub the girls up for their negligence, this doleful Jeremiad will not in another point of view, have been written in vain. I believe Rosina wrote to you yesterday and she urged me most pathetically to do the same and most pathetically I may say have I done it. It would delight me very much to be able to visit you before the end of the summer and I am not entirely without hopes, but they are slight.

Remember me to William and Margaret and kiss Jane for me among the rest. You must also present my best respects (to say no more) to Mrs. Clarkson, who I am told is as lovely as ever and believe me, my dear Elizabeth, most sincerely and

affectionately yours,

R. EMMET.

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy,
Potsdam, N. Y.

The next letter is from T. A. Emmet, Jr., and is also written to Mrs. Le Roy at Potsdam. A very amusing account is given here of how their brother John was instrumental in procuring an invitation for an entertainment to which the family had not been invited.

NEW YORK, Sept. 15th, 1821.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

Until I learned it from your last letter to mama I had not the slightest idea that you had reason to complain at not receiving letters. On the contrary I thought from the number that usually went in from the country that, as a farmer's wife, you would hardly have time to read them. I saw the girls writing so many that I feared it would not hold out and therefore intended to keep myself for the purpose of "snowing brown," and you see it is good *foolscap*. Another reason for my not writing sooner was that I thought there was nothing about which I could write a letter that would make it acceptable as one from any of the girls; family concerns are almost the only theme and of these I know but little. I go to town early (when I can get breakfast) and come out late, as I have my grey horse still which has turned out much better than ever I anticipated. Tell Margaret I have heard from a young man who has been up there (not Selden) that she has already made herself famous for her riding. He told me that she rode twenty miles in one day and did not mind it in the least, if so her riding faculties must have been born with her, as I am sure it was not from practice down here that she has acquired such skill. The same person also told me of a young doctor who was smitten by her. She must send a description of him to us that we may know how to treat him *when occasion requires*. I have already heard he is remarkably fond of Blackberries, from which I judge him to be of a meek disposition.

Mr. Selden * spent so short a time with you that he was unable to give us much satisfactory information about your family concerns. I can well conceive how great the change is, and you must think yourself lucky in having Mrs. Clarkson in the same house, not only for her company, but to put you in the way of doing many things about which you would otherwise have been at a loss. Mr. Selden said he ate some of Margaret's pound cake. I hope Margaret takes care to have some with her when she goes riding with the Doctor, to give him when he stops under a Blackberry bush and to let him know it was her making. Pound cake and blackberries must be so agreeable together, that if she plies the Doctor with enough he can not but yield to her.

I have spent such an idle summer in the evenings and been so busy in the daytime, during Mr. Selden's absence, that I had almost made up my mind not to be examined next Term and of course not to go to Utica in October, and in that case I would not see you this winter; but from your last letter you seem to expect it so much and my desire to see you all (including the Doctor) is so great that I believe I will run the risk of an examination and be with you about the end of October.

Within the last week we have had so much fun on the Middle Road that I don't know when it will end. The effects of it have already spread five miles around us, and has made Mrs. D. Colden (resolving not to be outdone) ask us all for a downright frolic to her house this evening. We mustered up fourteen and we are engaged Monday night to go to Mrs. Schmidt's. A wedding at Beinhawer's (*Pine anger's*) has been the cause of it all. Miss Louise to Mr. Twizler or Mitzler, I don't know which. The whole affair was kept so secret that we did not hear of it 'till the night on which it was to take place. We were so vexed at not being asked that we determined to get in if possible and accordingly John and Mr. Selden disguised themselves for the purposes of getting admission. John took the character of a poor Italian who had just come to the country and Mr. Selden was an old, fat, red faced Methodist preacher. He had on a pair of Papa's breeches and waist coat, (stuffed with pillows) a pair of the cook's black woolen stockings full of holes, a large night cap under his hat and a pair of spectacles on, these with Arthur's old black coat gave

* Mr. Dudley Selden was a prominent lawyer and noted afterwards as an authority in connection with real-estate titles. He was associated in business for some years with Mr. Thos. A. Emmet, Jr., and held an intimate relation with the family until his death.

him just the cut of a Methodist. Mr. Powell* and Mr. Wilson† (who spent that night with us) could not make out who either of them were. They both left our house to attack the Bridal party, and the girls all hid themselves at the other side of the stone fence. John went right in and asked in broken English for a drink of water, which was given to him by the old lady in great fright. They then came out, and, as we had agreed beforehand, met us in the road near Pine Auger's house, and we picked a quarrel which soon brought out the whole party on the road; by this means we had a good opportunity of renewing our old acquaintance with Peggy and the rest of them. Peggy invited us in, which we accepted and we were formally introduced to the Groom (a Swiss shoemaker).

John and Selden put on their own clothes and joined us. We made ourselves so agreeable that the next morning Peggy called over to Mr. McEvers and said she wished to see Charles in private. This was to know if he would not come that evening and bring the Emmets with him, that she would go and invite us herself if she was not afraid of the dogs. Charles promised to go and bring us with him. She then asked for some white paper to invite some friends up. She told him the party was to be small and he must expect "no greats." We accordingly went, Robert took the flutes and Tambourine as they were disappointed in getting a fiddler. In the midst of a *waltz* between myself and the bride, to my utmost astonishment in walks Rosina, with Mrs. Swarthout, Mary Ann, Eliza McEvers and Anna Tom. When the ceremony of introduction was ended we danced a Kentucky Reel, in which Jane and Eliza joined; after that at Peggy's particular request she and Charles and a Milliner from town danced the figure 8. This Milliner's girl was so fat that no hogshead would hold her, and Rosina, in order to make herself agreeable, began to praise her dancing out loud. As soon as she heard this it put such life in her that I am sure she must have lost at least twenty pounds of flesh with all the capers she cut. I was dancing opposite her and of course left nothing undone in the way of steps that Flatbrest ever taught me. We even made the old women get up and waltz, who did it very well. I, being the only one who could waltz, was nearly killed as I had to go the rounds with them all. They leaned back, could do no steps and never got tired. I asked Peggy more than a dozen times while I was waltzing with her, if she was not tired, to which she always answered *no*. I was at last obliged to tell her I *was*, and make her sit down.

After our girls went home we began playing the country plays which are filled with kissing, *languishing, pouting, making love bridges, and journeys to London, &c.*; and thus spent the evening until two o'clock, about which time we thought the Groom had not much desire to detain us longer, especially Selden, who made a *dead set* at his wife, and did nothing but kiss her. They gave us fine wedding cake, gingerbread and crullers, with a decanter of wine and plenty of pump water, which we drank dry.

I have briefly given you the outlines of our entertainment, but have no doubt you will have a much better and more particular description from the girls, but the fact is no description can be given equal to it. It has set us all *wild and languishing and pouting*, as is now all the fashion and as I said before Mrs. Colden is determined not to be outdone by the Pine augers.

Give my love to Le Roy. Margaret has so much from the Doctor that I suppose she will take none from me. If nothing happens I shall certainly be with you in October, when I hope to have a great deal of pleasure with little Jane. I should be sorry if all her good looks were acquired without the help of a little of my dancing.

Yours affectionately,

Mrs. W. H. Le Roy,
Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

T. A. EMMET, JR.

* The Rev. Mr. Powell was an Irishman and an Episcopal clergyman, who for many years was at the head of a boys' boarding-school which was located on the site of the present St. John's Catholic College, Fordham, and now within the city limits.

† Mr. Hugh Wilson had been one of the United Irishmen and was confined in Fort George with Mr. Emmet. After his release he settled and married in St. Catherine's, one of the Danish West India Islands. He died after his wife, and, not having been successful in life, left the care of his two sons to Mr. Emmet, his only friend. In 1827 these children arrived in New York, but Mr. Emmet having died in the meantime, his son, T. A. Emmet, took charge of Edward J. Wilson, while Hugh Wilson, the younger boy, went to live with Mr. Bache McEvers.

SUNDAY, NEW YORK, Sept. 15th, 1821.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

Tho' I have written so many letters to you which still remain unanswered I cannot give up the fight without one struggle more to rouse your feelings of shame at least if not of affection, and have therefore notwithstanding my great disappointment in not receiving a letter from you last night, seated myself to write to you. You would hardly guess where and how I have spent the evening since I last wrote to you,—dancing at Miss Bienshaws' wedding. You know the enmity that has existed between us for so long, and how warmly the boys always took their part, and it is quite a triumph to them that we should have honoured Peggy with our company. The reason of our so doing, is, that we heard the youngest one, Bache's friend, was to be married and the boys and Mr. Selden, who was here, determined to have a farewell dance with her. But fearing they would not be admitted in their proper garb John and Mr. Selden with our help, disguised themselves, in some things Temple brought home, so well that it was impossible to recognize them. We concealed ourselves in the bushes by their fence and heard John carry on a very amusing dialogue with old Mrs. Bienshaws, he speaking between Italian and English and she answering in Dutch. We had great difficulty to keep from being heard for the scene was so ludicrous that it was impossible not to laugh. But John on coming near Peggy could not resist his inclination to let her know him, and whispered "the iron bound bucket," her famous song, in her ear, and she knew his voice but did not betray them to the old people, but gave them an invitation to come in and dance at the wedding. The rest of the boys and Charles [McEvers] passing just then by chance, they were invited and entered with Robert at their head, all playing as finely as possible on tambourines, violin, flute &c. They staid very late teaching the girls waltzing, cotillions, and made themselves so agreeable that they were each given a piece of cake for us to dream upon and were informed that the bride saw company next evening and were begged to come, Peggy said it was to be "no greats"—and bring their music. They were too glad of their invitation to refuse, and we took our station as we had the night before, but growing less cautious, and afraid of losing anything that was to be seen, we left our ambush and ventured inside the fence. Then we were soon spied by Mr. Selden who instantly shut the shutters, probably because he had his arms around the bride's waist at the time, and we were returning home disconsolate when we were met by old Bienshaws, "to whom I obnoxiously made my approaches," as the song says, to apologize for intruding on his premises, but he was so civil and begged and entreated that on such an occasion we should condescend to go and see the dancing, that we had even to submit, and spurred on by Mrs. Swartwout, who is staying with Mrs. McEvers, and who is as full of fun as she can be, we took courage and went in, so many of us that we almost filled the house to overflowing. It would have been worth travelling from Potsdam to see Robert's face when Rosina was handed in by old Bienshaws, with all ceremony in his plush velvet breeches. We sent her first to see how she would be received and indeed the boys looks, between consternation and fun, were not far inferior to Robert's when we entered. McEvers and Emmets by the dozen, and such an evening I never spent, I was in a spasm to keep from laughing out the whole time. You know Rosina's benignant look at all times, but she was too amusing that night. She admired everything so audibly that she kept them in an ecstasy of joy. You may know the embroidered pictures we have heard so much of. Rosina would not be persuaded it was anything but an oil painting and Robert had to drop the flute two or three times from fits of laughing. I have not room to tell all that went on, but I hope some of the others will, for the manners were a perfect comedy, and the expressions have furnished the Middle Road with "stamp" for ever. I should not have been so diffuse in my description, but that any frolic in which we were engaged I am sure will interest you, and this was one worth recording and I know will suit Mr. Le Roy's taste. Bache returned last night from Lebanon in time to accompany us to a party at Mrs. David Colden's in the country, who, hearing how gay we were, was determined not to be put down by us. Her party, however, was not nearly so pleasant as our own neighbourly hops. We thought a great deal of our sleigh ride with Rosina in the winter to the same place, for the night was very cold and the house also. But I suppose you do not mind a cold night now, for we hear you had frost. How does Margaret stand that, for I know she is a decided enemy to cold, but I dare say she keeps herself warm by backgammon or some other quiet game with some of her

friends. We are invited to a little dance at Mrs. Schmidt's on the Bloomingdale to-morrow. She and Helen Bache [afterwards Mrs. Patterson] have paid us several visits and seem very sociably disposed. I think there is no doubt from the little I saw of Bache last night that he is engaged, or at least very much in love with some one, tho' he does not allow that it is Miss Kane. You never saw anyone grow so suddenly thin as he has done, which we presume is love. I have now told you all the news I have to tell, and as I have yet to write to Margaret I will not make it longer than I can help. Margaret has given me a lovely description of little Jane, kiss her for me and keep her as fat as you can. I one day anticipate some pleasure, and more trouble, in teaching her the catechism.

I hope my letters do not all face the fiery ordeal of Mr. Le Roy's criticising eye, for as he will not favor me with a letter it is not fair he should have the benefit of mine. Give my love to him, and that of all the family and for yourself. Katherine * sends her love to you and a kiss for her little god-daughter.

I am, dearest Elizabeth, your most
Sincerely attached sister,
JEANNETTE E. EMMET.

The following letter to Mrs. Le Roy is from her brother Robert, and is very characteristic of his humorous style in writing:

NEW YORK, Sept. 16th, 1821.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

I have received your first letter, and rejoice that my attempt at the ludicrous, though upon so tender a subject as housekeeping, should have the desired effect. I certainly did intend it as a kind of antidote to low spirits, resulting from a too vivid conception of the pleasures which we enjoy without your participation and if the picture I sketched of our domestic arrangements, or rather derangements, was overcharged, the exaggeration was perhaps necessary to counteract a certain mist, which, when we look back upon things, that we feel attached to, and have left, interposes to shut every disagreeable object out of view, while it serves as a medium that magnifies and brightens those that have ever given us pleasure. It is but justice to the girls to say that they have improved and although we shall never be famous for systematic housekeeping, I have no doubt we shall, with a few occasional skirmishes at breakfast, get along "tolerable clever," as they say in the country parts—no particular allusion to Potsdam. The description you give of the profusion of good things which bounteous nature yields you, reminds me of an old pastoral, I believe Shenstone's, which begins "my banks are burthened with bees," you may say with equal beauty of alliteration "my pantries are pampered with pies." You should have added as an inducement to Rosina to visit you that you would give her

A cup of flowers and a Kirtle
Embroidered all with leaves of Myrtle.

But I suppose the delights which Potsdam affords are not as good subjects for an eclogue as for a bill of fare. Poetry is no doubt delightful, but is particularly good upon a full stomach, and if it were necessary to choose between Potsdam and Parnassus, I think the account you give of cream, butter, eggs &c., would throw the seat of muses into the background.

By way of diversifying life with a little vulgar plurality, we all "bore down" upon the Bienhauser establishment the other night. The occasion was a wedding between a great tall German shoemaker and one of the daughters. We paraded before the door with "pipe and tabor," when the groom came out and invited us with "shentle-mens, vont you take a valk in, you pldase." "Certainly Sir, Certainly Sir," said John, so in we marched and completely identified ourselves with the company present. In a short time, to my utter consternation, what should I see but Rosina sailing in under old B's wing, and with her Mrs. Swartwout, Jane, Eliza, and Mary McEvers.

* Katherine, the daughter of Christopher Temple Emmet, then on a visit to her relatives in this country. See page 51.

They went away in about an hour, after partaking of the refreshments, and we remained there till two o'clock in the morning. But as I have no doubt some of the rest of the family will give you a particular detail of the event, I shall say no more about it except that I had a full surfeit of the boasted attractions of the daughters, who—

Show to most advantage in a moderate perspective as clumsy awkward things.

My dear Elizabeth, I hardly know what to say to you being in a peculiarly dull mood this evening. We all go on in the same way, pretty humdrum with occasional frolics. We had a very pleasant one at Mrs. David Colden's last evening and tomorrow we are to have a blow out at Mrs. Schmidt's. Temple is as gay as if he never saw Mary Norton and spits tobacco most lustily. John is as argumentative as ever and thrives upon his vegetable diet, tho' like the children of Israel in the desert, he longs sometimes after the flesh pots of Egypt while demolishing a dish of egg plant or horse beans. Tom is I believe in love, or pretending so to be, with a Miss Isaphine Lawrence. By the bye there is a great deal of ingenuity in that name; her father's name is Isaac and being determined to call her after him they coined the above cognomen; Icele would have been more apropos. Tell Margaret I hope she may not be too much bothered between Dr. McChesney, Mr. Ives and Jake Vanderhauvel. I hope William's appetite is as good as ever. It would be a pity if he did not do justice to the fruits of his own care and labour, and I have no doubt working at the stumps must send him in pretty sharp set. How I should like to have the cutting of a sirloin for him one of these autumn days; perhaps I may, as I have serious thoughts of going to Utica next month, in which case you will certainly see me unless a wolf eats me by the way.

Rosina has written to you by this mail and I suppose told you all about the children. Tom is getting quite well; Bob the other day found one of Temple's tobacco quids lying on the stoop and pointing to it, with much disgust, said "papa Temple do," as for Dick, he is certainly old Esop, or Rabelais, or some other old wit come back to pay the world a visit, born over again. Dick never cries, but sits alone all day laughing at everything that passes before him.

I anticipate great satisfaction in seeing all my predictions about little Jane realized; indeed Margaret gives a flourishing account of her, but I am sure a true one. Remember me to William and Margaret and believe me dear Elizabeth most sincerely yours,

ROBERT EMMET.

Mr. Robert Emmet writes again on October 21st, 1821: "Rosina and I move into town tomorrow to take a short spell at house-keeping before the rest of the family break up their quarters in the country. As usual at this season of the year there is the most riotous frolicking there every evening. Selden says we are all sold to the Devil, and that every night we bring him in a profit on his bargain. Tom will give you a full account of our carrying on."

About a hundred yards or so higher up and on the opposite side of the way lived Mr. and Mrs. Charles McEvers, the parents of Bache and Charles, Jr., and beyond on the North River and Bloomingdale Road resided Mr. Schmidt, the Prussian Consul-General, who had married Eliza, Bache's half-sister. These and other families in the neighborhood formed a most congenial circle. The family letters of this period, as we have seen, are filled with accounts of frolics of all kinds, of fancy balls and musical entertainments, for nearly every member of the family had a good voice and all had received more or less of a musical education.

In masquerading or playing practical jokes no one was more prominent than John, having always a ready supporter in his sister Jeannette, or Jane, and a Miss Anna Tom, a frequent visitor and a stepdaughter of Dr. McNeven. Miss Tom afterwards married T. A. Emmet, Jr. The consequences of these frolics did not seem to concern them, and although under other circumstances one might have judged them more seriously, their neighbors evidently accepted their deviltry as a matter of course. If there existed any bad feeling the ground for complaint seemed to rest with those who were not asked to participate.

The writer recalls a very amusing account given him by his father of a scene at the wedding of his brother Tom to Miss Anna Tom, which took place March 4th, 1823. Shortly before the supper hour Dr. Emmet and Mr. Charles McEvers had occasion to go into the dining-room—possibly the punch-bowl was in their charge. The Doctor being very active and slight, bantered Mr. McEvers, who was not agile or a lightweight, to follow him and vault across the supper-table. Dr. Emmet got over safely, as he had expected to do; but Mr. McEvers was not so fortunate; his hands slipped in some way and he fell, upsetting the two large tables where their leaves joined together, thus bringing down upon him a host of ices, etc., and deluging himself with the contents of a large punch-bowl, which put out the candles, leaving the room in total darkness. The Doctor escaped quickly, and was one of the first of the guests who, attracted by the noise, rushed to the scene of havoc, and with a splendid exhibition of astonishment he expressed his sympathy, which added no little to Mr. McEvers's state of speechless indignation. The incident and Mr. McEvers's forlorn condition caused a good laugh, which was compensation enough for the less elaborate supper which was served later.

The following letters give an insight into the fashionable life of New York in which the younger members of the Emmet family were active participants:

NEW YORK, April 26th, 1822.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

You may perceive in the expectation of having a good deal to say to you and no lack of subject, I have begun my letter on the largest sheet of paper I could find, and intend to take it very coolly and rest myself after my fatigue of yesterday. Of course Margaret, who had the first writing, told you as much as she could get into her letter, of our party and my news will be second hand; it was very pleasant and not the least stiff. Rosina and Robey sung together by way of introduction to Mr. Philip* and seemed very much pleased with them both. Indeed I never heard Rosina sing so well; Robert has been bringing her voice in training and has succeeded very well. It has lost that harshness it always had and she has more command over it.

* In a letter of an earlier date the circumstance is stated—"Mr Philip, the M. P., who is traveling in this country, brought a letter of introduction to Papa." He was probably about returning and was entertained while the family was yet in town.

Peggy Douglass also favored us with Rob's wife, which caused great laughing among the gentlemen when she came to her "wee bit mon." She hesitated a long time when we asked her, and said she was strangely altered, that she had lost her confidence and could not raise her voice before the smallest company while Harriet said "Margaret was seized with a nervous timidity lately which really alarmed her" and Peggy of course overhearing thought it incumbent upon her to look more nervous than ever. Alexander Le Roy came with them and was their devoted, but denies anything between himself and Peggy on account of her being so much older than himself, but I think he and Harriet look very tenderly at each other. We had also the Misses —— here, who said we must consider it as a farewell visit, for they were going to France in a few days and never intend returning. They look uglier than ever, and seem out of spirits at the idea of leaving America. All the Low establishment and Miss Van Rensscher were here and looked very well. Miss Van Rensselaer's present admirer is James Jones, a cousin of Isaac. They say he has been three times up to Albany to see her, but I don't know what success he will meet with her. Julia Livingston and her brother Morgan I must also mention. Patterson was her devoted all the evening, and they say he is courting very hard, but she does not encourage him. Morgan, I suppose you have heard from Margaret, is thought to be engaged to Emily Prime, but as they go to the country in a few days I suppose all conjectures will cease till next winter. Eliza McEvers was flourishing about as gay as you can think, and tried hard to bring the beaux about her, but I think Mary will be more of a belle when she comes out, for she was very much thought of last night. Sally Ogden also looked very pretty indeed, and Henry White was as attentive as possible. There were of course many others, but I have only mentioned those of whom there is some report, but I think I have said quite enough about them, as I must leave something for Rosina. We had a perfect inundation of beaux and they all seemed pleased, for they staid very late.

I do not wonder that you cannot make much sense of the harmony, for I was a long time understanding it myself. It was so troublesome a job that I did not undertake it. You must call upon Margaret to explain it, for I confess myself unequal to the task. Mrs. Edgar* is better and none of her family apprehend any danger from her sickness. Tho' I think it will make her health very delicate for a long time. I have not heard of Cornelia Le Roy being taken ill again and I think it is a mistake. She is at present up at the Manor and able to walk out, but she is still very weak. The doctor says tho' she has lingered much longer than he expected, she can never recover, for her whole body is in a very bad state. They are going to France in the fall.

I suppose you will be glad to hear that Mary Seton is at last married. She was married last night, but I have not heard anything of her arrangements, and I can tell you nothing more about her. I received your message, but it did not give me satisfaction, for I would rather it was not true. We heard from John the other day. He was in Savannah and quite well, but does not talk of returning. I am afraid this will be late for the steambot if I do not close, so I can write no more today. Answer this as soon as you conveniently can.

Give my love to Mr. Le Roy and kiss my dear little godchild. Papa, Mama, and all send their love.

believe me most affectionately yours,

JANE EMMET.

It is true that the Lewises intend going to France in June, but I think they may change their minds before then.

* Mrs. Wm. Edgar was the sister of Wm. H. Le Roy and lived on the northwest corner of Wall and William Streets.

CHAPTER XVII.

LETTERS RELATING TO THE DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE EMMET FAMILY.

On February 25th, 1821, Miss Mary Ann Emmet wrote to her sister :

We have been very gay since Hannah [Ogden] arrived. Mrs. Waddington had a very pleasant party to which only young ladies were invited in the daughter's name; there was a splendid supper & every thing in great style. Our next frolic was at the masquerade when we all went in loose black calico dresses and large bérêts of the same. After we got into the room Tom and Anna, William and Mr. and Mrs. Selden slipped off their dominoes and came out in new characters. Anna and Mrs. Selden as French flower girls dressed very prettily; they worked at the dresses almost all the night before that they might surprise us.

Tom and Selden, as an old Dutchman and woman, Tom as the wife was most excellent, he looked the character to admiration, and had so much spirit. William kept me in a roar the whole evening as a raw Yankee boy, he was really too good. I want him to go to Mrs. Howland's in the same way, but they think it ought to be something handsome at a private house, and he thinks of dressing as an old-fashioned lady; he will do either well, for he has so much fun when he chooses. There were not a great many ladies at the Masquerade, at least they will not acknowledge it, having been rather an unlawful proceeding, but I have since heard that half the ladies in town were there. We had great fun, though it was so mixed that we were obliged to keep rather quiet.

We had a most delightful romp at Anna's the night before last. Miss Temple had returned from Washington and about one o'clock agreed to come and spend the evening; and as she was to go away the next morning we set to work and invited fifteen or twenty gentlemen and the McEvers. And except at Rosina's [Mrs. Robt. Emmet] last night I never spent a much gayer evening, we kept it up until two o'clock and Rosina was so inspired that she had the same beaux asked and the Calenders, Masons, McEvers, Hosacks and young Mrs. Hosack; the girls came in the greatest spirits and went on like the very Devil. Some gentleman was telling William this morning that he heard another beau saying that he wished there were Emmets enough to give such parties every night in the week.*

* It is evident that the members of the family of the present day have retained somewhat of the old spirit. In a newspaper account of the late wedding festivities following the marriage of Mr. C. Temple Emmet with Miss Alida Chanler at Rokeby, the country-place of the bride's family, the following appeared in the issue of the New York *Star* for November 1st, 1896: "The wedding of Miss Alida Chanler and Mr. C. Temple Emmet was a very interesting affair, with an old-fashioned flavor about it that was most charming from its genuineness in these days when old times, old places, and old furniture are reproduced in most excellent imitations, which have everything that is desirable about them except antiquity. Rokeby was formerly the country-seat of the late William B. Astor, and neither the building nor its furnishings have been greatly changed since it passed into the hands of his great-grandchildren. It is situated on the most beautiful part of the Hudson, and the grand old trees which have waved over four generations of the same family, gave an air of picturesque maturity to the scene which nothing else can impart.

"Another element of cheerfulness at Tuesday's wedding was the presence of many members of the Emmet family, who have been known through all the generations that the Rokeby trees have outlived as the most genial, whole-hearted, entertaining people in the world. It used to be said in the days when they were leaders in the world of fashion that the presence of an Emmet or a McEvers secured the success of a dinner or a dance, and it is not likely that the family's representatives in the present day fall much behind their forefathers."

We will now present several additional letters written by Mr. Emmet to his daughter, Mrs. Le Roy :

NEW YORK, Sepr. 1st, 1821.

MY DEAREST ELIZABETH :

This morning's boat brought a number of letters from Potsdam, and among the rest Margaret's and yours to me. Thanking Margaret for hers, I must pass her by for the present, as she has already got a letter from me, and address this to you. The condition attending on our separation prevented my saying anything on your future destiny and expectations, but I anticipated the regrets you expressed at leaving the paternal roof, they therefore neither surprise nor grieve me. The female heart that would not strongly feel and regret those past attachments, would have a cold and dreary prospect as to future affections, and would want the foundations on which to rear a solid structure of happiness in her new situation. But altho' it is to be desired that those regrets should exist, they are not to be encouraged, and I am afraid you have carried them a little too far, when they induce Le Roy to talk of returning to New York.

You must turn your face to the future with a strong desire of finding happiness, and a firm conviction that it is in your power to find it, both for yourself and your husband, under the roof that now covers you. There is no hardship in the lot that separates you from us, for it is that of hundreds of thousands, it is incident to our state of society and the extension of the human family. Have your own father and mother been exempt from it? You were too young to recollect the firmness with which your mother bore her separation from relatives as near and dear, if not as numerous, as those you left behind and under circumstances how different.

The first step of her separation made her the inmate of a prison, for a period to which conjecture could put no limits. The prospect of life, which alone her mind could contemplate beyond the bars of that prison was a doubtful struggle with poverty in the midst of strangers. Remember and compare the circumstances attendant on your separation from your friends and return devout and humble thanks to God for the bounty and mercy of his dispensations. You have quit your father's house to place yourself at the head of your own; to take possession of property, which your own prudence and good conduct may contribute to make a source of ease and affluence to yourself and Le Roy, at least of independence to your family be it ever so numerous. You may and ought to think of us indeed; but time will discipline your mind to do so without regret. It is not with you as with your mother and me, who scarcely ever wish to think of Ireland, and those we left there, because those recollections infallibly mix themselves with very painful emotions. You will naturally feel the want of society for sometime, but habit will remove that want, or rather occupation and an active life. Busy yourself with your household, relish the fatigue of that business, and in the exercise of your accomplishments and recourse to your books &c., the want of society will be scarcely felt. But remember above all things, your occupations and accomplishments should be principally directed to making yourself and your home acceptable to your husband, for that is the secret of both your happiness. Life will not be pleasant to him if home is not, and if it be not pleasant to him, it cannot be to you. I intended to write a great deal more, but I am interrupted and must conclude, with my love to Margaret, Le Roy, and little Jane.

Your most affectionate father,

T. A. EMMET.

Mrs. Le Roy, Potsdam, N. Y.

The following letter, written by Mr. Emmet to Mr. Le Roy, is of interest, as it is written on a medical subject, the effect of impure water as a cause of goiter :

NEW YORK, Jan. 1st, 1822.

MY DEAR LE ROY :

I begin the year by addressing my compliments to you and Elizabeth and adding to them the heartfelt and paternal prayer to God, that you may enjoy together many happy returns of this season and always with increasing prosperity. Probably this letter will find you on a Party of

pleasure,—for I presume, inexperienced as Elizabeth must still be, yet her winter arrangements are all completed, and you are at liberty to avail yourselves of the snow, in visiting your friends. With us down here, we have had some cold weather, and occasionally some snow that has scarcely laid upon the ground, so that the visitors of to-day have the streets dry and clean for their perambulation.

I was a good deal surprised to learn by one of Elizabeth's letters that St. Lawrence County, as well as Canada, is subject to a disorder that is usually considered as belonging to close vallies of mountainous countries, I mean the Goitres. This is an additional proof of what the most candid physicians have acknowledged, that we know little or nothing of their cause. They are frequently, and it would seem foolishly attributed to the use of snow water. But our very ignoranc of what produces them imposes on us the necessity of using many precautions that, if the truth were known would perhaps be found useless. As their existence in our country has set me thinking of them I have therefore determined to suggest one or two things to your consideration. The water has been more frequently than anything else, accused of causing the disorder, it may be so, tho' we do not know how. I therefore thought of advising you to a regulation, which I remember was adopted with excellent effect in a part of Ireland where I lived when a boy, and where the water was not considered wholesome. Simply to boil all that was intended for drinking and letting it cool, if it held any stony matter in solution, what some say is the cause of the swelled neck, it will precipitate that on cooling. If the properties of the snow can have any effect they must be removed by boiling, which certainly brings all waters as near as possible to an equality. I remember that in the place I alluded to, a kettle of boiling water was brought into the Parlour every evening and put under the sideboard to cool and no one was permitted to use drinking water except out of it, the kettle was entirely appropriated to that purpose. I mentioned this to Mr. Ogden, and he told me Dr. North, who was a very eminent man and Physician General to the Army in Canada, gave the same advice to Judge Ogden's family in Quebec. The water may not be as pleasant as from your crystal springs, but it will certainly be wholesome.

My next precaution is for the ladies to expose their necks as little as possible to extreme cold. I can very well conceive that men are less liable to the disorder than women, because their necks are covered with their shirts and neck cloths; and I think, invariably in the winter, a lady with you should cover the upper part of her neck very warmly. These Elizabeth will say are very foolish precautions, but they can do no harm, and if they prevent an unsightly swelling in her or little Jane, they will certainly do good.

My paper tells me I have prosed too long, and have omitted acknowledging your last letter. Again God bless you both and your little one and believe me my dear Le Roy, Mrs. Emmet joining me in best wishes,—Yours most affectionately,

THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

Wm. H. Le Roy, Esqr.,
Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

The following letter, written by Mr. Emmet, is to his youngest daughter, Mary Anne, who afterwards married Edward Boonen Graves, a merchant of New York. This daughter and the youngest son, William Colvill Emmet, were born in this country.

ALBANY, February 17th, 1822.

MY DEAR MARY ANNE:

Some few days ago I received your letter and as it was the first I ever received from you, it was greeted with a welcome. The former instances of expectations raised and disappointed had led me to suppose that this would pass over, as my former absences from home, with good intentions on your part, but marred by delay in respecting them.

However, I am glad you have so agreeably disappointed me and particularly as your motive for being prompt, was to convey to me the agreeable intelligence of Jane's improving health. The many assurances I have received on that point, have removed every uneasiness and I expect when

I return to see her not only restored, but improved in health and looks. I find by your mother's letter that Balls are not going out of fashion, nor young people getting tired of dancing. I supposed you contrived to be of the Party on Wednesday last and readily filled Jane's place. But you must take care, or we must for you, not to let your love of pleasure bring you too into a fit of sickness.

Judge Ogden I saw for only a few moments and had only a passing conversation with him. I suppose you have learned a great deal more about Elizabeth than I did and her family establishment. She has not yet answered my letter from here, so that I am indebted to casual mention of her from New York for most of what I know.

It is probable you may have had another visit from one of her St. Lawrence friends, as I learned Mr. Vanderkennel passed thro' this town on his way to New York. Little Jane, I presume, is destined to be the Belle of the North from what I hear of her black eyes and intelligent countenance. If as a girl she is equal to Dick as a boy, I shall be satisfied. Dear little fellow his birthday will come round in a few days, and in spite of his grandmother's dislike of keeping such anniversaries, will I suppose be celebrated with great festivity and pomp in New York. He ought to be able to walk by then. Do Tom and Bob ever think of their grand papa, or wish him back? They are surrounded by so many seeking their favors, that I suppose his caresses are forgotten. I take for granted Margaret and you have made it a point to see Miss Ogden and that she has been invited to the house, does she come up to your expectations of a St. Lawrence education? I suppose *the Pirate* has entirely supplanted *the Spy* with all fashionable leaders. It is a pity that the imagination will scarcely supply a name of greater villany for the next Novel. I hear, however, that it is a first rate performance and abounds with interest.

Tho' I did not recommend Marshall's life of Washington, it is a book for your particular study, yet I hope you are in a course of regular reading, of more utility and instruction than even the Waverly Novels.

Your mother says you have a diligent turn of mind, and if you follow its bent you will find the advantages through life.

For notwithstanding the outcry raised against learned ladies, and not unjustly as learned ladies are for the most part ostentatious pedants, yet a well informed and well educated woman everywhere receives the tribute of respect, to which is added more or less of admiration and love, as the beauties of her person, or softer qualities of her mind enhance the acquirements of her understanding. If you think nature has made you tolerable in personal appearance, it is the better worth your while to labor for the cultivation of your mind. Adieu, give my love to the girls &c. and believe me dear Mary Anne, your truly affectionate father,

T. A. E.

Miss M. A. Emmet,
Nassau St., New York.

The following letter by Mr. Emmet, among those which have been preserved in the family papers, is, chronologically, the latest written by him :

NEW YORK, March 1st, 1822.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH :

Altho' in my last letter to Le Roy I mentioned that I should not remain long enough in Albany to receive a second letter from you, I did not intend to leave it without answering yours. But the pressure of bringing matters to a conclusion before my departure, compelled me to postpone my letter 'till my return home, which took place yesterday, in good health and not much fatigued by the journey, tho' the roads were not in the best order. If I am to judge of the number of pens I have seen in motion on your account since my arrival, I presume you are likely to be kept in the same regular and constant employment of correspondence that has kept you to the top of your speed for some time past. It is not to increase your difficulty that I write, but to give you a fresh proof of my affection, and to assure you that provided I am regularly informed of the health and happiness of Le Roy, yourself and little Jane, I shall not be offended at your neglecting me in the

regular order of your correspondence. Punctuality in that respect is often very inconvenient to myself and I can well conceive how it must be with you matched as you are with fearful odds. Jane does appear to be re-established, but her illness was severe and lasting; particularly the weakness of her limbs continued so as to be some cause of alarm. She seems now, however, to be perfectly restored and was dancing a little the night before last. Her illness has deprived her of much enjoyment of this gay winter, when it seems extravagance is pushed beyond all former example in this city. The girls undoubtedly informed you of the superb doings of the Misses Douglass. They are going to-night to the Misses Kimbles where it is said Simon has got instructions to prepare a more splendid supper than has been given any where this winter. When I say *they*, I mean Rosina and Margaret, for Jane is too much on the invalid list to venture to such a Party, and Mary Anne has not so entirely shaken off all authority. We have for a week past, as I understand, been in the midst of Spring, but it is so unseasonable that we cannot but dread another visit from winter. This your Northerners object to and prefer the steady continuance of cold while it lasts, but for my part I consider it a picture of this world's felicity,—in momentary enjoyments dashed by severe adversity, and as I cannot mend it, I endeavour to enjoy the blessing while it lasts, basking in the sun and genial warmth and housing and protecting myself against the storm when its turn comes.

As to domestic news, you have so many correspondences that they certainly have left nothing untold. I was happy to find your mother so well on my return and having comforted herself for my absence by mixing more than usual with the family. Jeannette's illness, by bringing the two more together and showing each the affection and interest really entertained for her by the other, did some good and your mother's attention to her made her more frequently below stairs than she had been for some time before. The rest of the family I found as I might have expected. I will say nothing of the little boys, for I suspect you are not without jealousy of their engrossing all the affection of which you wish to preserve a portion for your little Jane. But don't be uneasy. Your Mother and I have room enough in our hearts for many more such objects of love, and if it be with you, as it seems to be with Rosina, it will be occupied. God bless you my dear Elizabeth. Give my love to Le Roy and a kiss, as a pledge of affectionate remembrance, to little Jane.

Your truly affectionate father,

T. A. EMMET.

Mrs. Le Roy,

Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

Mr. Blennerhassett had struggled on for years in the attempt to revive his fortune on a plantation in the Mississippi Territory, but, "misfortune having marked him for her own," he at length was forced to realize on his property there. His purpose was to return to Ireland, with the hope of gaining some property to which he had a claim. He consequently sailed for Ireland in 1822, leaving his family in New York with but a small provision for their future. Mrs. Blennerhassett writes to her husband from Flatbush, Long Island, July 29th, 1822,* and, after detailing her difficulties, she says: "My dear kind friends, the Emmetts, have been my greatest support. Could I tell you all the affectionate kindness they have lavished on us, you would scarcely credit *even me*. Mrs. Emmett was not in town when I first arrived but came in next day to see me. We cried together a long time, and Mr. Emmett said we were so foolish he must leave us. I went out with them to the country where I spent three days. I did not

* From the Blennerhassett Papers.

wish to stay so long, but Lewis was with me, and so delighted with the beautiful place and all the attention he received, that I wished to indulge him, besides I found Mrs. Emmett's advice and consolation acting powerfully in restoring me to some tranquillity; for never in my life have I been so completely wretched as since I parted with you. She would not hear of my doing anything in the way of gaining a livelihood while any prospect remained of your preferment, but cheered me with hopes of your success.

"They were then preparing to go on a visit to Potsdam, to their daughter, but Harmen has seen them since and told them of my present plan, which they highly approve. . . . To tell you how I love this family would be impossible. It grieves me, therefore, to say that I think that they are somewhat embarrassed, at present, in their circumstances. They lost their fine son, Temple, last autumn, who died of the yellow fever on board of the Macedonian."*

The letter which will now be given records Mrs. Emmet's visit to her daughter at Potsdam, an event which doubtless created no little stir in the household, as she seldom was known to leave her house. The reference made in this letter to the epidemic of yellow fever which was then devastating the city is also of interest.

ALBANY, August 31st, 1822.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH,

I have seated myself to write, in the midst of every kind of noise and confusion at Shumer's Mansion House, and without anything to tell you and because it will be sometime before I can write to you again if I miss this post-day, and I suppose you have some anxiety to know how we got on. Our sail down the rapids was very pleasant tho' the first day I did not enjoy it much for I was really out of sorts at parting with my friend Mary, and Mr. Selden could only console himself, for the separation, by wearing her night cap which I hope she perceived, as he put it on before we were out of sight. I need not tell you of how many a long look I took at Potsdam as we were leaving it. You know how sorry I was to go, so I shall not enlarge on it. We reached Montreal Sunday night, but too late for the steamboat for St. John's, so that we were obliged to spend two days there. Mama was glad of it, as she was very much fatigued with being two days on the water, but I would much rather for myself have avoided meeting any one.

We met with a great deal of kindness and attention from Mr. and Mrs. Charles Ogden. They took us to several nunneries and all that was worth seeing in the city, and pressed us so much to go and spend the evening with them, and promised that we should meet no one, that Mama consented to go. We came away, however, in about an hour, for I grew very sick, and was afraid of one of my old attacks. I was well enough to come on the next evening and had got here feeling pretty well, but my hand was a little unsteady as you may perceive by my writing. We shall not be able to go on until Monday as Mr. Selden has business in Saratoga which will detain him 'till

* The suffering endured by the members of the unfortunate Blennerhassett family cannot be here traced. Poverty and privation at length terminated their ill-starred lives. Harmen, the second son, remained in New York and endeavored to gain a livelihood as an instructor of Latin. In a short time, however, his mind became impaired, and for years, as a harmless wanderer, he was a familiar object in the streets of the city. He was cared for until his death, in 1854, through the liberality of Judge Robert Emmet. Shortly before his death he seemed, in some lucid moment, to have realized his dependent condition, and without the knowledge of his friend he sought admission to some public institution, where he died. His remains were placed in Mr. T. A. Emmet's vault in the Second Street Marble Cemetery, where they still rest.

then. I am very anxious to get home, tho' I dread it when I think of it, for the accounts we receive of the fever are most distressing and tho' our office is moved to Broadway, above Walker Street, we are still uneasy that the Boys should have to go even there. The city is entirely fenced in from river to river, below St. Paul's Church and you may suppose when that is the case it is time to fear. The steamboats stops at Bloomingdale,* so that we will not go near the city. I dare say you will hear all I can tell you as soon in the papers, but we can think or speak of nothing else, and while my mind is running on it my pen naturally takes the same course, so you must excuse me if I write old news. I am sorry that I began my letter on the wrong side as you will have some difficulty in making it out and if I had more paper I should have written you another, but you write your letters so often in this manner yourself that I am in hopes it will seem quite natural to you as if it were written properly. As I have nothing new to write to you, and as my head is aching I cannot write you a long letter today, but I shall endeavor to be more entertaining the next time. Give my best love to Mary and tell her I shall think her very unkind indeed if she does not fulfil her promise, and write to me next week. I hope Mr. Ogden did not detain her at home, and that you have her with you, I do not know what you would do without her. I have felt my own spirits very much from the want of her good company to cheer them up. We have just received a letter from Robert, they are still all well at home, but he writes in very low spirits, and reading his letter has made me less capable of continuing mine than I was before.

Give my love to Mr. Le Roy, and remind him he owes me a letter. Papa & Mama send their love to all and a kiss to dear little Jane.

Believe me yours most affectionately,

JEANNETTE EMMET.

After the last letter a longer interval than usual was found to exist in the correspondence with Mrs. Le Roy, and from some cause a number of letters were missing for a period extending over a year. Miss Margaret Emmet writes:

WEDNESDAY, December 9th, 1823.

Your letters, my dear Elizabeth, always welcome, was doubly so the last one I received, as it was something like a fortnight on the road, or else you were awfully astray in the date as yours and the postmark differed five or six days—a trifle you will say. I am sorry, however, unintentionally that I should have caused so much trouble to our friend as you say. I dare say he wished me and my letters to the deuce, a thousand times, before an accident of the kind had happened and I am glad you found out the contents without speaking to me, as I have not the slightest recollection of them except as a matter of course they must have been flat and flatter still by the fuss. I believe I told you in my last that we were all going to the christening and between dissipation and bad weather we staid the remainder of the week in town. Mama went with us as we would not all desert her, although for years she has not been so well as for this some time past. We yet make no calculations upon that part of the winter we are to spend in town, if any, but as there are three of us one can always play the rustic while the others are vagabondizing, as the exquisites term it. I wish when we all live in the country we could only plant ourselves together and be independent of the world, as we were last winter.

Indeed I have lived so long out of the *beau monde* that I would dearly love to be up to my elbows in your sausage meat sentimental; and would forego willingly all parties, however pleasant, if I could only get beside you, with dear little Jane and Herman on my knee for ever so short a time. But distance and independence are marplots to my airy castle, and I must only hope next winter you will turn your horses' heads this way and make up for our present separation. I feel as if I was traveling fast to the blues so will turn over a new leaf and choose a new subject that you may think not I am growing melancholy from a country life. I must tell you we have the house very comfortable indeed, the hall is so warm from heated air, Papa's old hobby, that we keep

* Manhattanville.

a large collection of plants in it. One parlour has a very open stove, which warms it almost too much and is very cheerful, and the other which we use as an eating room is warmed from below also. I believe on recollection I have told you all this before, but no matter, I am scarce of subject to-day. Do you know Eliza McEvers is engaged to Allen Livingston, a brother of Mary? He is gone to France for his health, I hope not the Livingston malady, and will return in May. They say he is a fine young man, but a great whip and not over-fond of work if he should find it necessary to follow a profession. Whether he has fortune enough to live without one I do not know. There is nothing more new that I can think of to-day. Mary Anne is waiting for me to try on a dress for her. We have been in a sad dilemma about preserve making this fall, for the sentimental Lucy, thinking some one was going to attack her at night, jumped out of the window intending to hang by the sill until all was quiet, but it unfortunately gave way and she fell down in a paved yard and broke her knee pan. She is getting well, but is not well enough to work. Did you ever fit in your white dresses? Brown silks are the rage now, and I have got a very handsome one. The girls have also browns trimmed with purple, which look very gay and handsome. If you want to be fashionable dash down to church some day with white feathers in your black hat and astonish the natives as well as the Castle. It is the decided winter hat, and you ought to edge it with gold cord or steel beads. Love to all the children and Le Roy. I mean to excuse pens for I have vowed not to write again until they are mended.

Yours ever,

MARGARET EMMET.

I forgot to ask you whether you had the Waddington visitors with you yet? Sarah Seton was out here yesterday and said her sister had a most pressing invitation from you and that she only waited for her clothes which are going up to her. Are they more friendly with the Islanders than at first? In a letter from Mary she said that far from being an acquisition to their society they took from the pleasure of going to Elersie. I am writing in the dark and with a most unhappy pen, so make all reasonable excuses.

M. EMMET.

In a letter written by Miss Margaret Emmet to her sister, Mrs. Le Roy, on February 24th, 1824, we find reference made to the renewal of an old acquaintance between Mr. Emmet and Lafayette, whom he had known socially in Paris as a young man before the French Revolution. It is thus described: "Papa writes from Albany in good spirits and says the Marquis La Fayette did him the honor of sending word that he intended waiting on him, which for the 'Nation's Guest' was kind to a degree and one of the first visits Papa had in view was to the Marquis, if the old gentleman had not been too quick for him. They must have been like two pots of honey meeting, for the General is inconceivably kind in his manners and I think Papa is formed on the same model."

In conclusion to this portion of our subject we will present a letter from Miss Mary Anne Emmet containing a very interesting account of a ball in the old country-house on the Middle Road, which was doubtless given for her. This is the last of the series of family letters in which any reference is made to social matters:

NEW YORK, October 30th, 1825.

I feel, my dear Elizabeth, as if I had really neglected you for this sometime past in allowing the troubles of company to interfere with my regularity in writing, but in my last letter I told you how hurried we were between visiting, seeing company and writing invitations for the ball which

is safely over and that I might not be able to write until we were more quiet. Friday was the eventful evening, and if we may take the assurance of all our friends, and the proof that others gave of staying till four in the morning, it went off handsomely and gaily. We had the carpet up in one room and as soon as the rooms got very crowded had the other raised as we had made due preparation for it. We had the rooms well lighted, as that adds so much to the liveliness of a ball; and altho' in the country, our friends paid us the compliment of turning out in new finery many of them. We transformed Papa's study into a card room for gentlemen and the other front room into a kind of withdrawing room where there stood a large bowl of whiskey punch and where in the end of the evening there was a substantial supper laid for the gentlemen, such as jellied turkey, patties and all the necessary et cetera for a good supper. Simon was our head man so we had none of the trouble of preparing refreshments except to tell him some few good things we wanted and he arranged everything as handsomely as we could wish. We sent out from four to five hundred invitations, but there are so many families in mourning and many not yet in town, that we had not more than one hundred and fifty there, but that filled our rooms most plentifully and the civility was paid to those who were not there. As luck would have it, it stormed and rained most tremendously all the day before so that one lady said we were the pity of the town from the appearance of the weather and the disappointments we would have. But the sun rose on Friday most brilliantly and I think I never saw a more lovely moon-light night than it proved to be. Among the lions of the evening we had no less a personage than a viscount, and an English sprig of nobility for the young ladies to set their caps for. He is a very un-affected young man and seems delighted with New York, but sails for England this week, so there an end of Lord Falkland. I am glad to hear you are fattening, as well as the baby, for I thought you wanted it when I left you. My friend Edwards has not availed himself of your introductory letter yet and I have not seen him although Jane saw company two days and I sent him an invitation for Friday evening. I suppose he was better engaged, for the Ogdens were here and said he got the note. Your things I will send by Harriet Ogden, who was here that evening and said she would take charge of them. The curtain pins I had bought before your letter arrived telling me not to do it. I got them cheap and am going to send everything in a small box, which will prevent their being an inconvenience to them. You will see Harriet Ogden returned as free as a young lady need be and more so than befits parting lovers, but I suppose she has had constant consolation while absent. Tell Mary I owe her a scrap of doleful intelligence for the one she sent me in your last letter, which by the bye I got with one a week older. I am in hopes she did it only to try me, as she did once before, for I should really be sorry to think I had taken a last look at my friend Charnock, but he is such an unsettled creature there is no knowing where his home will be or hope of leaving him where we found him.

I had almost forgotten to give a piece which I dare say will surprise you, it is that Selden is to be married to Miss Packard in January. How long the engagement has been I don't know, for I only heard it the other day, but I understand she is very consumptive. I have not seen her although we called and invited her. There are no other new engagements that I know of to tell you. Eliza McEvers has set out full sail this winter to look for a new admirer and is full of spirits and full of airs. She put all her fascinations in requisition to catch "my lord," but he says his heart is a perfect cullender, which gave her no hopes, as it admitted the powers of many others besides herself, and when he goes she will find some other flower. Kiss the darling little ones for me. I hope you still keep your plan of coming down this winter in view. Give my love to Le Roy and Mary, if she is with you.

Yours ever,

MARGARET EMMET.

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy,
Potsdam, N. Y.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MR. EMMET'S RELATION WITH THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT IN IRELAND, AND IN CONNECTION WITH A PORTION OF THE UNWRITTEN HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Madden states: "The first mention made of Emmet taking any active part in Irish politics is in Tone's Journal, where Emmet's introduction to the sub-committee of the Roman Catholics the 15th October, 1792, is recorded. Tone states that he was well received by the members, and 'richly deserved their admiration.' He was the best of all the friends of Catholic emancipation, always excepting Mr. Hutton. From this time Emmet, behind the scenes of Catholic agitation, continued to give his pen to their cause; and with his usual heedlessness of self, allowed others to take the merit of his services." *

Mr. T. A. Emmet was throughout life absolutely free from all feeling of bigotry towards those who differed from him in their religious belief. His course was made all the more prominent in contrast to the marked prejudice and illiberality shown towards the Catholics, both in Ireland and in this country, by many of those occupying Mr. Emmet's station of life. He transmitted the same generous and charitable disposition to his children, who were as marked in their liberality as he had been.

Mr. Emmet did not hold the feeling he did towards the Catholics simply through a sense of liberality or indifference, but he made himself familiar with their tenets, and while he did not fully share their belief, he never

* This trait in Mr. Emmet's character is fully illustrated in his contribution to *Pieces of Irish History Illustrative of the Catholics in Ireland, etc.*, published by Dr. McNeven (New York, 1807). In this volume is to be found a memoir termed *Part of an Essay Towards the History of Ireland*, from Mr. Emmet's pen, consisting of 144 pages, and in which he gives a history of the efforts made in Ireland to obtain a repeal of the "Popery Laws," which held three-fourths of the population of Ireland in a grievous state of bondage. He also details the movement for organizing the *United Irishmen*, who had in view the same purpose among other different objects which were to be repealed or reformed. No one had been more active or had been more familiar with every step taken in advancing these political movements in Ireland than Thos. Addis Emmet, and yet after having given due credit to others, Mr. Emmet makes not the slightest reference to himself.

misunderstood or misrepresented their motives. During a noted ecclesiastical trial in connection with Trinity Church, and held in the city of New York, Mr. Emmet was suddenly called upon to take part and without preparation. To the astonishment of all he showed that he possessed a profound knowledge of theology and ecclesiastical law in all details. The writer was informed of this incident by his uncle, Judge Robert Emmet, who stated that it was generally conceded after the termination of this trial that his father, as a theological scholar, had not an equal in the country. In this respect Mr. Emmet was not unlike his elder brother, Christopher Temple, of whom, as we have seen, Grattan held that he knew more law than any judge on the bench and more divinity than any bishop in the land.

Several years before the death of the illustrious jurist, Charles O'Connor, he happened to be dining with the writer. During the dinner, on recognizing a silver pitcher from which he was being served, he related to the writer and his family the following anecdote, as he termed it a portion of the unwritten history of New York:

On the 12th of July, 1824, he stated, a procession of Orangemen marched out of the city, with banners flying and the band playing "Croppies lie down," etc., to the little hamlet of Greenwich village, then in the country between the present site of Jefferson Market and the North River. This village was settled at that time almost exclusively by Irish Catholics, who were chiefly laboring men. Mr. O'Connor stated that these people were obliged to live together to a great extent for their own protection, as a large portion of the New Yorkers were at that time very bitter and prejudiced against all those who differed with them in religious belief.

The Orangemen marched deliberately to this village for the purpose of irritating the inhabitants, and succeeded so well that they received a most humiliating thrashing. As the fugitives were driven into the city, the worthy Sheriff proceeded to swear in a special posse, and on reaching Greenwich every man who could be found was arrested. On the following morning a hundred Irishmen or more were arraigned on the charge "of rioting and disturbing the peace," with almost a certainty of a conviction before them. During the following September term these men were tried on the charges cited, and the judge, hearing the testimony and not supposing apparently that there could be another side, was about to pass sentence.

Mr. Emmet, who was then living in the country, and who had not heard of the difficulty, at that moment happened to come into the courtroom. Mr. O'Connor stated that it would be impossible to give any idea of

Mr. Emmet's indignation on learning the facts of the case, and that some of these men had been imprisoned for six weeks or more. On the opening of another court in the same building he expected in a few moments to appear in a noted case, but he threw aside his engagement to defend these men. So freely did he speak of the disgraceful state of intolerance which then existed in the city, and of the great injustice suffered in consequence, that the judge, on hearing the facts of the case, forthwith discharged the prisoners without even a reprimand.

Mr. O'Connor went on to say that a few days afterwards it so happened that a clergyman connected with one of the churches of the city gave a thought to his cook's religious status, and then learned that she was a Catholic. Possibly with a special interest in her spiritual welfare, he descended into his kitchen and commenced operations with the inquiry: "Biddy, let me know about your bell, book and candlestick." "Troth an' I will," was her reply; so putting her foot against her broom and breaking off the handle, she seized him by his white cravat and tallied the blows over his head and shoulders with "This is for the bell, this is for the book, and this for the candlestick." Finally he managed to escape into the street, with Biddy after him. This publicity placed the laugh against the clergyman, and in a few days the whole incident was illustrated by the issue of a series of caricatures.

The clergyman, as an honest man, publicly acknowledged that he had been in the wrong and had deserved his punishment.

In consequence of Mr. Emmet's defense of the men from Greenwich, and because of this incident of Bridget and the clergyman, a true sense of justice seems to have been aroused in the community and a more charitable tone developed.

As regards the silver pitcher, Mr. O'Connor said that he was at the time an office boy of about twenty years of age, and had just begun to read law during his spare moments. A committee of the Greenwich men waited upon him with the request that he should take charge of some money which had been collected to purchase a testimonial for Mr. Emmet. Under his supervision this silver pitcher was made in New York and presented to Mr. Emmet. The following appropriate inscription was engraved upon it:

Presented to Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq^r., as a slight testimonial of their respect and admiration for the Patriotism and talents displayed in his gratuitous defence of his Exiled Countrymen from the assaults of Irish Orangemen in America, by the Irishmen of the village of Greenwich whose cause and principles he advocated on that occasion in the Court of Sessions of New York for September term 1824.

Mr. Charles G. Haines's memoir of Thos. A. Emmet closes with the following reference to this event described by Mr. Charles O'Connor :

"In a recent case in our criminal court for the City of New York, Mr. Emmet has had an opportunity of explaining the broad principles of that grand revolution in which he embarked. The United Irishmen and the Orangemen who had emigrated to this metropolis had a tremendous battle upon old party grounds. They appeared in our streets in the upper part of the city with their ancient badges of destruction. Terrible assaults and batteries were committed, but no lives lost.

"Mr. Emmet appeared in court as the counsel of his ancient associates, and we may well imagine in what manner he touched on that portion of Irish history that recalled to his mind the days of his suffering, persecution and imprisonment. For two hours he spoke on this topic; and as the younger Lyttleton said, when he first heard Lord Chatham, 'he made my blood run cold, and touched the deepest recesses of my heart.' The Irish population had gathered into court, and with silent awe they heard their great countryman pour out his soul on the degradation of the country which they had abandoned. However, both parties did not feel the pride which was manifested by the famous Lord Lovat, when he was tried for his life and found guilty. Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, was then Attorney General, and conducted the prosecution—the trial having taken place in England, not Scotland. The eloquence of Lord Mansfield requires no eulogium at this late day. He broke forth on this occasion with great power. After he had concluded, Lord Lovat, who was proud to see a Scotchman at the head of the English Bar, remarked 'that it was worth being executed to hear such a speech from one of his countrymen.'"

Mr. Haines was unable to appreciate the true merits of the case, but fortunately the judge was able to do so clearly, as shown in his ruling, and in the unconditional discharge of the prisoners.

CHAPTER XIX.

WILLIAM CHARLES MACREADY, THE ACTOR. MR. EMMET CORRESPONDS WITH HIS OLD FRIEND, ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN. THE CLOSE OF MR. EMMET'S LIFE, HIS DEATH, COMMENTS OF THE PRESS AND HIS BURIAL.

During the latter years of Mr. Emmet's life he devoted himself almost exclusively to the duties of his profession and to a most united and affectionate family. His life was otherwise uneventful, and with the exception of the following characteristic letter written to his old friend and political *confrère*, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, no others have been preserved but those referring to business matters.

NEW YORK, 8th January, 1827.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND:

For, as I am feeling the advances of age, I presume you have not remained in statu quo for the last twenty-five years. I received your letter by Mr. Macready and thank you for it. Many circumstances prevented my answering it until now, which it is impossible to detail on paper, but be assured, no difference or coldness of feeling towards you had any share in causing the delay.

Mr. Macready is a gentleman whose talents and worth have gained him very high consideration here, and who has entirely justified the warm recommendations he was the bearer of from Europe.*

I dare not write to you about Ireland, though probably if we were together we would talk of little else.

I remember the days when I fancied letters might be intercepted. If such a thing could happen now, a letter from T. A. E. to A. H. R., filled with Irish politics, would be a *bonne bouche* for a Secretary. America is not what you saw it, nor even what your sanguine mind could anticipate. It has shot up in strength and prosperity beyond the most visionary calculation. It has great destinies, and I have no doubt will ameliorate the condition of man throughout the world. When you were here party raged with a fiend-like violence, which may lead you to misjudge of what you may occasionally see within an American newspaper, should you ever look into one. Whether the demon be absolutely and for ever laid, I cannot undertake to say; but there is at present no more party controversy than ought to be expected, and perhaps ought to exist in so free a country; and sure I am it does not interfere with general welfare and happiness; indeed I think it never can—their roots are stuck so deep.

* Mr. Wm. Charles Macready was a well-known English actor of great talent, whose private life was without blemish. He visited the United States in 1826, 1843 and 1848. His last appearance on the stage in this country was May 10th, 1849, as *Macbeth*, at the Astor Place Opera House, on the evening of the noted Forrest-Macready riot. The country had been for some time in the midst of the turmoil engendered by the "Know-Nothing Party" in its efforts to rouse the passions and prejudices of the native born against the Catholics and all those of foreign birth. Edwin Forrest, the actor, was a rival, and for some fancied slight availed himself of the "Know-Nothing" excitement, and with the aid of his friends started the riot which resulted in the death of a number of innocent persons, who were shot down by the troops called out to quell it. Mr. Macready was at the time a guest of the writer's uncle, Judge Robert Emmet, who then resided at No. 64 Clinton Place (Eighth Street). Mr. Macready was finally smuggled out of the theater to a conveyance waiting in the neighborhood, one of Judge Emmet's sons driving him out of town to New Rochelle, where he took a train to Boston, arriving in time to catch a steamer, by which he returned home. History repeats itself.

Of myself and family I need only say we are extremely well. I have succeeded better than I thought possible when I set foot on this shore. I still enjoy my health and faculties. The companion of my youth and of my sufferings does the same. We are surrounded by eight children and twelve grand-children, with the prospect of steady and progressive increase in the American ratio. I pray God you have had your share in the happiness of this life.

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

To Archd. H. Rowan, Esqr.

This letter was in all probability the last that Mr. Emmet addressed to anyone in Ireland. With the exception of a reference made to him in a letter* written by Mrs. Tucker in the following July, when accompanying her daughter and Dr. John P. Emmet to New York, after their marriage, nothing has been found relating to him until the accounts were published of his sudden death, which took place on November 14th, 1827.

The newspapers of the city gave the particulars of Mr. Emmet's death and burial.

The New York *Commercial Advertiser*, November 15th, 1827, had the following notice :

DEATH OF MR. EMMET.—It is with feelings of the deepest regret that we record the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Esqr., who has so long stood in the front rank of eminent American jurists, and whose gigantic legal attainments and powerful eloquence have thrown such lustre over the Bar of New York. There was something very solemn and deeply affecting in the suddenness and manner of his death. He may be said to have died on the field of his victories and well-earned renown.

He was closely confined in court during the trial of the Astor cause, in which, on Monday last, he summed up in behalf of the plaintiff in a masterly and elaborate address. The trial of the "Sailors' Snug Harbour" case ensued, in which he also was engaged. We learn that for two nights he had scarcely taken any repose, and there is no doubt that such intense and unremitting mental occupation produced the shock which has terminated his valuable life. He was sitting in court yesterday in the forenoon, in apparent health, and was conversing only a few moments before the event. He was observed to lean forward with his head resting on his hand, or on the table, and when spoken to he was found to be entirely insensible. When this was ascertained the court immediately adjourned. Messengers were dispatched for the members of his family, and physicians, who speedily arrived. Bleeding was resorted to, but without producing any apparent effect. A litter was prepared for his removal, on which he was carried to his house in Hudson Square. The Court of Chancery, which was sitting at the time, was also immediately adjourned. The melancholy event produced a profound and solemn sensation on the crowd who assembled around the court room, in which his friends and the medical gentlemen called in were employing their ineffectual efforts on his behalf. We believe Mr. Emmet remained in a state of insensibility from the moment of the attack until he expired last night at a few moments after eleven.

There are few of our citizens who have not witnessed, at some time, the display of argumentative and impassioned oratory which flowed from the lips of this great lawyer. His vigour seemed to remain unimpaired to the last, and he has died in the fulness of his fame and at the height of his profession. We will not do injustice to his memory by a feeble attempt to characterize the style of his eloquence. This task will no doubt be performed by some of his able compeers, on whom it will regularly devolve.

* Given in the sketch of Dr. J. P. Emmet.

Many years ago the writer obtained a full description of the treatment administered to Mr. Emmet by Dr. John W. Francis, the first physician to arrive, and whose office was in Chambers Street, just back of the City Hall. The writer also recalls hearing a statement made by his uncle, Mr. T. A. Emmet, Jr., that on coming downstairs to attend to some law business, about seven o'clock on the morning of his father's death, he met his father then going to bed, after having been up all night. Four hours later, at eleven o'clock, the old gentleman was in court.

Dr. Francis's statement showed that the course of treatment followed, according to the practice of the day, was at least heroic, for he opened a vein in both arms and at both ankles until, as the Doctor expressed it, "the blood ran all over the floor without his coming to!" From the son's account and from the probability of existing exhaustion, the loss of blood certainly did no good, while without the excessive bleeding he might possibly have been revived by the judicious use of stimulants and counter-irritation.

The most extended notice of Mr. Emmet's character and professional standing was published in the *New York Albion* November 18th, 1827:

MR. EMMET.—The melancholy death of this excellent man and distinguished advocate has been announced to this community, and exciting a sympathy as honourable to its possessors as it was justly merited by the eminent virtues of him whose sudden and appalling demise all hearts deplore.

When an individual in ordinary life, whatever may be the purity of his character and the general elevation of his views, is snatched away from us, the loss penetrates the hearts of friends, and perhaps destroys for ever all the blessed and soothing joys, all the affectionate endearments of the social circle in which he moved; but society feels not the event that has occurred, and the great machine rolls on with the regularity of undisturbed and noiseless progression.

But when a man like Thomas Addis Emmet, whose name is engraved on the imperishable tablets of history,—whose genius and whose eloquence have received the unbought tribute of both hemispheres—whose public and private course, whether as a patriot or a father, was a combination of unspotted honour, of the gentlest and kindest affection, and the warmest charity—the simple beauty of whose life was a commentary on what a man may be in this transitory world—when such a man is struck down into the remorseless grave, the blood rushes back to the foundations of the heart, and we are lost in wonder as we contemplate the strange and unaccountable Providence which has hurried him so suddenly away. Emmet passed from before our eyes like a bright vision—stood but now in the glorious panoply of talent and eloquence in the very hall of judgement, pursuing the noble career he had embraced with an ardour and devotion rarely witnessed at any time, but almost never at his period of life.

We heard his last effort, which like the increasing splendour of the sun as it sinks to rest, seemed to grow yet more radiant with feeling and energy and all the attributes of genius, and in another moment, the heart that was ever filled with the noblest sentiments, and the colossal mind which could patiently examine the arcana of practice, unravel the knotted combinations of falsehood, or comprehend within its grasp the profoundest questions of government and politics, were palsied by the cold hand of relentless death!

It is a consolation to those who loved him, that he died in the full possession of his unrivalled faculties, and rich in the affection of all those who ever approached him.

To this community, which he has so long served, his loss is a severe one; but to his brethren of the bar, his loss is irreparable. The amenity of his manners, the urbanity of his deportment, the excellence of his heart, and the kindness to the younger members of the profession, all rendered him a model for imitation, and are forever engraved on the hearts of those with whom he was associated. Of that bar he might well be called the father "et decus et tutamen;" perhaps we may say without offense to those who survive him, that whether we regard the virtues of the heart, the high sense of honour which characterized every action of his life, or the display of his forensic talents, he has not left his superior behind him.

The *Truth Teller*, New York, November 17, 1827, contains the following, as a portion of an editorial, written on the death of Mr. Emmet:

A scene, as melancholy and distressing, as it was unexpected occurred on Wednesday forenoon at the City Hall, during the session of the United States Court. This distinguished patriot and amiable citizen, while attending as counsellor in the important case of Sailors' Snug Harbour, was suddenly struck with a paralytic affection, which instantly deprived him of the use of his faculties. . . . At eleven o'clock of the same evening, this good, this virtuous, this patriotic individual breathed his last! Thus in the fulness of his fame, at the height of his profession, and beloved by all, has our Bar been deprived of its brightest ornament,—America of one of her noblest citizens—and Irishmen of one of their best friends, by the unrelenting hand of Death. His sudden demise has thrown a gloom over the city, and has excited sentiments of sorrow and regret that will be re-echoed from all parts of the Union. In Ireland—the country of his birth—that country for which he suffered so many persecutions, similar sentiments will pervade the hearts of every one, when the sad and melancholy intelligence reaches it. Ireland, and Irishmen, indeed owe him much. In the language of a contemporary well may we say—He was one of those high-minded patriots, who in the dark hour of his country's peril, was neither awed by the menaces of the oppressor, nor enfeebled by the suffering of the oppressed.

When Ireland was one vast sea of discord, where despotism was defended by treachery, and power strengthened by submission; when the firmest no longer dared to resist, and the sanguine had ceased to hope, it was then that he pursued an intrepid march in his country's cause, through temptations and through threats, through good report and evil report, 'till in labouring for the freedom of his country, he sacrificed his own.

He eventually came to this country—at the time the only asylum for the proscribed, and condemned, and banished patriots of the old world. How he has lived since the day of his landing—how he has deported himself as a citizen, and an advocate, may be learned from the sorrow which is felt at this sudden bereavement.

The *Evening Post*, November 16th, 1827, after detailing the resolutions passed at a meeting of the New York Bar, in relation to Mr. Emmet's death, states:

Few men of brilliant talents can pass through a conflicting professional life without exciting envy and enmity; fewer still, how pure soever in character, can escape the breath of suspicion and misrepresentation. In this the lamented Emmet was peculiarly fortunate, his enemies were few indeed, and envy, despairing of reaching the elevation on which he stood, looked elsewhere for an object. No whisper was ever heard against the purity of his character.

He kept
The whiteness of his soul unsullied—

and added to brilliancy of genius uprightness of purpose and generosity of heart.

Such was Thomas Addis Emmet, and as such we consign him to his honoured grave.

The following were Mr. Emmet's pallbearers: His Excellency, De Witt Clinton, Governor of the State of New York; the late Chancellor Kent and Chancellor Jones; Judge Betts and Judge Thompson; Martin Van Buren, Esq., and Nathan Sandford, Esq., United States Senators; Dr. Wm. James Macneven and Wm. Sampson, Esq.; John Chambers, Esq., and Robert Swanton, Esq.; David B. Ogden, Esq., and Cadwallader D. Colden, Esq.; J. O. Hoffman, Esq., and Samuel Boyd, Esq.

At a public meeting of the citizens it was resolved that the funeral procession should be formed in front of the City Hall. And it is worthy of note that in no other instance has it occurred, within the knowledge of the writer, that the corporation of the city of New York has ever attended the funeral of a private individual in its official capacity, as was done by special action in this instance.

The New York *Commercial Advertiser* of November 16th, 1827, gives the order in which the procession was formed and proceeded to the late dwelling of Mr. Emmet, as follows:

High Constable.
Governor and Chancellor.
Former Chancellor.
Present and former Judges of the Supreme Court.
Judges of the United States Court.
First Judge of Common Pleas and former Recorders.
Present and former Attorney Generals.
Clerk of County and Clerk of Oyer and Terminer.
Clerks of U. S. Courts and U. S. Marshals.
Clerks of the Supreme Court and Register in Chancery and Surrogate.
District Attorney and U. S. District Attorney.
Members of the Bar.
Students at Law.
Sheriff.
Mayor and Recorder.
Members of Common Council.
Members of Common Council elect.

The College of Physicians, Members of the Medical Profession and Medical Students in a body.

The *Morning Courier* of November 17th, 1827, thus describes Mr. Emmet's funeral and burial:

Between the hours of eleven and twelve o'clock, on the 16th inst., there was an immense crowd of people assembled on Hudson Square. The universal sensation of grief which the death of Mr. Emmet excited shows the high respect and veneration in which he was generally held. At one o'clock the procession began to move.

The procession advanced through Beach street towards Broadway, where it was met by an immense assemblage of individuals anxious to perform the last honours to the eminent deceased. Every window and avenue were filled with spectators, and notwithstanding the coldness and disagreeableness of the day, we believe there has been seldom witnessed in the city a more numerous or more respectable funeral.

About half past one o'clock the procession arrived at Grace Church.* The funeral service was here read in the most impressive manner by the officiating clergyman. The melodious and solemn sound of the organ, the delightful and awe-inspiring music of "I heard a voice," &c., and the melancholy occasion of the assembly, evidently affected every person present.

Hence the procession moved to St. Mark's Church graveyard, where the body of the much lamented Thomas Addis Emmet was interred.†

At a public meeting held November 21st, 1827, in connection with Mr. Emmet's death, Dr. Macneven, after speaking of his friend's career, closed his eulogy as follows: "Nor is it irrelevant for me to remark that his professional career at the New York Bar began in prosecuting a case against negro slavery and the last act was a defense of charity."

The wealthy corporation known to-day as the Sailors' Snug Harbor was founded on a bequest of Randal's farm, which at the time of Mr. Emmet's death was of little value. Capt. Randal's will was contested and Mr. Emmet gave his services to the defense as a charity. To gain this suit, and on the same day another in which nearly all the property of John Jacob Astor was involved, he lost his life from excessive work.

One of the first letters of condolence received by the family after Mr. Emmet's death, as has been already stated, was from the eldest son of Rufus King. Social intercourse had existed between the young people of the two families even before Mr. King's death, but his son's expression of sympathy on this occasion engendered a state of good feeling which has remained unbroken.

The following letter was written to Robert Emmet, the eldest son, and was evidently in answer to one written immediately after Mr. Emmet's death:

MONDAY, 26 Nov., 1827.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have just received your letter of Saturday, and will not disguise from you the gratification it afforded me. To have been the means of administering any, the smallest balm to affliction such as that which has befallen your family, is in itself a most cheering reflection. To be assured by you that in what I did say, *you* were not disappointed nor surprised, is to me at once, the most gratifying and the most delicate acknowledgment, that my feelings were justly appreciated.

Permit me to add the hope, that in the graves of those whom Nature never meant for foes, may be buried, as to their survivors, all memory of the adverse circumstances that separated them, and to assure you on my part of the strong desire I shall ever entertain not to impair your kind estimate of me.

I beg you to present my most sincere and respectful condolences to your mother and sisters, and to believe me with great regard—

Your humble servant,

CHARLES KING.

To R. Emmet, Esq.

* The service was conducted in old Grace Church, which was then located in Broadway, near Trinity Church, and was afterward pulled down.

† The remains were placed in the vault of Chancellor Jones, who had been a warm friend of Mr. Emmet.

After Mr. Emmet's death the press throughout the country seemed to have commented to an unusual extent upon his character and his course as a public man. Many of these writers must have known Mr. Emmet personally, and not a few were exiles like himself, and who had been more or less associated with him in the Irish troubles of the day. Unfortunately the files of but few newspapers of this period were preserved, and we are thus deprived of much which would have been given as reminiscences, based upon personal observation. The only notice of Mr. Emmet's death which the writer has been able to obtain from a newspaper printed out of the city of New York is the following, which accidentally came into his hands as a clipping made at the time. It is taken from the Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post* of December 15th, 1827. Notwithstanding much to which this article refers, as connected directly or indirectly with Mr. Emmet's career, has already been considered, it is no less valuable as a *résumé*, and is as follows :

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

A MAN MISFORTUNE COULD NOT BEND.

Since reason, then, can privilege a tear,
Manhood, uncensured, pay that tribute here
Upon this noble urn.

As the name of Emmet is connected with Irish history, and as he was for many years an ornament to this his adopted country, the events of his diversified life are worthy of record, and cannot fail to interest.

The Bar of New York have appointed one who is well acquainted with the early history and political career of Mr. Emmet, to compose a memoir of his life. As it will be some time before this work makes its appearance, the following sketch may not be unacceptable to the public.

Thomas Addis Emmet was born at Cork, on the 24th of April, 1764; his father Dr. Robert Emmet, was a physician of great reputation and extensive practice, and held for some years the situation of "State Physician." He intended to bring up Thomas to his own profession; accordingly when the studies of the University were over, he was sent for his medical education to the celebrated school of Edinburgh. After receiving his degree of M.D. he visited most of the schools and hospitals of the Continent, and returned to his native country, with an intention of commencing the practice of his profession. The death of his elder brother, Temple Emmet, a barrister who had advanced himself to the front ranks of the legal profession, and who was cut off before he had reached the meridian of life, gave a new direction to his future labours—in compliance with the request of his father, and in accordance with his own inclinations, he turned his attention to the study of law *—his assiduity was great, and soon after his call to the Bar he distinguished himself as a profound lawyer and powerful advocate—with his learning, his eloquence, and the respectability of his connection, there can be little doubt that if his political conduct had been dictated by a selfish prudence, he might have aimed with success at the highest honours of the bench—but such was not the case.

* This is not strictly correct. Dr. Emmet did study law after the death of his elder brother, but before his brother died he had been for some time in successful practice, and for at least a year he held from the Government the position of "State Physician" in connection with his father. This office involved the charge of St. Patrick's Hospital and several other public institutions in the city of Dublin.

To those who are acquainted with the history of Ireland, it is unnecessary to describe the manner in which that ill fated country has been oppressed, from the invasion of Henry the second, down to the present time; suffice to say, that the Irish have experienced the treatment of a subjugated people, whose proud and distrustful conquerors were determined to do everything which lay in their power towards breaking their spirit, and prostrating their national strength. The Catholics have been in a peculiar manner, the objects of the severity and vengeance of the British Government—the Statutes of Elizabeth, iniquitous as they were, were but the commencement of the studied system of tyranny which they had to endure,—its completion was left to the authors of the British revolution—their most galling fetters were fastened upon them by the boasted preservers of English liberty.

It was natural to suppose that a majority of the Catholic population would rally around the standard of James, the second, when deprived of his throne for his exertions in favour of that church, to which they were enthusiastically attached—they regarded him as a sufferer for the faith, and entered into his cause with zeal—the battle of the Boyne annihilated their hopes; the victory of William was complete and decisive—they were thrown into the power of a foe flushed with success and irritated at the daring resistance of those whom they considered and treated as rebels,—the arm of legislative oppression was raised against the whole mass of the Irish Catholics, and it seemed as if their subjection was to be ensured by stripping them of every vestige of political power or influence, and a general conversion to Protestantism to be effected by a series of the most offensive and degrading marks of inferiority. It was not to be expected that so ardent a people as the Irish would bear with patience this load of oppressive enactments—but they were too firmly riveted to be easily shaken off—insurrections of the populace only served to incense, and increase the severity of government—the acts of atrocity which the pressure of want, or the spirit of revenge induced them to perpetrate, were visited with vindictive retribution, and were used as a pretence to show the inexpediency of abrogating any part of the penal code, whenever any attempt of that kind was made by those of rank and influence who mourned over the wretchedness of their native land, or those who in a sister kingdom could feel compassion for a people whose minds were abased, whose energies were dwindling away, and whose prosperity had departed under the depressing and disastrous operation of this arbitrary code. The Volunteers of Ireland who had associated for the noblest and most patriotic purposes might have raised the country from her state of humiliation, but they dispersed at the request of their leaders, at the head of whom was the Earl of Charlemont, without having done anything of importance towards it. The revolution of France hailed by the friends of liberty throughout the British Empire, as the dawning of a new era—the tree of freedom which was there planted, they fondly hoped would thrive and spread until the remote nations of the earth should rest beneath its branches—it was not then foreseen how soon that sun, which rose so full of promise, should become obscured, and at length “sit in darkness and in night.” While various associations were formed in England and Scotland, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain a reform in the House of Commons, a society was instituted in Ireland, called the Society of United Irishmen, whose great object was to obtain an adequate representation of the Irish people—of this society, which numbered among its members many persons of superior talents, Mr. Emmet became a member.

The leaders of the opposition in Parliament were inclined at first to approve of the confederacy, but their opinions changed when the society came out with a declaration of their principles, against Mr. Grattan, and in favour of annual parliaments and universal suffrage.

On the 28th of April, 1794, the Reverend Mr. Jackson, a member of the society, was arrested upon a charge of high treason—Mr. Emmet was retained as one of his counsel—Mr. Jackson died upon his trial, in consequence of some poison which he had taken. About the same time, Archibald Hamilton Rowan was arrested for some political publications—he made his escape from prison on the 1st of May following—he was a gentleman of excellent abilities, and had acted for some time as secretary of the society. The fate of these members so far from damping the spirit of the confederacy seemed to nerve their determination, and add vigor to their perseverance. In 1795, an union of the various branches of the society, a Directory was effected by Theobald Wolfe Tone, an ingenious, active, enterprising member—the test of association was then altered, and the views of

the Society were no longer bounded by the prospect of a parliamentary reform—to use their own language, this test embraced both the republican and the reformer, and left to future circumstances to decide to which point the common strength would be directed, but still the whole body we are convinced would rejoice to stop at reform.

Mr. Emmet became a member of this united system in 1796, and was made one of the Directory. The aim of the society was now to attempt a revolution by calling in the assistance of France, and plans were laid, and negotiations entered into for that purpose—a stop however was put to their exertions by the treachery of a member.

One Thomas Reynolds, a mercer, whose wealth gave him considerable influence over his Catholic brethren was induced through the persuasions of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Bond, to attach himself to the cause—he was advanced to some important offices in the society, and admitted to the confidence of its chiefs—instigated either by avarice or fear, he made a conditional disclosure of the purposes of the society, for which he received a reward of five hundred guineas. In consequence of this development of their designs, the thirteen Leinster delegates were seized together with their papers on the 12th of March, 1798, and on the same day Mr. Emmet, Dr. McNeven, Mr. Bond, Mr. Sweetman, Henry Jackson and Hugh Jackson were arrested, and warrants were issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. McCormack, and Mr. Sampson. After remaining some time in prison Mr. Emmet, Dr. McNeven, and Arthur O'Connor were examined before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords. During the long examination which he underwent, Mr. Emmet explained the objects of the Directory while he was a member of it, avowed an intention of separating from Great Britain, and of calling in the aid of France, and brought forward some arguments to prove that Ireland would prosper as a separate nation; he indignantly repelled the charge that any of those in power were to be put to death, and when he described the manner in which their opponents were to be treated, Lord Dillon remarked “Mr. Emmet, you have stated the views of the executive to be very liberal and very enlightened, and I believe yours were so.” Mr. Emmet and some other prisoners were afterwards conveyed to Fort George, in the Highlands of Scotland; while confined there, repeated applications were made for months to the Irish ministry that Mrs. Emmet might be permitted to visit her husband, but in vain—the request was made at length to the Duke of Portland, who granted it upon condition, that she should see him in the presence of a person in the service of government, and that care should be taken that no letters or papers were carried by her into, or out of the Fort. The favour with such a condition annexed to it, was properly declined. Mrs. Emmet and her children, were afterwards, however, permitted to reside with him. One little circumstance will serve to shew the respect which was felt for Mr. Emmet, even by those whose political opinions were diametrically opposed to his, and who discharged in fact, the ungracious office of his gaolers. A fire broke out in one of the apartments of the Fort; as its magazine contained a quantity of gunpowder, the fire as well may be supposed, occasioned no inconsiderable degree of alarm and apprehension among the imprisoned—it was extinguished, however, with little difficulty, and without having done any material damage, but a polite note to the following effect was sent to Mr. Emmet, that as the fear of a like accident must be peculiarly distressing to a lady, circumstanced as Mrs. Emmet was, the doors leading from Mr. Emmet's room shall in future be left unlocked.

After lingering out a tedious confinement of five or six years, the light of happier days shone around him; the portals of his prison were opened, and he was allowed to depart and reside in any country at peace with Great Britain.

Mr. Emmet went to France, while there the tidings of the unsuccessful insurrection, and the execution of his younger brother Robert, reached him—in deep affliction for the melancholy fate of an only and beloved brother, whose talents and noble feelings had commanded the admiration even of his enemies; ruined in fortune, and an exile from his native land, Mr. Emmet set sail for America.

When he arrived here he had prejudices to struggle against, and difficulties to contend with—for though his misfortunes had fallen upon him in consequence of his ardent attachment to republicanism, and though the two great parties that divided the country both claimed the appellation of republican, yet such was the abhorrence which was felt by one of them for everything that savoured

of what were termed French principles, that many had not only beheld with complacency the war which was waged by Britain against the French republic, but had very nearly approved of those arbitrary measures of the former to repress all internal disaffection, discussion and attempts at reformation which called forth the bold and unqualified condemnation of the opposition members of the British Parliament. Mr. Emmet therefore as one who had rendered himself obnoxious to the British Government for his designs of revolutionizing Ireland, who had looked to France for assistance in the undertaking, they were little inclined to countenance. Another circumstance added to the gloom which hung over his professional prospects; consulting his feelings more than his interests, Mr. Emmet addressed a letter to Rufus King in which he charged that gentleman with having unfeelingly and unwarrantably interfered as American Minister to prevent his coming to America, and thereby occasioned an addition of some years to his imprisonment, and the loss of his brother who had intended to accompany him. This letter kindled a flame of resentment in the breasts of the friends and partisans of Mr. King, who were then very numerous in the city of New York, and among whom were some of the most eminent members of the legal profession. Mr. Emmet was attacked and abused in the public prints—and those in whom political hostility had stifled every liberal feeling, exerted themselves to shut him out from all participation in their professional business*—the consequence was, that the man who had refused the Solicitor-Generalship of Ireland, as the price of political apostasy, and who was destined to become the head of the bar of the State of New York, commenced his legal career in America by conducting a cause before a justice's court in the city of New York.—It was not long however before Mr. Emmet had an opportunity of displaying his powers before a more fitting tribunal, where his mental resources and commanding eloquence called forth the admiration and applause which they deserved—his gentlemanly deportment, and the conciliatory urbanity of his manners disarmed the violence of political animosity; his business increased and at length there was hardly a ease of importance brought before the Supreme Court of the State in which he was not retained as counsel; and he took his stand among the most distinguished lawyers at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States—great and varied as was his practice, his industry enabled him to make each case the subject of minute examination.

When turned of sixty he exhibited all the mental vigor and activity of a man in the prime of life—he was Attorney General of the State of New York from the 12th of August, 1812, until the 13th of February, 1813, from which time until his death he devoted himself exclusively and assiduously to his profession, without seeking or desiring any official station. His address to the jury in the great ejectment suit of Astor, which was the last he ever delivered, was one of his most powerful argumentative efforts—he spoke for four hours, and it was observed that his exertions were peculiarly great.

When he came into court the next day to discharge his duty as counsel in the case of the Sailors' Snug Harbour, he felt as well as ordinary—in the course of the trial he turned to the lawyer who sat next to him, and made an observation to him, but in such a manner as to be altogether unintelligible—he then put his hands to his eyes, and laid his head upon a book which stood upon the table at which he sat—he shortly afterwards raised his face and there was something so death-like in the expression of his countenance, that the immediate impulse of the gentlemen near him, was to take him in their arms—as he had now become insensible, he was extended upon the carpet of the court room and the most eminent of the medical faculty were immediately sent for—he was bled in the temple and in the arm and every endeavour was made to revive him; but in vain—he died at 12 o'clock in the night of the same day, November the 14th, 1827.

It is difficult to determine in what department of legal learning Mr. Emmet was the greatest proficient; he studied so faithfully and investigated so thoroughly every case which came before him that he completely mastered all its points, and was perfectly at home upon every question that arose—he was well versed in general science and scholastic learning, and had stored his mind with the choicest products of ancient and modern literature. His perception was quick, and

* The writer is clearly confused as to the *post hoc* and the *propter hoc*. Mr. Emmet's letter defeated Mr. King in his election and brought him so many friends that he had no difficulty afterwards.

his knowledge of mankind was very great. Few were better calculated to tear the visor from hypocrisy, to bring to light a hidden fraud, or to trace their course through the labyrinth of a complicated case.

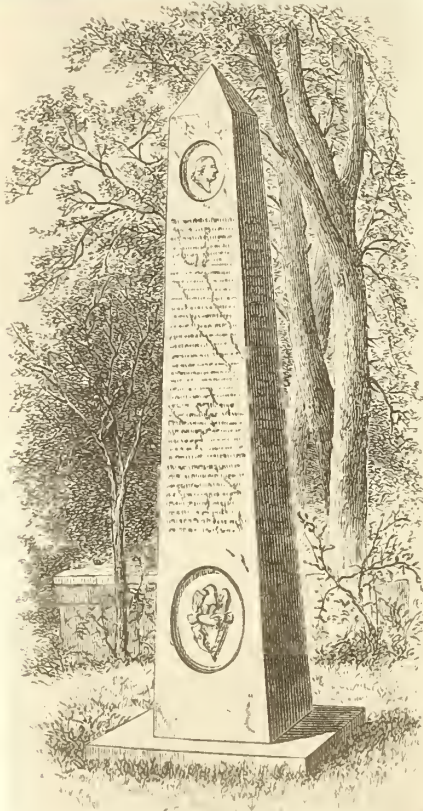
The eloquence of Mr. Emmet was energetic and impassioned—he always spoke like a man in earnest and anxious to convince—his fancy was often vivid but always controlled by a clear and discriminating judgement—he sometimes appealed and most effectively to the feelings—he could excel in the pathetic, and his powers of wit and sarcasm were considerable; but he was peculiarly remarkable for his argumentative ability—his command of language was great, and his expressions were often refined and eloquent—but his style was in general more conspicuous for its strength than its floridity. His speeches are those of a powerful advocate and skilful logician, who is more desirous of gaining his cause than of amusing his audience. The manner of Mr. Emmet was forcible and impressive, his gestures were sometimes vehement and rapid, but often graceful and generally appropriate. Mr. Emmet was a man of an amiable and benevolent disposition, of warm and liberal feelings, and of high, honorable principles. In him his unfortunate and indigent countrymen ever found a friend and benefactor, he was ready to assist them with his advice and his purse was open to their wants. The rising members of the bar he incited and encouraged, and the elder members found him a brother upon whose faith and honor they could implicitly rely. No professional man was more generally esteemed and respected, and those who had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him, will long cherish the memory of one who was endeared to them by so many virtues.

J. B. S.

The name of the writer of this article is unknown, but it contains certain statements which are not strictly correct. These, however, are of minor importance, but their existence show that the writer had not an intimate personal knowledge of Mr. Emmet's life abroad, and possibly he had but little in this country beyond that pertaining to his professional and general standing. He was in all probability of the legal profession and was likely an American by birth, from certain peculiarities in spelling and punctuation, which was more characteristic at the time this was written than would be at the present. It is quite probable that he was in the court at the time of Mr. Emmet's seizure, for his description deals more with details, as if from personal observation. It is also a somewhat different version from any other to which access was obtained among the published accounts found in the newspapers.

This brief sketch of Mr. Emmet's career cannot be brought to a close with more truthful terms than has been expressed by Dr. Madden in the following words: "The man who was deemed a traitor in his own land—who had been engaged in what was termed an unnatural rebellion, and is thought in England, even by men of great intellect, detestable treason; whom it was proposed in parliament to hand over, with his associates, to a drum-head court-martial, and to hang or shoot in a summary manner, for the benefit of society and the sake of the British constitution in Ireland, as the institution of Orangeism was then interpreted—thus died in America in such honour and renown as no language can exaggerate. It was not in one city or in one state, at his death, where expression was given to feelings

of admiration for his great worth and virtues and noble intellectual gifts—of respect for the consistency of his patriotism and the solidity of his opinions on all public subjects—and of veneration for the memory of this great, good man—but throughout the whole Union these feelings prevailed; and this tribute was unanimously accorded to the departed worth and excellence of Thomas Addis Emmet.”



EMMET MONUMENT.
ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD, NEW YORK.

CHAPTER XX.

A MOVEMENT MADE FOR ERECTING A MONUMENT TO MR. EMMET'S MEMORY IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD, NEW YORK. A DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT. REFERENCE TO MRS. EMMET BY DR. MADDEN. HER OLD AGE AND DEATH.

A tablet, with Mr. Emmet's bust and with an appropriate inscription, was placed by the authorities of the city on the wall of the court-room of the City Hall, close to the spot where he was stricken down.*

A marble obelisk thirty feet in height and all in one piece was brought from Vermont and erected to his memory in St. Paul's churchyard, on the corner of Fulton Street. The money for this monument was raised by subscription throughout the United States. At the public meeting called in New York shortly after Mr. Emmet's death, for the purpose of starting the above subscription, many interesting points in connection with his life and character were presented by those who knew him best.

Dr. Macneven stated: "Among those who first taught how to overthrow the misrule of Ireland, who exposed its cause and prepared its cure, Emmet is distinguished. He had great influence on the adoption of those measures which are still at issue between Ireland and her foes, and which, in part obtained, in part withheld, are determinative of her future happiness, as they shall finally fail or be signally successful. He espoused the unqualified emancipation of the Catholics when that measure had but few supporters out of their own body. He brought to that cause virtue and talents, and he and a few more influential members of the Protestant Church redeemed the error of their predecessors. It is due to their memory to record that their vigorous interference broke the religious bonds which the Protestants of a former period had bound. They were accessible among the first in Ireland to the liberality of the age. Emmet, with the aid of his standing

* This room has since been altered for the place of meeting of the Board of Aldermen for Greater New York. But at some previous time this tablet and bust of Mr. Emmet was removed to the new County Court House, on the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, and placed in the old court-room of Common Pleas.

at the bar and of his commanding eloquence, exerted upon every befitting occasion, strenuously advanced those principles and policy for which we now do honour to his name."

Judge Wm. A. Duer said: "It was my fortune," referring to Mr. Emmet, "to have known him from his first arrival in this city, and to hear him, I think, in a majority of the important cases in which his talents were most successfully exerted. I know too that my opinion is unbiased, since, from peculiar causes, there were no relations between us beyond those of mere civility. Thomas Addis Emmet, in head and in heart and in no vulgar sense of the term, was a great man; as an orator, with the single exception of Burke, unsurpassed by any that his country has produced. Superior in judgement, in taste, in the extent and variety of his learning, in argumentative power, in persuasive skill, in chastened fervour, in true pathos, the abilities of Emmet were never displayed on their proper theatre.

"As but a small portion comparatively of Emmet's life belonged to history, and as he left no writings by which the evidence of his extraordinary genius and attainments would be transmitted to future times, it was the more necessary for his reputation, for the honour of his admirers, for truth and justice, that the inscription on his monument should be ample in the delineation of his character, of the qualities of his mind, the extent of his learning and the powers of his eloquence; and should thus assign to him distinctly and fearlessly the rank to which his compeers and judges thought him entitled. Without such details there would be no witness of the estimation in which his paramount talents were held by his contemporaries. Without them there would be neither 'honoris signum' nor 'incitamentum gloriae.'"

Gulian C. Verplanck was selected to write the English inscription on the monument, Mr. John Duer wrote the Latin, and the Right Rev. Dr. England, the Catholic Bishop of Charleston, furnished the Irish legend. Mr. Verplanck wrote as follows:

In memory of
THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,
who
Exemplified in his conduct,
And adorned by his
Integrity,
The policy and principles
Of The United Irishmen—
"To forward a brotherhood
Of Affection,
A community of rights,

An identity of interests,
 And a union of power
 Among Irishmen
 Of every religious persuasion,
 As the only means of Ireland's
 Chief good,
 An impartial and adequate
 Representation
 In an Irish Parliament."

For this
 (Mysterious fate of virtue!)
 Exiled from his native land.
 In America, the land of freedom,
 He found a second country,
 Which paid his love
 By reverencing his genius.
 Learned in our laws,
 And in the laws of Europe,
 In the literature of our times
 And in that of antiquity,
 All knowledge
 Seemed subject to his use.
 An Orator of the first order,
 Clear, copious, fervid,
 Alike powerful
 To kindle the imagination,
 Touch the affections,
 And sway the reason and the will.
 Simple in his tastes,
 Unassuming in his manners,
 Frank, generous, kind-hearted,
 And honourable,
 His private life was beautiful
 As his public course was
 Brilliant.

Anxious to perpetuate
 The name and example of such a man,
 Alike illustrious by his
 Genius, his virtues, and his fate;
 Consecrated to their affections
 By his sacrifices, his perils,
 And the deeper calamities
 Of his kindred,
 In a just and holy cause:
 His sympathizing countrymen
 Erected this monument and
 Cenotaph.

Born at Cork, 24th of April, 1764.
 He died in this City,
 14th November, 1827.

M. S.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,—

Qui

Ingenio illustri, studiis altioribus

Moribus integris,

Dignum

Se præstabat laudibus illis,

Illa reverentia, illo

Amore

Quæ semper eum viventem

Prosequebantur;

Et subita illo erepto, morte,

Universæ in luctum civitatis

Se effuderunt.

Quum raro extitit vir

Naturæ dotibus, doctrinæ subsidiis

Omnibus illo instructor;

Tum eloquentia, altâ illiâ et verâ

Qualem olim mirabantur Roma

Athenæque,

Præcipue alios anteibat;

Gravis, varius, vehemens, fervidus

Omnes animi motus sic regere novit,

Utî eos qui audirent, quo vellet

Et invitos impelleret.

Hiberniâ natus,

Dilectam sibi patriam diu subjectam

Alieno, servis tantum ferendo, jugo,

Ad liberatem, ad sua jura vocare

Magno est ausus animo;

At præclara et consilia et vota

Fefellere fata.

Tum infelicis littora Iernæ

Reliquit,

Spe, non animo, dejectus

Nobilis exsul:

Et hæc Americana libens Respublica

Illum excepit, civemque, sibi

Gratulans adscivit;

Dein hæc civitas illi domus,

Hæc patria fuit,

Hæc gloriam illi auxit, hæc

Spiritus ultimos

Recepit.

Mærentium civium voluntas

Hoc exegit monumentum.

Do mianni se ardmath

Cum tir a breit

Do tug se clue es fuit se

Mollad a tter a bass.

The translation of the Irish inscription is: "He contemplated invaluable benefits for the land of his birth; he gave *éclat* to the land of his death; and received in return her love and admiration."

Not a letter written by Mrs. Emmet was found among the family papers, although she wrote frequently to her husband while he was absent in Albany during the sitting of the courts. We have seen from the letters written to Mr. Emmet while in prison at Fort George that Mrs. Emmet even then, as a young woman, had a great disinclination to letter-writing, and as she grew older this dislike increased, so that she seldom, if ever, wrote to the other members of the family.

From the fact that none of her letters have been preserved it is not improbable that she herself destroyed those she had written to her husband. The only letter written by her known to exist is given by Dr. Madden in his life of her husband. This was written to her brother, Mr. John Patten, in Ireland, at some time after her emigration to this country. Mrs. Emmet, it is said, also had a peculiarity of seldom dating or signing her letters; fortunately this one has her name attached to it:

NEW YORK [no date].

After the hopes I had indulged in of seeing you, I commence my letter with feelings of regret not easily spoken of. The prospect of your being an inmate in our family has long been cherished as an event that, of all others, could afford us the greatest happiness. We now feel the disappointment doubly.

In urging you to come to America our own gratification is not the first object, as that would be defeated if you were not happy here; but I am well convinced the exchange would every way add to your comfort.

I know the effect that painful recollections produce upon the mind, and I often think that were I obliged to remain in Ireland my life would be miserable. A day can not pass that some event—some object—is not likely to renew a train of unpleasant ideas. Are you then to look for cheerfulness there? Does not health depend on ease of mind? Indeed, my dear John, you can enjoy neither where you are.

A change of scene, not among strangers, but in the midst of a large and affectionate family, so nearly related and tenderly attached to you, what different feelings would it not excite! Of Mr. Emmet, I need say but little. You know his disposition, it remains unchanged—always diffusing happiness among his family and friends.

In his society you would seldom feel weary. Thank God, his health is now invariably good and his reputation such as to leave no wish ungratified. The young people I know you would like. I can answer for their hearts and their feelings towards you. It would be the first object of their lives to contribute to your happiness.

When you write, mention is Mrs. Riall still living and what has become of the Jacob family? * Do not wonder at my asking these questions. The people I knew early in life oftener recur to my mind than any others. Write to me soon, my dear John, and write to me without reserve. Next to having you here, that will be the highest gratification of your truly affectionate sister—

JANE EMMET.

*The Rialls were landholders in Co. Tipperary and probably of Huguenot descent, coming into Ireland with William of Orange. The Jacob family was from Wexford and descended in all probability from Sir Robert Jacob, who settled in that county during Queen Elizabeth's reign.

No better tribute could be offered to Mrs. Emmet's memory than is given in the words of Dr. Madden :

MRS. JANE EMMET,

The widow of Thomas Addis Emmet, the sister of the venerable John Patten, of Dublin, survived her beloved husband eighteen years. She had shared his sorrows and his sufferings,—had been his companion in imprisonment in Kilmainham gaol, and in captivity in Fort George—not for days, or weeks, or months, but for years. She had accompanied him in exile to the continent and to the land of his adoption, and there she shared in his honours and in the felicity of his later years.

The woman who had encountered so many privations and trials as she had done, who had been accustomed to all the enjoyments of a happy life, and

“ Had slept with full content about her bed,
And never waked but to a joyful morning ”—

when deprived of all ordinary comforts, of the commonest appliances of these to the humblest state of life, during the imprisonment of her husband in Dublin; and was subjected necessarily to many restraints during the weary imprisonment at Fort George—seemed even to those who were the companions of her husband's captivity as “one who, in suffering all things, suffered nothing.”

She fulfilled with heroic fortitude the duties of a devoted wife towards her husband in all his trials in his own country; was the joy and comfort of his life in a foreign land, where the exiled patriot, honoured and revered, in course of time rose to the first distinction in his profession; she died far away from her native land—but her memory should not be forgotten in Ireland.

This excellent woman, full of years, rich in virtue, surrounded by affectionate children—prosperous, happily circumstanced, dutiful and loving children to her, worthy of their inheritance of a great name, and of the honour that descended to them from the revered memory of her truly noble husband—thus terminating in a foreign land a long career, chequered by many trials, over which a virtuous woman's self-sacrificing devotion, the constancy and courage of a faithful wife, the force of a mother's love eventually prevailed. The portrait of this lady is in the possession of Mr. John Patten.*

The time may come when this intimation may be of some avail. Ireland has its Cornelias, its Portias—matrons worthy of association in our thoughts with Cato's daughter, the mother of the children who were the jewels of her heart—with the wife of Russell, of Lavalette—but Ireland has no national gallery for the pictures and busts of her illustrious children—no literature for a record of the “noble deeds of women” of her own land.

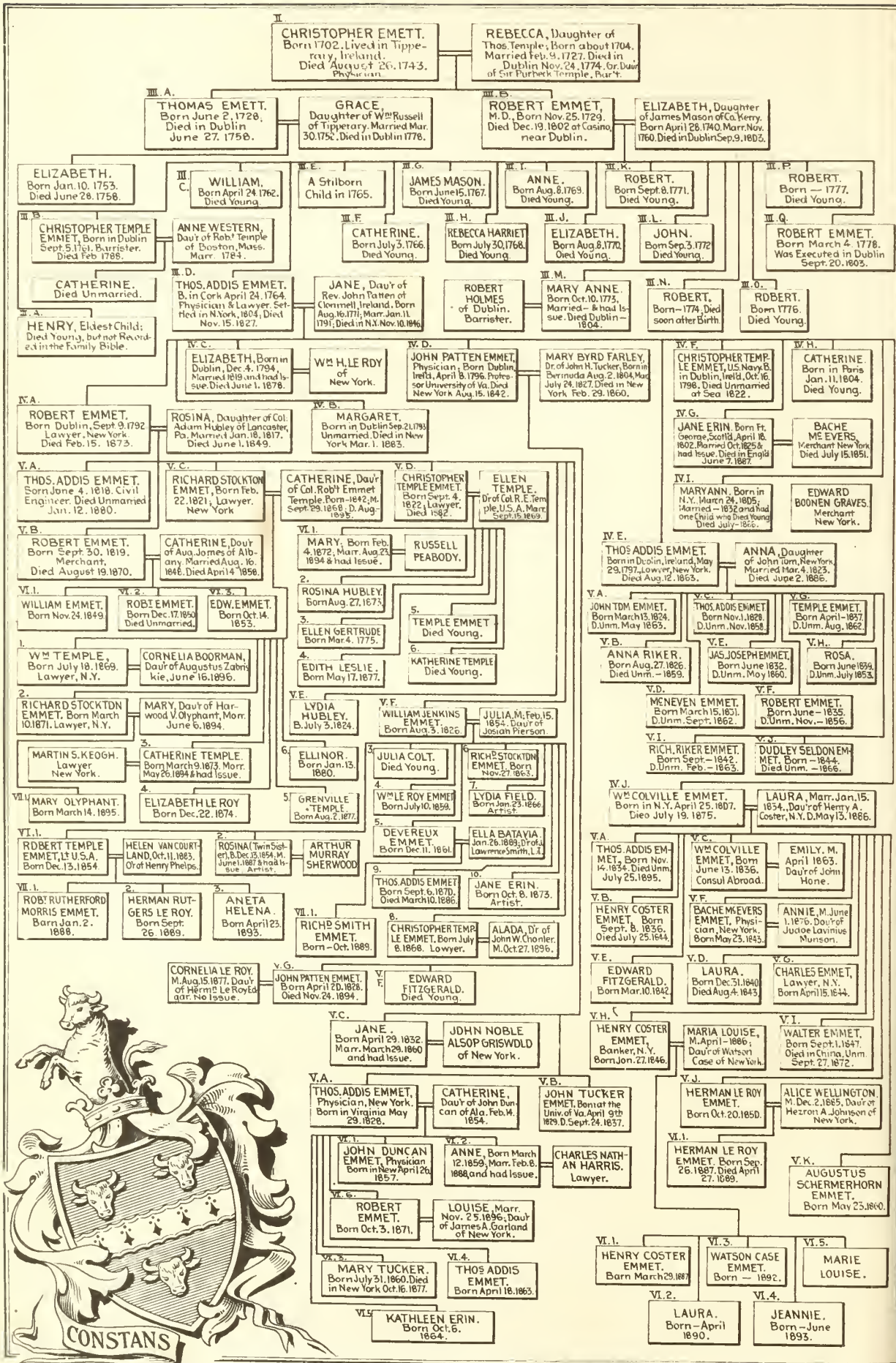
Mrs. Emmet died in New York, at the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Graves, on the 10th of November, 1846, in the seventy-second year of her age. She was not buried with her husband, but her body was placed in the vault of her son, Mr. T. A. Emmet, in the Marble Cemetery, Second Street, New York.

The following children were alive at the time of Mr. Emmet's death: Robert, Margaret, Elizabeth, John Patten, Thos. Addis, Jane Erin, Mary Anne, and William Colvill. Christopher Temple Emmet, an officer of the United States Navy, died before his father.

* Nothing is now known of this portrait. The one given was painted by her daughter, Mrs. Le Roy, and was a perfect likeness as she appeared towards the close of her life.



MRS. JANE PATTEN EMMET.



PEDIGREE OF THE EMMET FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES

THE
CHILDREN AND DESCENDANTS
OF
THOS. ADDIS AND JANE PATTEN EMMET
WHO SETTLED IN NEW YORK

1804

JUDGE ROBERT EMMET.



JUDGE ROBERT EMMET.

1851

ROBERT EMMET.

Robert Emmet, the eldest son of Thomas Addis Emmet, was born in Dublin, Ireland, September 8th, 1792. He was with his father at Fort George during his imprisonment, and there it was he received the foundation for his classical education through the teaching of some of the state prisoners. During his father's residence in France he acquired a knowledge of the French language, which he retained throughout life. It is not known where he was prepared for college, but he was a student of Columbia and graduated in 1810. After completing his course he studied law and was associated with his father for several years. During the War of 1812 Robert Emmet served as a captain for a short time in his father's regiment. He married, in January, 1817, Rosina Hubley, of Lancaster, Pa., the daughter of Col. Adam Hubley, a very active and distinguished officer during the Revolution.

Mr. Emmet, like every member of his family, was an accomplished letter-writer, and several excellent specimens from his pen have already been presented. The following is an extract from a letter written to his brother-in-law, Mr. Le Roy, at Potsdam, on business; but a portion referring to some members of the family and to his own children is of great interest:

NEW YORK, Dec. 17th, 1821.

Margaret and Tom have arrived at last, and both show as good specimens of Potsdam living; indeed Tom has returned not only the Prodigal Son but the fatted calf. His sides feel as impregnable as the walls of Troy, and his countenance is as obdurate as Corinthian brass. He has quite lost the faint traces of corporal grace, which I confess were fast fading from his exterior before he went and he looks like the very genius of impenetrability. All this, however, I consider as real improvement—clear gain in a man's physical endowment and it only makes one think that I shall one day or another derive similar benefit from paying you a visit.

I do not know well how to express the improvement which I see in Margaret. She looks somewhat more *clarified*, knit tighter, more springy and at the same time more substantial than before—altogether, her appearance shows that an occasional change of air and a little locomotion agrees with her.

We have been entertained since their arrival with minute accounts of every thing relating to St. Lawrence Co., more particularly Potsdam and still more particularly your own establishment. Papa I'll venture to say knows the arrangement of your house and the geography of the farm, as well as you do. He has a peculiarly happy knack of becoming acquainted with the construction of houses from description and you may suppose he never rested until he learned the length, breadth, and height of every room, closet and entry in yours. Little Jane too has been the subject of all

our inquiries and none of her attractions remain untold. Tom, from whom I made all my inquiries, says she is one of the loveliest little children he ever saw and that she is growing like her father, who I am told was somewhat tickled with the feel of her first tooth. This brings me to speak of my own. Tom is growing tall, intelligent and conceited. Bob looks like an Irish Haymaker in miniature, jolly and good tempered and impudent, but without any great portion of worldly wisdom, except in obedience to nature's immediate calls. But Dick I do acknowledge is in my opinion the Prince of children, for strength, beauty and engaging ways. He stands alone, says Dada and Mama and has six teeth. Rosina began to wean him last night, and like a Philosopher he has spent his time in stuffing pap instead of crying at the change.

Mr. Emmet served one term in the State Legislature in 1828; he was the Corporation Counsel in 1836, Register of the Court of Chancery for a long period, until the office was abolished by the new Constitution of 1848, and was a Judge of the Superior Court from November, 1852, to December, 1854. With these exceptions he held no other public office.

After the death of Dr. Macneven, in 1841, Mr. Robert Emmet became the recognized head of the Irish people in the City of New York, and was called on as their exponent upon all occasions, and generally to preside at their public meetings. In 1841 he was made President of the Repeal Association, organized for the purpose of repealing the Act of Union between England and Ireland, this object being very much that of the Home Rule movement of the present day.

In the Irish movement of 1848 Mr. Emmet took a very active part as a member of the Directory, and at a mass meeting held June 6th, 1848, he made a most eloquent address for the cause.

After the leaders of the uprising in Ireland were condemned to penal servitude for life, and had been sent to Van Diemen's Land, a successful effort was made to effect their liberation. Almost entirely through Mr. Emmet's efforts a vessel was chartered, and with the aid of reliable agents, John Mitchel, Thos. Francis Meagher and others, in May, 1852, made their escape and landed in New York.

Mr. Emmet had always been a Democrat until the parties became divided on the question of slavery; he then left the party with his friend Martin Van Buren. Later, with Wm. H. Seward and others, in the State of New York, he became one of the early founders of the Republican party as an advocate for the abolition of slavery. He took an active part, therefore, in our own politics at this period of his life, and presided at the convention in 1856, when Gen. John C. Fremont was made the Republican Presidential nominee.

Mrs. Emmet died June 1st, 1849. We have seen frequent reference made to her in the family letters, showing that she was a great favorite with all who knew her. As a young woman she was full of fun and

seemed ever ready for a frolic; throughout her married life she proved an exemplary wife and mother, as well as an excellent manager of her household. From her marriage she became as thoroughly identified with her husband's family and all its interests as if she had indeed been of that same stock. As the writer recalls her in middle life, she was a woman of unusual intelligence, of a commanding and dignified appearance, and a great favorite with young people.

Mr. Robert Emmet as a young man was an athlete and excelled in all outdoor sports. He was an enthusiastic fisherman and a good shot. Besides possessing a fair voice, he was a good performer on the violin and flute, and, in fact, had an unusually musical nature. Throughout life he was invariably cheerful and bright, seldom allowing his good nature to be disturbed. One of the writer's earliest recollections is his uncle's country-place on the banks of the East River, in the neighborhood of Seventy-ninth Street and the East River, opposite the upper portion of Blackwell's Island. This house had been built by Richard Riker, the Recorder, and at that time belonged to him. It was surrounded by a number of large forest trees, the continuation of Jones's Woods, which adjoined the place. The house was within fifty yards of the water and but little more than five miles from New York. It was consequently somewhat exposed to river thieves, who could conveniently come up in a boat from the city. The writer recalls an incident in this connection which made a great impression on him as a boy and marked his uncle as a hero. Mr. Emmet, hearing a noise in the house one night, got up, and taking a small dress sword which he had formerly worn, made the rounds of the house. In the basement he suddenly came upon two thieves, but with his knowledge of fencing he forced them into a corner and prevented their making any defense before his call for assistance was answered, and they were secured.

In early life Mr. Emmet had quite a large criminal practice and was counsel in a number of noted cases, though his practice was chiefly office work, and later in life he had a good referee practice.

The author recalls seeing his uncle laugh very heartily at the outcome of one case in which he was the victim. A noted forger, Monroe Edwards, retained him as counsel, and, notwithstanding that Mr. Emmet made a most masterly effort to show his client was above suspicion and an innocent man, the prisoner was convicted on the verdict of the jury and sent to State Prison. The convict gratefully thanked his counsel for his efforts and presented him with a check which proved to be a forgery. An account of the incident got into the newspapers eventually, and it was headed "Game to the Last."

The close of Mr. Emmet's life was a most happy one and was passed serenely in the midst of his children and grandchildren. Though confined to the house and unable to get about readily, he was otherwise in good health and able during this period to read again the favorite authors of his youth.

At length organic life came to a standstill, brought about by old age, and Mr. Emmet died at New Rochelle, February 15th, 1873.

Mr. Emmet was the father of eight children :

I. Thos. Addis, born June 4th, 1818. A civil engineer. Died unmarried January 12th, 1880.

II. Robert, Jr., born September 30th, 1819. Merchant. Married, August 16th, 1848, Catherine, daughter of Augustus James, of Albany. Had three children :

1. William, born November 24th, 1849. Died unmarried.
2. Robert, born December 17th, 1850. Died unmarried.
3. Edward, born October 14th, 1853. Married in San Francisco, Cal. Mrs. Emmet died April 4th, 1858.
Robert Emmet, Jr., died August 19th, 1870.

III. Richard Stockton, born February 22d, 1821. Lawyer. Married, September 29th, 1868, Catherine, daughter of Col. Robert Emmet Temple, U.S.A., and Catherine M. James, and had six children. Mrs. Emmet died August —, 1895, and had issue :

1. William Temple, born July 18th, 1869. Lawyer. Married, June 16th, 1896, Cornelia Boorman, daughter of Augustus Zabriskie, and had issue :
 - a.* Richard Stockton, born April 8th, 1897.
2. Richard Stockton, Jr., born March 10th, 1871. Lawyer. Married, June 6th, 1894, Mary, daughter of Harwood Vernon Olyphant, and had issue :
 - a.* Mary Olyphant, born March 14th, 1895.

Mr. Emmet was a member of the New York Legislature. Died at Albany, February 7th, 1897.

3. Katherine Temple, born March 9th, 1873. Married, May 26th, 1894, Martin J. Keogh, lawyer, and had issue.
4. Elizabeth Le Roy, born December 22d, 1874.
5. Grenville Temple, born August 2d, 1877. Student at Harvard.
6. Elinor, born January 13th, 1880.

IV. Christopher Temple, born September 4th, 1822. Graduated in medicine at the University of Virginia. Afterwards admitted to the Bar. Married, September 15th, 1869, Ellen Temple, sister of Mrs. Rich. S. Emmet and daughter of Col. R. E. Temple, U.S.A., and Catherine M. James. Had the following issue :

1. Mary, born February 4th, 1872. Married Russell Peabody, August 23d, 1894, and had issue.
2. Rosina Hubley, born August 29th, 1873.
3. Ellen Gertrude, born March 4th, 1875.
4. Edith Leslie, born May 17th, 1877.
5. Temple. Died young.
6. Katherine Temple. Died young.

Mr. Emmet resided in San Francisco, Cal., and died, in the sixty-second year of his age, at Green River, Wyoming.

V. Lydia Hubley, born July 3d, 1824.

VI. William Jenkins, born August 3d, 1826. Married, February 15th, 1854, Julia, daughter of Josiah G. Pierson and Julia Colt. Had issue :

1. Robert Temple, born December 13th, 1854. Lieutenant United States Army. Resigned. Married, October 11th, 1883, Helena Van Courtland, daughter of Henry Phelps, and had issue :
 - a. Robert Rutherford Morris, born January 27th, 1888.
 - b. Herman Rutgers Le Roy, born September 26th, 1889.
 - c. Anita Helena, born April 23d, 1893.
2. Rosina (twin sister), born December 13th, 1854. Artist. Married, June 1st, 1887, Arthur Murray Sherwood, and had issue.
3. Julia Colt. Died young.
4. William Le Roy, born July 10th, 1859. Midshipman United States Navy. Resigned. Electrical engineer.
5. Devereux, born December 11th, 1861. Lawyer. Married, January 26th, 1889, Ella Batavia, daughter of Judge J. Lawrence Smith, of Smithtown, Long Island, and had issue :
 - a. Richard Smith, born October —, 1889.
 - b. Devereux, born January 17th, 1898.
6. Richard Stockton, born November 27th, 1863. Railroad business manager, Chicago, Ill.
7. Lydia Field, born January 23d, 1866. Artist.

8. Christopher Temple, born July 8th, 1868. Lawyer. Married, October 27th, 1896, Alida, daughter of the late John Winthrop Chanler, of New York, and Margaret, daughter of Samuel Ward.

a. Elizabeth Winthrop, born September 8th, 1897.

9. Thomas Addis Emmet, born September 6th, 1870; died March 10th, 1886.

10. Jane Erin, born October 8th, 1873. Artist.

VII. Edward Fitzgerald. Died young.

VIII. John Patten, born April 20th, 1828. Married, August 15th, 1877, Cornelia Le Roy, daughter of Herman Le Roy Edgar, of New York. Mr. Emmet died November 24th, 1894, without issue.

MISS MARGARET EMMET.



MISS MARGARET EMMET.

MARGARET EMMET.

Margaret, the eldest daughter of Thos. Addis Emmet, was born in Dublin, Ireland, September 21st, 1793. She was with her parents during their imprisonment and during their sojourn on the Continent. Early in life she developed a remarkable talent for music and attained great proficiency on the piano.

Until an advanced age she remained young in her feelings and took a deep interest in all that was passing about her. She also kept in practice her music much longer than is usual, and was always ready to use her talent to give pleasure to others. She was well read and a most accomplished woman. Before the infirmities of age began to creep upon her she was a most agreeable companion, and to the close of her life she commanded the love and respect of all who knew her.

Her life as an unmarried woman was an uneventful one and necessarily passed within a very narrow range, but it glided on smoothly to the end with a degree of peace and contentment allotted to few.

Frequent reference has been made and many extracts taken from Miss Emmet's letters in the preceding pages. But the following letters, written at a later period of her life, will be read with no less interest, since they were written from Ireland, and give us the last accounts of the family's connections there. Miss Emmet and her sister, Mrs. Graves, were the first members of the family to visit Ireland—more than forty years after their father's banishment. In one of these letters she gives a description of the reception the party received as soon as they were recognized. These letters also make frequent reference to her uncle, Mr. John Patten, who at that time was an old man, but who eventually outlived all his connections in Ireland, and died in his ninety-eighth year.

In another letter, to be given in the sketch of Dr. John Patten Emmet and written only a few hours before his death, Miss Emmet refers at length to her brother's last illness.

The first of these letters written by Miss Emmet is to her niece, Susan Le Roy, the daughter of her sister Elizabeth :

DUBLIN, August 1st, 1842.

MY DEAR SUSAN:

As you have redeemed your character, as a correspondent, by a pleasant letter which I received the other day, I must avail myself of a very few spare moments to write to you a short answer, which is all that I can do at this time as the steamer sails so soon. You will wonder, I have no doubt, that we should have so much to occupy us in such a quiet place as Ireland, but we are staying at Uncle John's, and although they have seen great reverses of fortune, from loss of property, still the hospitality of the land will break out in them and we are feasted either at home or abroad every day, and after being here almost a week this is the first chance I have had of writing. Your Uncle Graves is writing to Mont Alto* and of course giving a glowing account of our first reception in Paddy land, which was rather in the loafer style, as we spent the night in the street begging admittance from door to door without success. I longed for your uncle Bill to sing Barney Brannigan while I was sitting on the handle of the wheel-barrow that held our luggage. I think he would have made the windows of the houses around fly open by the magic of his voice, and our disconsolate situation would have been made known to more than the flinty heart who answered us from behind the closed door that there "was not a spare bed in the house." But long life to the moon, for a sweet noble creature, as she shone out in all her splendor silver bright; and when we had no other resource we returned to another hotel and there got a carriage and drove into Dublin by broad daylight, for the steamer landed the passengers at King's town, seven or eight miles from Dublin, and immediately falls back into the stream,—otherwise we would have returned to sleep in it. When we reached Dublin we went to bed for a few hours and breakfasted before we drove to Uncle John's, who lives about two miles from Dublin. When once inside of a house the warm feeling of the country began to show itself, for the waiter who attended at breakfast shed real silent tears when he heard who we were and I have no doubt told the other servant in the Hotel, for there were men and women on every landing as we went down stairs, and all looked kindly at us.

At Sandy Mount, where we are staying, we are treated like spoiled children, and nothing can exceed the kindness of all. Even every member of Uncle John's wife's family, who although in constant attendance on a brother who is very ill, have asked us to their houses. We went out today and I am obliged to finish my letter in the small hours, as Mr. Delprat says. On that account we went out to a beautiful country seat of a cousin of your grand mother, who asked after his cousin Jane and called me Margaret soon after he knew me. At that place I am sure we would have spent some pleasant days, but one of the family, a favorite son, is lying at the point of death and Mrs. Colville, his mother, could only leave him for a few moments to see us when we called there. But they are constantly sending fine fruit &c. and showing what they would do but for circumstances.

I must draw this to a close per force, but your uncle Graves has written so long a letter to your Aunt Jane, that this is only to tell you that I have not forgotten you and tell Libby [her sister Elizabeth] that her little letter was very nice indeed. Your Uncle will not allow me to write another word.

Yours ever,

MARGARET EMMET.

Miss Susan Le Roy,
New York.

The next letter from Miss Emmet is to her sister, Mrs. Le Roy:

DUBLIN, August 15th, 1842.

After sipping the sweets of the Devil's Punch Bowl at Killarney, you will think, My dear Elizabeth, that I must be just in good order to answer your folio letter of six pages, which I received on my return to Dublin and read with the greatest pleasure; not excepting the two scrub epistles at

* The name of Mr. Bache McEvers's country-place.

the end, and were I not again pressed for time while writing I would try what virtue there is in crossing, but I am afraid I can not today. Mary Ann also received one from you a week later, we conjecture, for Jane began it and put no date.

I am grieved to learn that John [her brother] is still so much a sufferer as you state. I had hoped that he would have recruited fast when among you all and with summer weather. It seems too hard that he should be obliged to go before our return when we are so near it, but I know how necessary a warm climate is to him and the end of September may be too late for him to travel.

We leave this for Scotland in a couple of days taking the North of Ireland first. We spent four days in Killarney and would willingly have remained longer, as we had such torrents of rain some part of the time that we had to forego several excursions on that account. The lakes are very beautiful and the mountains fine and water falls, all with some legend of fairies and enchantment about them, with O'Donoghues and O'Sullivans for the heroes. Indeed there is not a rock or island that has not its tale of romance.

We have not been able to hear as much genuine Irish wit as I expected. But the common people we have come in contact with, have been spoiled by being guides &c.—and training their wit. However, the old man who took us in for the night, in our trouble on the road, told me that I “spoke a deal entirely plain” for one coming from America and a day or two in the bogs would have brought the real stuff out I am sure. The same ill luck about houses attended us on our return from Killarney, although travelling a different route and we were once actually floored by two or three country gentlemen “who pay the rent,” (pigs) who in settling some private quarrel dashed between our horses' legs and threw them both down, postilion and all. It had been raining hard and we had to dismount from the carriage in a perfect sea, and found both horses' knees shockingly cut. They proved to be but flesh wounds, but had we had any other resource our humanity would have prompted us to take it instead of going on with them, which we were obliged to do after a time on a slow walk, however, and for a short distance. From Limerick we had no trouble, and on our way we paid a visit to Mrs. Harper, a cousin of Mama who was Miss Colville, and Miss Margaret Colville. They had written to Dublin hoping we would spend a day with them on our way to Killarney, but we went a different direction and the family are in much trouble about a son of Mr. Colville at Clontarf who died the day after our visit. As we passed through the town, where they were living, coming back, we thought we would call even if they were not at home, and I am glad we did, for it is delightful to see how affectionately Mamma is remembered and to feel so warmly welcomed for her sake. Had Mr. Colville's family not been in distress I am sure we would have spent part of our time with them, and they seemed to live very pleasantly in the country. As it is they have been constantly sending fine fruit and the delicacies of the season to Uncle John for us. Uncle John is a perfect contrast to Mamma, slow in speaking and very absent, but he has a great deal of fun and such perfect good humor that everybody loves him and he has a mind stored with information. In traveling whenever we were in a difficulty, he always had some improvement or invention which was just making that would have suited our case exactly, had it been in general use. Once when our boat was aground, he said there was one just invented with wheels at the bottom, for such an emergency; again when we could not stem the rapids and were wishing our boat could be carried, there was an India rubber one making by some one, and so on in his quiet way.

We have seen Mr. Holmes [married the sister of T. A. E.] twice; he was absent when we first arrived and did not return until a day or two before we went South. He is a fine looking old man, but not one my heart warms to, for altho' he is not what you would call a reserved man, there is no glow about him which would draw you near to him as a relation.*

Tell Susan that if I did not hope to be home so soon now, I would give her another touch of my pen, as she has deserved it latterly, and the last I wrote her was but half a letter. I want to give her a description of how we fly about in a jaunting car, very easy to get on and still easier to fall off in my opinion, although I have not done it yet, thanks to the tight grip I take of both sides when on. They say that after a little habit, you lose that fear and they are very much used here.

* See the accounts of his wife's death, page 54.

We are staying about two miles out of Dublin, but go in almost every day, so that practice makes perfect. I suppose from what you say that you will spend next winter in town, at any rate you will be where you are some time still, and I hope to take a shaking up with you in the country waggon. I wish it was as easy to get into as my friend the car, with all its faults. I must go and pack, so with love to all

Believe me yours ever,

MARGARET EMMET.

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy, New York.

Miss Emmet died from old age March 1st, 1883, at the age of ninety years, the last of the name born in Ireland.

ELIZABETH EMMET LE ROY.



MRS. ELIZABETH EMMET LEROY.

ELIZABETH EMMET LE ROY.

Elizabeth, the third child of T. A. Emmet, was born in Dublin, Ireland, December 4th, 1794. As a young woman she was noted for her beauty, wit and accomplishments, all of which her father makes frequent mention of in several letters which have been presented. She acquired a knowledge of the French language while with her parents on the Continent, and she retained free command of it throughout life. She was proficient in music and for many years exercised her talents by teaching the younger members of the family. Her talent for drawing and painting was remarkable, and under the teaching of Robert Fulton, as claimed by some of her contemporaries, she became the most finished portrait-painter at that time in the country. A reproduction has already been given of the portrait of T. A. Emmet and one of his wife, painted by their daughter when a young girl and while still under Fulton's instruction.

Another portrait of her mother in advanced life and painted by Mrs. Le Roy has also been given. The writer has another portrait of Thorwaldsen, painted by Mrs. Le Roy from a print when she was over sixty years of age. There are many other subjects from her brush to be found among the different members of the family. Her daughter, Mrs. Edgar, possessed one painting to which much interest is attached on account of its history. Many years ago a wealthy collector in New York purchased and imported the painting of a noted artist and then placed it on public exhibition. After her second visit to the exhibition Mrs. Le Roy reproduced the painting at home from recollection, and knowing the owner of the original, she invited him to see it. Being a good judge of paintings, his astonishment was great, and he remarked it was as perfect as if it were a replica. On one occasion a fellow-countryman and friend of Thorwaldsen was dining with the writer, and on coming into the drawing-room he recognized the portrait. Throwing up his hands and with his eyes filled with tears he expressed his astonishment at seeing a likeness of his friend so far from Copenhagen. He then pronounced the likeness the best in existence.

In 1819 Elizabeth Emmet married William H. Le Roy, and they were

said to have been the handsomest couple in New York. For a number of years Mr. Le Roy and his family lived on a large stock farm, near Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., but eventually he returned with his family to the city of New York and there went into business.

To the close of her life Mrs. Le Roy kept alive her faculties and interest in life, teaching music and French to her grandchildren and painting almost to the day of her death. Mrs. Le Roy was truly a most noble woman. With all her intellectual acquirements she was able to give great pleasure to those around her. She spent her life in adding to the comforts and happiness of others, and it may be said in truth that her mind was continually employed thinking of and doing charitable acts.

Mrs. Le Roy died from old age December 31st, 1878, having just completed her eighty-fifth year, and with her to the grave went the prayers and regrets of both the rich and poor.

Mr. Le Roy survived his wife some ten years. Their children were as follows:

I. Jane Emmet, born May, 1821. Married Robert W. Edgar February 15th, 1854, and had issue. Died March 12th, 1895.

II. Herman, born February, 1823. Died unmarried April 8th, 1889.

III. William. Died young.

IV. Susan, born September, 1825. Died unmarried July, 1848.

V. Elizabeth, born July, 1830. Died unmarried June 29th, 1847.

JOHN PATTEN EMMET.

DR. JOHN PATTEN EMMET.

John Patten Emmet was born in the city of Dublin, Ireland, on the 8th of April, 1796. He was the second son of Thos. Addis Emmet and Jane Patten.

The following letter, written by the father to his second cousin, a granddaughter of Diana Emmet and the sister of Christopher, is probably the first record made of the son's birth :

DUBLIN, April 30th, 1796.

MY DEAR MRS. MACOUBRY :

Tho' I was very sorry to hear of Mr. Forde's death on many accounts, yet I assure you it gave me very sincere pleasure to find by your letter that he had left you out of debt. It was an act of kindness and generosity highly worthy of him. I am very much obliged to you for having thought of making me acquainted with your good fortune and feel something more than flattered by the expressions of gratitude you are so good as to use towards me. I am only sorry it is not in my power to be of more essential service to my friends and relations.

You did not know at the time you were wishing me joy of the birth of my last daughter Mrs. Emmet was on the point of giving me another son, which she did in a few days after I received yours. She is now, thank God, extremely well and the mother of four fine children, two boys and two girls. So that you see my family is increasing fast. My sister Mary Ann is much obliged to you for enquiring after her. She is, thank God, extremely well and strong,—so is my brother's daughter, who is growing up a very sensible and sweet tempered child. My father, mother, Mrs. Emmet and all the family join in kindest good wishes to you, with your

Affectionate friend and kinsman,

THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

Mrs. Macoubry,
Care G. Knox, Anacloy,
Downpatrick.

Mr. T. A. Emmet, as we have seen, was one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, and in consequence of the uprising of the Irish people against the British Government in 1798 he was arrested and imprisoned.

Mr. Emmet was imprisoned for a time in Dublin ; then he was removed, with other leaders of the United Irishmen, to Fort George, in Scotland, and was finally released after having been immured some five years. After he had been imprisoned for some time permission was at length obtained, and chiefly through Mrs. Emmet's efforts, for her to join him at Fort George. There, through the instrumentality of Col. Stuart, the Lieutenant-Governor of the fort, the eldest son, Robert, and the two daughters, Margaret and

Elizabeth, were allowed to remain with their parents. But their second son, John, and the two youngest children, Thomas and Temple, remained in Dublin after their father's arrest with their grandparents, Dr. Emmet and his wife, Elizabeth Mason.

A number of letters have already been given which were written by Dr. Emmet and his wife to their son during his imprisonment in Fort George, and from these letters the following abstracts are taken. The repetition is warranted in this connection, as these are the only records existing in relation to John's childhood. Mrs. Emmet writes October 9th, 1800: "The two young ones [Tom and Temple] are gaining ground so fast as to be likely to distance poor John, who is certainly a very honest, good-tempered fellow, but his talents are of the slow kind. He may, nevertheless, hereafter head the tribe, for we know that the battle is not to the strong, nor the race always to the swift."

October 30th we find: "John, tho' last named is not I assure you ever forgotten by us, he looks robust and hearty and is much more playful and lively, but still your father thinks his lungs are in a very spongy state."

The grandfather, in a letter to his son of November 13th, 1800, writes about the children: "As to those under my care they certainly must fall short in education, but we will do the best we can. John is at a crown and quarter school, where he tells me he makes great proficiency. Four or five letters a day in his A, B, C, but as yet he does not couple them very accurately. John is, however, a very well disposed, well tempered child, and if he does not mount into the Empyrean Galaxy he will always keep the Milky Path of life and never tread on thorns."

January 9th, 1801, Mrs. Emmet acknowledges a slight partiality for the two younger children, who she states are "the most interesting. John's ideas are, however, I think opening more and to shew you that he looks beyond the present time, he asked me the other day, with great sobriety, when I thought he would be fit to be married." Again, January 30th, 1801: "I find Mrs. Patten has coupled me along with herself to express a little jealousy at your intending to send for Tom in preference to John. Jane will know how to translate this, as she knows that her mother is partial to John and that I do not profess to be so; tho' I assure you he is rising very much in our estimation. He gave us all very great pleasure the other day by an instance of self conquest and firmness, which would have done honor even to my dear little Robert; the incident is too trivial and too tedious to make part of my letter, but it would have given you pleasure to see it."

My Dear M^{rs} Macoubry

Tho' I was very sorry to hear
of Mr. Forbes death on many accounts yet
I assure you it gave me very sincere pleasure
to find by your letter that he had left you
out of debt - it was an act of kindness & gene-
rosity highly worthy of him - I am very much
obliged to you for having thought of making
me acquainted with your good fortune & feel
something more than flattered by the expressions
of gratitude you are so good as to use towards
me - I am only sorry it is not in my power to
be of more essential service to my friends &
relations - You did not know that at the time you
were wishing me joy of the birth of my last & only
daughter - Mrs. Emmet was on the point of giving
me another son which she did in a few days after
I received yours - she is now, thank God, extremely well

T

& the mother of four fine children, two boys & two
girls - so that you see my family is increasing
fast. My sister Mary Ann is much obliged to
you for enquiring after her - she is thank God
extremely well & strong - so is my brother's daughter
who is growing up a very sensible & well tempered
child - My Father, Mother, Mrs. Sumner & all this
family join in kindest good wishes to you with
your affectionate friend

Dublin Wm. Sumner
April 30th C. H. Addis Sumner
1796

In a letter of March 19th, 1801, we find: "Little John is at my elbow and expressly desires me to tell you that he is a very good boy, that he has gotten a new spelling book from his grandmama Patten, and that he will take care and get his lessons well; all this I am sure he has sincere intentions of performing, tho' I must confess that in his old spelling book he is not very brilliant. He, however, I am told, performs the part of an usher in the school and acquits himself with great propriety. John I think is much better at school, it helps to enliven him and in some measure open his ideas. He does not learn any bad habits and is very fond of it. At home he would be apt to grow sluggish,—he and the others are all well."

May 10th, 1801, Mrs. Emmet wrote: "The two eldest boys desire their love to all. John never omits desiring me to read your letters to him and I generally take the liberty of framing a paragraph for them, to which they both hearken with pleasure and attention." Again, on June 25th, 1801, we find: "John is not long returned from a week's visit to Mrs. Patten, who has made him very happy with entire new clothes and a great number of buttons. He felt very visibly the importance he had acquired by his visit to town, for so soon as he returned he desired that John Delany should be brought into play with him, as his grandmama had always a boy on purpose to play with him. He does not, I assure you, want either observation or intellect, he has great natural justice and a very open good-natured temper."

August 27th, 1801, the grandmother wrote: "John continues always at a steady gait, never very high nor ever low spirited."

In the few letters which were preserved after this date we find no further allusion made to the children.

After Mr. Emmet's release from Fort George, on June 30th, 1802, he lived in Brussels and Paris until his emigration to the United States in October, 1804. John, however, and the two younger children remained with their grandparents until their death, and afterwards with other relations until March, 1805, when they set out with a friend of the family to join their parents in New York. Shortly before leaving Ireland John suffered from a severe attack of smallpox, which was nearly fatal, and before he had fully convalesced he had the measles and whooping-cough. From having been a strong and robust child his constitution, after this illness, remained impaired throughout the remainder of his life.

Young Emmet was educated by Mr. Richard W. Thompson, who was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and was the master of a noted classical school then located at Flatbush, Long Island, in the State of New York.

When about sixteen years of age he had a severe attack of pneumonia. For nearly a year he was an invalid, but at length he so far recovered his health as to be accepted in 1814 as a cadet in the United States Military Academy, West Point.

The following letter is to one of his sisters, and is the only one written during his service at West Point which has been preserved :

WEST POINT, October 22, 1816.

DEAREST JANE :

The generous terms you have placed me in are so far from excusing me not writing to you, that I feel doubly deficient in taking advantage of them. I did not receive your last letter until the 21st, although dated the 14th, owing to the stormy weather, which prevented the boat from landing it.

We have had abundance of rain here, enough for a whole season, so that I had a fair chance of trying my "fear not" and found it waterproof, nearly. There was one disadvantage I was under and against which there is little or no remedy up here, that is the want of shoes. I mentioned them among the other articles, but I suppose they were forgotten. We have been paid off to-day for two months, and our creditors proved wonderfully good-natured and civil, as we had the management of our own debts. Thorp made his bow to me as soon as I was paid, and presented me with a bill for a cool fifty six; for a coat and pantaloons he made me this vacation. I paid him thirty six dollars, walked on and was saluted by the store-keeper, paid him, and ran against the wash-man,—had to acknowledge him and then found that I had run out; those in the rear retired in good order and packed their bills for another time. There was very little else done all day and I resolved not to lose the opportunity of writing to you. I declare, if you will believe me, I was for a long time in doubt who the letter I received came from. I could have sworn it was not yours, for the writing and the composition only tended to deceive me more, until I convinced myself, by the name, that they both belonged to you. If I could only get Mary Ann to write me such a letter I should forgive her all her past silence. I am inclined to think Margaret and she go halves in not saying a word.

West Point begins to lose its agreeable appearance, and the rocks and mountains have already changed their summer clothing for the winter suit of brown, and as the mind's eye is further raised, a close examination and a *dreary winter* appear in full prospective, but last of all comes no vacation. The first brings all that we have passed through, on its back; the second, with its north-west zephyrs, is sufficient of itself, but when I view the third I find no beauty in it. It seems too harsh to place at any distance, but particularly as it hides all prospect of a visit home and obscures those pleasing scenes we must for ever feel delight in. The Examination I have no doubt will prove very strict and must not be neglected. There is a book I wish Tom would procure for me, that is Holyday's Fluxions; if he can't find this he must endeavor to send me some other good book on the subject. If he asks Papa he will tell him the best. Dear Jane, this letter should be entirely intended for you were it not that I have just received Elizabeth's and feel it impossible to proceed without dividing it in part with her, you know I am but a poor debtor and must act according to my abilities. You must be loving and not fight, be full of *Pathos* to each other; but if you can't agree stand at arms length and read it, after which the best way will be to toss up who shall have it, and if this don't do I beg Margaret, who is always very cool on such occasions, may decide.

Dear Elizabeth, I must agree with you that Tom is a great plague to all harmony and *melting moods*; it is impossible to foresee what he will come to in the end. I have seen him at a time, a most critical time, when Margaret was at one of those lofty *never come down notes*, in Marmion and, Mr. Ludlow sky high with sympathy, throw a sofa cushion upon some unlucky key that marred the whole. If his friend can not drill him I don't know who can. For my part I can acquit myself of all such malicious tricks and recollect but one instance of the kind, and that was when you were



*Exploration
Impressions*

AN ORIGINAL SKETCH BY JOHN PATTEN EMMET, FROM WHITE ST. AND BROADWAY LOOKING TOWARDS CANAL ST., SHOWING

going away, Margaret, Jane, Mary Anne and all fell a weeping, when I for novelty sake laughed at them so heartily, that Jane made me a horrid hog on all occasions, and Mary Anne a dirty beast. However, I am inclined to think we have all made up again by their attention in sending me those Pears and Apples. The provisions you have sent have seen a merry life and therefore not a long one and I don't know but what I have measured the time of your precautions tolerably exact.

There is nothing that I need now except those things I have last mentioned; however, you need not think that by this I mean to say that anything you send up will not be acceptable, but I feel so grateful for those you have sent, that I must not ask for anything else. There is an old promissory condition in letter writing that I must put the family to. The Post Office has opened a new regulation respecting letters which obliges us to pay for them on the spot. Now, although the price is but small, it is at times just as difficult to get out of the pockets. This is but a poor plan for a person that has anything of consequence in a letter, where he may be poor in one case but rich in the other and still not able to pay his debts with either.

We have been looking for segars some times as mine have given out, and though I have one in my mouth at this time I don't feel half the man I did with one of those Tom sent me. I am very sorry we will have no vacation and am afraid I shall forget all my drawing. Mr. Milbert is not in town at present I believe, but when he does return I imagine it would be better to send him those engravings I have of his. If you should chance to see him at any time you can let me know. You must not be surprised this winter if I get sick and come home, for I am so vexed about this affair that nothing is too difficult to overcome it. The idea of staying here is not relished by the Cadets and I doubt whether we won't all be burnt out in keeping ourselves warm. Give my love to all at home.

J. P. EMMET.

Miss Jane Emmet,
No. 9 Nassau St., New York.

The young cadet expressed the fear that he would forget all his drawing. About this time and while on a visit home, he, to keep his hand in, made the sketch which has been reproduced and which he termed "Corporation Improvements." While it is made in the spirit of a caricature, it is doubtless a correct representation of that part of the city at White Street and Broadway, looking north, as it appeared while the work was going on.* This drawing was copied as an illustration for Mrs. Lamb's "History of the City of New York."

Mr. Emmet had already become so proficient in his knowledge of mathematics that before the termination of his service he was detailed an Acting Assistant Professor. While at West Point, in 1816, Cadet V. M. Lowe, of New York, the roommate of Cadet Emmet, was killed by a rocket stick. His class erected to his memory several years afterwards what is now called

* At that time Broadway terminated at Canal Street and was impassable, as the way was greatly lowered by cutting down the high hills to fill up the Collect Pond. Lispenard's farm was to the west of the road and Bayard's was to the east, near the Bowery. "The improvement" was chiefly on the Bayard place, and the residence was left for a time, as shown in the sketch, perched upon a small knoll of ground, little larger than was sufficient to support the house. On the other hand, as the progress of lowering the hills was slow, it would seem as if individual enterprise had excavated to the grade of Canal Street a sufficiently large enough hole and had erected the French Church at the bottom of it, for the sketch shows that this building was put up long before the back country was graded.

the Cadet Monument, the design of which was drawn by Mr. Emmet, and they also selected him to deliver the oration at the funeral of his friend, which was afterwards printed, but no copy is known to have been preserved.

Boynton, in his "History of West Point," does not give Mr. Emmet's name among the list of Acting Assistant Professors of Mathematics, nor does he go back in his list to the date of Emmet's service, and doubtless this, as well as other omissions, are due to a subsequent fire which destroyed a greater part of the records.

The following order, in the possession of the writer and found among his father's papers, is unquestionable proof that Mr. Emmet did hold the position of Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics at West Point :

ORDERS.

WEST POINT, April 3, 1817.

None of the mathematical classes are in future to be dismissed from the Recitation Rooms to go to their quarters sooner than ten o'clock in the morning. And none at that time except those who attend the French Academy at eleven o'clock,—all the others are to remain until the recitations are complete. Each Instructor in the Mathematical Department will keep a roll of his class on which he will designate the names of those who attend the French Academy at eleven o'clock. Each Instructor will also report to the Command^d Officer all those actually absent from recitation in their respective classes.

A. PARTRIDGE,
Cap^t Comm^d.

To Acting Assistant
Prof. J. P. Emmet,
Present.

Shortly after this date Mr. Emmet's health became so impaired that he was obliged to seek a milder climate, and consequently he was unable to complete his course at West Point. Several of his testimonials have been preserved, which show that he had held a position most creditable to himself, and that he would have graduated with honor if he could have remained through the prescribed course of study. These certificates are as follows :

I do hereby certify that Cadet John P. Emmett of the U. S. Military Academy passed through the course of Engineering with great credit to himself and that he displayed in his studies a genius which made his professors proud of having such a scholar under their direction.

CROZET,
Prof^r of Engineering.

West Point, June 30, 1817.

And the following is of particular interest from a noted officer then in command :

The bearer hereof, Mr. John Emmett, has been a student of the Military Academy of the U. States, and part of the time in the Philosophical Class under my direction.

Mr. Emmet's conduct was always very correct and honorable. As a proficient in Philosophy, he was one of the first in his class, distinguished by a luminous and comprehensive view of that science. In all other branches of learning taught at this Academy, he has the reputation of excelling, and I have no doubt will be found well qualified for entering on almost any business or profession.

JARED MANSFIELD,
Prof. of N. & E. Phil. Mil. Academy.

West Point, Nov. 24th, 1817.

Mr. Emmet spent a year abroad, and during a greater portion of the time he was in Italy, where he devoted himself to the study of the Italian language and to improving an already advanced stage of proficiency in music, painting and sculpture.

In a dare-devil spirit, of which Mr. Emmet gave frequent evidence in early life by his taste for practical jokes, he appeared at the Carnival in Naples as the Devil. This episode of his life proved nearly a fatal one, as he was set upon by a mob and so severely punished that he was made an invalid for several months afterwards. The costume was a black elastic one, which fitted closely to the body and was pulled on through an opening in the back of the neck, which was covered by a fold of the hood. The tail was the chief feature, and Mr. Emmet, anticipating difficulty and seeking to furnish a means of defense, put at the extremity a lump of lead. In this lead, while in a fluid state, he had placed a large number of pins and needles so that they were firmly set when it cooled, with their points sufficiently projecting from the surface to furnish a very formidable weapon if wielded as a slungshot. Owing to his forethought, by providing so effective a weapon, he was able to defend himself at the Carnival until he was rescued in a most exhausted condition.

Dr. Emmet returned home early in 1819 and began the study of medicine in the University of New York, the medical school now known as the College of Physicians and Surgeons, under the direction of Dr. Wm. H. Macneven, the Professor of Chemistry. Having been appointed Dr. Macneven's assistant, he devoted a greater portion of his time to that special study. But for his indomitable energy he would never have completed his medical studies, for his health remained so much impaired that during the winter he was frequently confined to his house for weeks. But this time was not lost, as he fitted up a laboratory in his father's house, where he applied himself assiduously to the study of chemistry. Moreover, he began to show the same taste for mechanical pursuits which became so prominent in after life, and he evidently received ready aid from his father, who had a similar bent of mind. Miss Margaret Emmet, the eldest daughter, writes at this time to her sister, Mrs. Le Roy:

"Papa's stove mania gets worse and worse every day, but he has certainly made the house most comfortable, and his only anxiety is how to dispose of the superfluous heat. Among other charming *knick-knacks* he has contrived a place to hatch eggs while the house is warming, and if he should only succeed I think John and Papa would get out of their wits with pleasure, for they go hand in hand in all these contrivances."

The date of Dr. Emmet's graduation is shown by the following extract taken from a letter written by Mr. Robert Emmet, January 11th, 1822, to his brother-in-law, Mr. Wm. H. Le Roy, at Potsdam, N. Y.: "John has been examined and admitted a Doctor of Medicine to-day. I am just called to go and make whiskey-punch for a little merry-making which has arisen from John's promotion, and have only time to tell you we are all well."

His inaugural dissertation was "The Chemistry of Animated Matter." This was a treatise of one hundred and twenty octavo pages, which was printed by the college as the thesis selected from those of the graduating class of that year by the faculty to be publicly discussed. Dr. Henry William Ducachet, of the same class, who became afterwards an Episcopal clergyman and distinguished in Philadelphia, was designated to refute the views advanced by Dr. Emmet. But it was held that the author had successfully defended his position.

On January 19th, 1822, his brother Tom writes to his sister in Potsdam: "John had a few symptoms of a return of his complaint, but he confined himself so closely to the house that they have passed off. He, however, will leave this for Charleston in eight or ten days. His health is pretty good, but as we have not yet had any severe weather and as the spring would be the worst weather for him, Papa wishes to send him away. He goes for the purpose of avoiding, not to recover from sickness, but he will not return till late next spring. He will see Ludlow in Charleston, who no doubt will make his time very pleasant. What has contributed as much as anything to keep him so well is that he has gone through his Examinations, which he did with much credit to himself. So much so that when it came to the turn of one of the Professors to examine he declined, giving as a reason that he was perfectly satisfied that it would be useless to examine him as his knowledge had been sufficiently tested. He is now a Doctor, and it has put him in very good spirits."

On reaching Charleston Dr. Emmet soon decided to make it his permanent residence and to commence there the practice of his profession.

Shortly after he writes the following amusing letter to Mrs. Emmet, the wife of his brother Tom, congratulating her on the birth of her first child :

CHARLESTON, S. CA.: March 14th, 1824.

MY DEAR ANNA :

Having just learned that there have been great things doing at your house since my departure, I cannot refrain, in humble imitation of the Wise Men of the East, from offering my tribute of sincere love to you and your first born. I have no myrrh or gold to offer, but anything in the shape of Drugs and Physic is entirely at your service; and howsoever great the dose you may be assured that my inclination will be greater. I have something of a Prophet's fancy in these matters, for in my last letter to Jane, even before I was aware of my being an Uncle to one more hopeful, I concluded my valedictory by desiring to be remembered to all both great and *small*.

It pleases me very much to know that the chick is a Boy. I like nephews for the sake of whipping them; besides they always bring another emmet to the swarm. But though I love a Niece full as much, she can never be counted upon, for in some unlucky hour she may happen to get married, and they take away an emmet. Either of them, however, from you my dearest Anna, would be sufficient to swell my heart with joy. And on the present occasion as soon as I knew from Jane's letter, that everything had gone on so delightfully, I took down my worthy Barney's cremona from the peg and struck up "Come, haste to the wedding" not knowing any more suitable to the occasion, and danced myself into a small fever,—which would have been much more agreeable to my nervous system had there been any music in the confounded fiddle. But I was so rejoiced at the happy tidings that I could have drawn Bow over the Devil himself, merely for the sake of the noise. And although a very small dose of my fiddle generally proves enough for several hours, I hope as the Quaker sayeth in the play to "rub the tail of the horse on the Bowels of the Cat" again and again for the sake of the newcomer. I would give a great deal to be at home just now, as I have a host of pithy remarks to make. To see his claret nose, take his altitude and find his solid contents by some Grocer's sugary scale, would be extremely gratifying. But a great distance keeps me from the magnum opus, and there is nothing left but idle words and worlds of ifs. I suppose his name and profession are already cut out for him, so that it would be idle for one "hors de combat" to open his mouth on the subject. But as I can give my opinion at present, without opening my mouth, I shall take the liberty of insinuating a hint or two. With regard to name and title, I take it for granted the hero will be called James Macneven Emmet, Esq. of White Street, or Wm. Tom Emmet, Esqr of Place aforesaid. But if all these proposed contortions of family names should be rejected, I may remark that as there are so many claimants you will be compelled, to please all parties, to string all together like a bunch of onions and overpower the dawning faculties of the youth by the two foot and a half name of Bill, Jim, Tom, Macneven, Addis Emmet, Esq. — as aforesaid; unless you prudently resolve upon the no contemptible one of John Patten Emmet.

Thomas Addis Emmet is certainly getting to be too common and besides to judge by the noddle of the youngest representative, it will be confined to Lawyers and Attorneys, whereas I hope that your Boy will worship the Gilt head of Galen. As to profession I think that the youth should be consulted. I would therefore recommend that he begin a course of medicine, and if he takes the *stuff*, as Bob does Castor Oil without turning up his nose or making unbecoming faces, you may look upon it as an unerring sign, that he can only flourish in a mortar. If he can stand probing and to have the bread taken from his mouth when he gets it, without thinking it a *piece* of injustice, he may do for a lawyer. If he can live by sucking his paws, and seem contented, he will do for a Parson as such worthies seldom have much more to live upon. If he shows greater pleasure at the sight of cash than accounts, and if he can get up as well as ever, after half a dozen falls and other failures, and if moreover he can manage to keep the *Balance* always in his own favor, he may thrive as a Merchant. This last test, however, must lie over until he has some *fooling to set out* upon. Lastly, if the youth shews a strong propensity for sleeping and exhibits no turn for anything in par-

ticular, but yawns and makes sweet faces as if *inwardly* pleased, which, however, I think does not seem likely from some specimens I have elsewhere seen, he may turn out a fine gentleman. You have now my dear Anne, the essence of my wisdom.

I should like to be Godfather to the little man, but I fear that will never happen. However, as his uncle I shall ever feel delighted to know that he meets every trial with fortitude and to see him an intelligent man when you and I are shaking our grey locks and dealing out, for his edification, proverbs and maxims of the "good old times."

Your affectionate Brother,

J. P. EMMET.

Mrs. Anna R. Emmet,

Care of Thos. A. Emmet, Jr., New York.

Shortly after writing the above Dr. Emmet, in a letter to another member of the family, stated that in consequence of much leisure time on his hands which he could not utilize in the practice of his profession, owing to a want of appreciation on the part of the Charlestonians, he felt tempted to deliver for the people a course of lectures on the sciences. The following letter to his sister Jane refers, among other matters, to the same subject:

CHARLESTON, May 22nd, 1824.

MY DEAR JANE:

I received your letter of the eleventh yesterday, but not without an anticipation of several days. I am sorry to learn that Anna has been unwell, both for her own sake and mine, for I hoped to have had some of her penmanship in the course of Providence. I shall regret sincerely if she makes it more serious than the song "Blankets and pins &c." authorises her.

Among the sisterly wishes which adorn your letter to me, dear Jane, I recognize your old hobby of a "rich wife" for me,—'tis a consummation devoutly to be wished—but you know that while the wind blows off shore there is no making a landing, and faith I am so out of provision just now that I dare not venture to take any one on board. Friend Wilkens had done very little indeed; he has an amiable wife hanging on one arm and a full purse, with both strings in his hand, acting as a counterpoise on the other side. With regard to mental treasures I am unable to speak as the lady rarely ever opens her mouth for a reason common enough in the South, and which I might mention were I anyway given to scandal. I may say this much, however, from my own observation, that although she has good looks and lots of fresh fodder, I should always have been Ass enough to prefer chewing my own dockroots. However, "non disputandum de gustibus," is a proverb that can season any dish and it is as good a foundation for appetite as a glass of Stoughton's Bitters. It is considered a very lucky hit when Northern gentlemen marry in the South, for there is great jealousy towards them notwithstanding that they generally, in a year or two, rid the good people here of the presence both of themselves and wives. It may be new to you to hear that there is a vast deal of match making among members of great families in this place. Each house generally furnishes two or three young beaux, who for the sake of pride have been educated in idleness and for that of family and name, are afterwards compelled to look out for money matches as the only hope of existence. These booby-puppies snarl like curs when they have had a bone taken away from them, if an heiress should bestow her hand upon a stranger.

Now we Northern dogs like the picking of a rib as well as they do, and generally with success bully them out of it. This, and nothing else, more so, keeps the kennel in an uproar, but thank heaven there has been more snarling than biting as yet. You may, perhaps, suppose from the description that I write *feelingly*, but you may be better assured that the prospect of wealth alone, will never induce me to join in the hue and cry. My dear Jane, it is extremely gratifying to me to find in every letter your affectionate wish that I should make a home visit during a part of the summer. Be assured it is with great reluctance that I deny myself the pleasure. I need not repeat the argument which I have already used. Yet it is not my intention to be rash or hazardous.

There is a state of my affairs which may lead me homewards, though I confess it seems remote. If the Yellow Fever should visit Charleston this summer, it will be an unwarranted risk for me to remain in the city, even supposing that increase of Practice should make amends for a steady exposure to this most fatal disease. If I have to retire, there is but one place in the neighborhood where I could stay. Then the expense of living would infinitely exceed my income from practice as there are at least a dozen Physicians. The sum which I now have to pay every two or three weeks amounts to more than my passage home, and during that time if I stayed I might not make as much as a dollar. I have concluded therefore to visit you all again if the yellow fever makes its appearance.

This I am induced to do, by another consideration. I have been requested by a great many gentlemen and I feel very much inclined myself, for the sake of reputation, to give a course of Chemical lectures next winter. I shall have at least thirty persons to attend them and at even ten dollars a piece can meet the expenses of apparatus. I am desirous of going on to see about it myself, if possible. But as that will at all events be late in the season I have written to Tom to speak to the Doctor [Macneven] on the subject. I hope he will not delay and if the things have to be paid for, I would much prefer the Doctor writing for them to Paris, immediately, as they must be in Charleston, by October next, and will thus be obtained at a much less cost. I wish Tom would let me hear from him on this subject. Mr. Ludlow will in a few days set sail for New York, with his wife and mother, and I sincerely wish they may find as much sociability from my friends as they have shown to me. Give my love to all.

J. P. EMMET.

Miss Jane E. Emmet,
Care F. A. Emmet, Esq., New York.

Dr. Emmet evidently acted promptly, and did deliver a course of public lectures, which became so popular as to attract the attention of Mr. Jefferson.

A Board of Trustees had been formed about 1815 to establish the Albemarle Academy in Virginia. The plan was soon changed to the Central College, and finally the University of Virginia was decided upon. Mr. Jefferson, as one of the Board of Trustees of the Central College, had been in communication with Dr. Cooper, who then held the Chair of Chemistry in the University of South Carolina, and had accepted the same position in the Virginia College. Some difficulty arose when the plan was changed to the University of Virginia, and a settlement was effected with Dr. Cooper by which he withdrew from the new position which he had already accepted. On Dr. Cooper's appointment to the Central College Dr. Emmet applied for the vacancy in South Carolina. On hearing of his application the whole faculty of the Medical School of the University of New York, where Dr. Emmet had graduated, united in the following flattering memorial of his qualification for the Professorship of Chemistry. As Dr. Cooper returned to his old place, it was of course not used, but it remains an honorable testimonial.

NEW YORK, 15th of April, 1823.

Dr. John Patten Emmet began his studies at the University of New York under my special direction four years ago; and owing to his previous excellent education and his proficiency in Mathematical knowledge, was at once employed in my laboratory as an assistant in the preparation

of my experiments and in a great variety of processes in operative chemistry. During the later period of his studies he conducted several original investigations with no less ingenuity than precision. In consequence of all of which things I have no hesitation in giving him this certificate of his ample fitness for discharging the functions of Professor of Chemistry with reputation to himself and to any school in which he may officiate. For his attainments in other departments of the physical sciences he is also entitled to high commendation, and more especially as qualifying him for a Professor's Chair. That to talents of the first order and an enthusiasm for science he unites studious habits, good morals and the manners of a gentleman.

WM. J. MACNEVEN, M.D.,
Prof^r of Chemistry.

I concur with my colleagues, from my knowledge and the reasons set forth, in recommending Dr. Emmet to the University of South Carolina for the Chemical chair.

SAMUEL L. MITCHELL, M.D.,
New York, April 15th, 1823. Prof. of Botany and Materia Medica.

Dr. Emmet in my opinion is well qualified for the station for which he is a candidate and if elected I believe will reflect great credit upon the College of So. Carolina.

DAVID HOSACK, M.D.,
Prof^r of Practice.

I cheerfully concur in recommending Dr. Emmet as every way qualified for the Professorship of Chemistry in the South Carolina College.

VALENTINE MOTT, M.D.,
April 15, 1823. Professor of Surgery.

It is with much pleasure that I am afforded the opportunity of recommending Dr. Emmet as eminently qualified for the station of Professor of Chemistry.

WRIGHT POST, M.D.,
April 15, 1823. Professor of Anatomy and Physiology.

I must heartily concur in the recommendations set forth by my colleagues in the University. Dr. Emmet having prosecuted his medical studies with ardour and success, received the honors of the College at their Commencement in April last. His general knowledge of his profession warranted the distinction; his chemical attainments eminently qualify him as Professor of Chemistry.

JOHN W. FRANCIS, M.D.,
Prof^r of Obstetrics.

After the compromise with Dr. Cooper and his return to the University of South Carolina Mr. Jefferson offered the position to Dr. Emmet, and while he was on a visit to New York Mr. Jefferson addressed the following letter to him:

MONTICELLO, March 6th, 1825.

DEAR SIR:

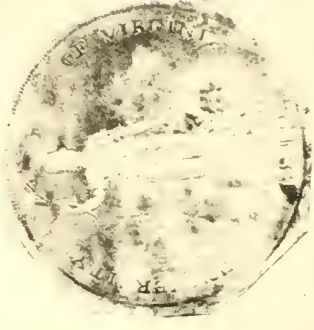
The board of visitors of the University of Virginia, at their last meeting of the 4th inst., proceeding to the appointment of a Professor for the school of Natural History in that Institution, unanimously nominated you to that chair. Under the general term Natural History, they comprehend Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, and Geology; that of Chemistry however being considered as the branch most eminently distinctive of the school.

Its emoluments are fifteen hundred dollars a year fixed salary, tuition fees from those of your school from twenty-five to fifty dollars each according to circumstances, and an excellent house and convenient garden grounds for your residence. The tenure of the Professorship is under a Board of Visitors, seven in number, two thirds of whom, say five out of seven, can alone remove a Professor. It is therefore a freehold in fact. But one vacation is admitted, to wit from the 15th

To Doct. John Patten Emmet

By virtue of the authority vested by law in the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, they do, by this letter appoint you the said John Patten Emmet to be Professor of the school of Natural History in the said University, with all the authorities, privileges and emoluments to the said Professorship belonging.

Witness Thomas Jefferson, Rector of the said University under his hand and the seal of the said University this 8th day of April 1825.



T. Jefferson

of December to the last day of January, and lectures are expected every other day during term. As you are probably a stranger to this establishment, I have thought it right to state to you these particulars. The Institution opens tomorrow, so that in the hope you will accede to our wishes, we shall request your attention as early as possible; and in the meantime ask an answer which may place us on a certainty. Accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

THOS. JEFFERSON.

The following is a copy of his commission, written by Mr. Jefferson on a strip of paper forming about half of a quarto sheet of paper :

TO DOCTOR JOHN PATTEN EMMET :

By virtue of the authority vested by law in the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, they do, by this letter appoint you the said John Patten Emmet to be Professor of the School of Natural History in the said University, with all the authorities, privileges and emoluments in the said Professorship belonging.

Witness Thomas Jefferson, Rector of the said University under his hand and the seal of the said University this 8th day of April, 1825.

THOS. JEFFERSON. [SEAL.]

Shortly after Dr. Emmet's arrival at the University he wrote the following letter to his sister from Charlottesville, a neighboring town then a mile or more distant,* where he was evidently at first obliged to reside, in consequence of the unfinished condition of the University buildings. This letter is of particular interest, as it gives his first impressions and a description of Mr. Jefferson :

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 6th, 1825.

MY DEAR JANE :

I have just received my first tidings from home by a letter from Tom and two from yourself. I need not say that I anxiously awaited them. Immediately upon my arrival here I found so much to do, for myself and Pavilion, that it became utterly impossible to send such an account home as I desired; and even now that I am settled my hours of recreation are very much limited by the necessity of writing Lectures. Under such circumstances I can not be as good a correspondent as my friends, and I hope they know me well enough not to delay for the sake of regularity. I am particularly anxious to give such a description of the University as would be satisfactory to Papa, but we are yet so much in infancy, that it must be an imperfect and unjust one.

I have a plan of the whole premises, filled in with my own observations, but have yet had no opportunity of sending it. With regard to the plan and prospect of Education, I can safely say that the Virginia University will be ranked among the very first in this country. The Professors are all eminent in their departments and the Library now forming will be selected from the most valuable stock in Europe and America.

William [his younger brother] must certainly come on, but I think it will be better for him to wait 'till next year. The students are still without text books and altho' attentive and orderly, have very many disadvantages in the prosecution of their education. The University is founded upon the most liberal principles, and besides the severer studies offer the greatest advantages for pleasing accomplishments. I have forwarded an advertisement for the Teachers of Music and Drawing, and it may be seen that the very first have been aimed at. †

Indeed I think William will be delighted with the change. Mr. Jefferson is down with us

* The University of Virginia is now within the corporation limits of Charlottesville.

† Music Hall was a detached building at the northwest angle of the University grounds and situated in the neighborhood of the present chapel. After this building became untenable and was pulled down, Mr. Bigelow, the teacher of music, occupied for many years after a room in the Anatomical Hall, opposite the Western Range.

almost every day, and as often invites us to call without formality at his house. But I have already found that Monticello does not signify a *small* Mountain as might have been expected. I have dined, however, twice with his family since my arrival, and would go oftener, notwithstanding distance and altitude, were it not for lectures, lectures, lectures, &c. He has a most charming prospect from the *clouds*, and commands a full view of the University, which is now his only hobby. He is an extremely pleasant old gentleman and as hospitable as a man can be. We all take the greatest delight in promoting his views, and he has expressed himself well pleased. I do not know that I ever entered on Business with more pride and satisfaction and the day will yet come when it will be a noble source of Pride to be known as the Professor of this promising University.

We have a former President of the United States at its head and two former Presidents among its Board of Visitors.* These and other circumstances make me desirous to make my situation Becoming, and if I seem to enter upon the outfit expensively I shall have the less to do hereafter. My house will have to be open not only to the visits of Professors, but to all distinguished individuals who will be constantly arriving for the purpose of viewing the University; and I am determined to be in proper order. One room at least, my sanctum sanctorum, or Parlour, must have taste, and for this purpose I am willing to "bleed and die." The Study must have something done for it, to cover the walls and floor as it also faces the Portico. Send on the Bills and I shall always be able to judge how things may stand. Recollect, as I have already said, that this is my home for the best part of the year and during that time I shall be liable to numerous and important visits.

I want some fine stockings, black neck handkerchiefs and two or three pair of nankin Pantaloon. Woodhead has my measure. Give my love and remembrance to all.

J. P. E.

Miss Jane E. Emmet,
Care of Thos. A. Emmet, New York.

Miss Jane Emmet writes to her sister at Potsdam, May 17th, 1825:

John is at length settled in his new Establishment, he is in the highest spirits with every prospect of being the great man of the family. Every one tells us we have reason to feel so vain at such a flattering honor paid to so young a man, which so many older ones have tried for in vain. The college is on a more splendid scale than any one in America. They have sent to Europe for Professors and Masters, at the most expensive price, so that John will be in high company. I received a letter from him last night desiring us to send him on furniture for his house, two very handsome carpets, oil paintings in frames, chimney ornaments, &c., in short everything in the gayest style, so that we may say with the Vicar of Wakefield: "The family begins to look up a little."

Dr. Emmet again writes to his sister an interesting account of his prospects and of his difficulties:

CHARLOTTESVILLE, June 15th, 1825.

MY DEAREST JANE:

I have just received your last kind letter and altho' constantly occupied in preparing my lectures, can not let the present opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks for your perseverance go by unnoticed. You are indeed a good and constant correspondent. Go on, I entreat you, and if others cannot write me without a stimulus, I shall still turn to your letters with the warmest feelings of love. My friends surely know how little time I have to devote to regular correspondence, and they cannot therefore be so formal as to measure lines with me. I can not hope, for anything hitherto noticed, that they will adopt your generous rule of writing once a fortnight under all kinds of disappointments, but I really had hopes that one letter at least, for mere experiment, would have reached me before this period. Whatever irregularities I may exhibit in return are

* Thos. Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe.

such as result from necessity; and I have too often said how much I value such letters from home, to leave any doubt of their being most acceptable when they arrive. Do you, Dearest Jane, continue your good example and I shall admire your resolution as much as I now value your affection. I have this day received some of my furniture, &c., with a letter from Tom, to whom I feel most thankful for his attention.

I am going on very well in my new vocation, and altho' I really earn the salary by the sweat of my brow, I feel a great degree of pleasure in the task. I look with joy towards the time when I shall again visit you all and appear at last as a Being of some consequence.

As you will feel great pleasure in knowing my progress, I must become so far an egotist as to send some particulars. The University even at this early period may be said to be flourishing; there are at least seventy students not only from Virginia but from the Southern States. We have already taken several of this number from the neighboring University of Hampden and Sydney and continue to increase. Altho' I arrived late and altho' the students were under the impression that the Professor of Natural Philosophy would also be Professor of Chemistry, I have a class of twenty-eight and a most flattering prospect for next year. I take a great deal of pains with my lectures and write them out at length. Altho' my room is not opened publicly to others than my class, it is generally filled and not unfrequently so much so, as to render the temperature oppressive. This is a flattering circumstance and sufficiently proves that my subject is popular.

I do not, however, wish to take much attention to myself. The other Professors, and particularly Mr. Bonycastle, Professor of Natural Philosophy, may boast of the same kind reception. I entertain a very warm friendship for Mr. B. and shall undoubtedly bring him home with me next vacation. He is unmarried, and altho' not handsome, is so amiable, gentleman like and well informed, that he cannot fail being highly esteemed when once known.

Respecting the counterpanes and other things alluded to in your letter, it is only necessary to say that sooner or later they must be procured and as I may have persons visiting me whom I should like to ask to stay and sleep, I think it better to get them at once. My shirts are beginning to have the transparency of muslin but as they are not fine enough to pass for such, I wish to have a large collection of fine collars sent to me. Take Tom's neck as a measure and let them tie behind. I also stand in need of stockings, so let me have some fine ones. Here I must conclude both letter and commissions. Tell Bache that I have received his memento and admire his agricultural effusions upon rakes, hoes, and hammers. I cannot say I think as highly of his silence hitherto, but he must give an account of that himself. Give my love to all. Tell mamma that I shall never rest until she pays me a visit at the University. When fixed I hope to have a visit from you all, from year to year. God bless you, my dear Jane.

J. P. EMMET.

Miss Jane E. Emmet,
Care T. A. Emmet, Esqr., New York.

In the following letter Dr. Emmet gives his sister a fair outline of his daily work at the University:

UNIVERSITY OF VA., April 2nd, 1827.

MY DEAREST JANE:

The monotony of my occupation and the very little actual novelty existing to put anything in a letter sufficient to repay you for the trouble of reading it. To say "I am well" comprises very nearly all that can interest you unless you are willing to take a "Lecture."

Bache in his letter to me gave me such a slash about my "pressure of business" that I am almost afraid to urge it as an excuse for not having answered you before. Yet like an honest man, I can declare this is the cause.

Experience has sufficiently proved to me that I read in two hours as much as I can possibly write in three days without killing myself. I am actually compelled, therefore, to write without flagging. To add to the direful necessity a change is likely to take place in my department by which I will be required to lecture upon a new subject, *Materia Medica*.

The consequence will be that the lectures already written upon my present courses must count nothing and new ones must be made. All this is work for the next session; and so heavy will it be, that I feel hardly courageous enough to entertain the hope of going home during the Summer vacation. I am glad that there is a prospect of this alteration as I will then "teach the young idea how to shoot," in Chemistry and Materia Medica, instead of struggling with that Monster of *many heads* Natural History. I know very well that "tall oaks from little acorns grow," but there are so many of these oaks and so very little time to plant the acorns, that one hand is not enough. When all my lectures are finished, I shall moult and commence fresh life.

Hitherto I have toiled like the Irishman in the open Sedan chair, and "if it were not for the *honor* of it, would as soon be walking." In the way of recreation I am still limited,—the fiddle cures despondency and Satan [his violoncello] smothers despair and fury amid its roar—I have the bust [one made by Dr. E. of his father] mounted on one of my tables with the crooked corner of the mouth to the leeward, and I feel sincerely gratified in recognizing its familiar features. It is indeed an excellent likeness and I value it more than all I possess.

I have not had time to indulge in the promised lithographic caricatures to which Bache alluded, but the time must come. My great recreation is working in my garden and I am anxiously looking for the fulfillment of Anna's commission. If the plants have not yet been forwarded, I wish you would call and select some handsome flower seeds. Let the choice be yours and not Thorburn's. Tell Tom that I am obliged to add to his commissions. I am so badly provided with books on Materia Medica that he must purchase Murray's and Eberlie's works on the subject. I want also the last edition of Thomson's Chemistry. If he has not boxed up the articles, you can put the flower seeds in and then, if he has any regard for his character let him forward them *instantly*.

My dear Jane as you and Bache are one you may let him look over your shoulder while you are reading this, in order that he may fully understand that he is to divide it with you, in return for his writing to me on a bit of your letter.

How does half price charity come on? I hope my picture has procured you the *promise* of a penny with five years credit &c. Give my love to all, unless some fair one seems willing to take it all, but don't advertise, farewell.

JOHN P. EMMET.

P. S. I have received Robert's double letter, paid the postage and had the unbounded satisfaction of finding that it enclosed a Hoax! We repeatedly receive such tokens of remembrance, but this is the first that hailed from Alabama.

In June, 1827, Dr. Emmet became engaged to be married to Miss Mary Byrd Farley Tucker, a native of Bermuda, who was then, with her mother, visiting her uncle, Mr. George Tucker, the first Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia. Miss Tucker was the daughter of John and Elizabeth Tucker.*

The letter from Dr. Emmet to his sister announcing his engagement is the first expression we have from him of unalloyed happiness, a state which continued unbroken for a period of fifteen years of married life:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, June 17th, 1827.

MY DEAREST JANE:

In the course of my communications I have at length come around to you. You are I know incapable of thinking that such delay was neglect and must feel satisfied by this time how completely you possess my sincerest affections. Indeed I am already infinitely happy at the prospect of soon possessing a companion strongly resembling you in her mind and loving disposition. You can not refrain from giving her your hand and heart the first moment you see her. In figure, walk,

* A sketch of Mr. John H. Tucker and wife will be found in the History of the Tucker Family in Bermuda, at the end of this volume.



MARY BYRD TUCKER EMMET.

dance and dignity of manner she strongly reminds me of Mary Anne and the resemblance fills me with sincere delight. Her complexion is dark, true West Indian, but she has the most beautiful set of teeth that a woman can have. Her eyes are mild, soft and black, beautifully expressive of the modesty of her manners. I could go on thus for ever, but I feel that *my description* will be considered exaggerated. She has also lately been so unwell that at present she possesses nothing of a complexion once the most striking that I ever saw. She will, perhaps, go among you an invalid, but a cordial and affectionate reception will soon restore her and make her the happiest of Beings.

It is strange beyond my power of reason, why I have so long refrained from offering myself to so sweet a creature as my Mary. Duty was ever my first leading impulse. I placed myself under cold and formal restraint in order to fulfil my duties as a Professor; and most assuredly had I yielded before, the Lover would have ruined the Professor.

I managed it differently from necessity. I assumed an indifference and steadily toiled until the lectures for the season were written. I then opened my heart clearly to her by a proposition wholly unexpected from my former conduct. Yet judge how happy I was to find that her heart had been mine before, tho' so disguised that nothing but our mutual love revealed it. I never knew myself before. I once thought that my wife should be musical, yet she will possess nothing but a liking for it. I now think that I have all that a wife should have to make her forever dear to her husband,—*your* affectionate disposition. But I must talk to you of something else. We are so situated up here that no suitable purchases can be made for our wedding. I mentioned that I was sending to New York for things and begged to execute other than my own commission. Do you, Jane, purchase for me three pairs of ladies white kid gloves, long ones, and three pairs of short ones; six pair of men's white gloves and a piece of broad white satin ribbon for what is technically called *favours*, send plenty.

The Wedding ring I must again notice. I took the measure of her finger by the self same ring which you gave me five or six years ago. Let it be a thick double ring and of the purest gold. This measure is perhaps too small as the finger is now unusually thin. I suppose a ring too small may be afterwards stretched by the jeweller without diminishing the force of wedlock, but we must never afterwards change it. I have another commission for you in favor of a most esteemed friend at this place, one of the professor's wives. She is desirous of procuring a handsome, fashionable bunch of ostrich feathers.

Use your taste, dearest Jane, and remember you are obliging a most affectionate brother. Let all the things written for be forwarded at once. No time can be lost. I expect William up as Groomsman, he will officiate with one of his old companions, St. George Coulter. Charles McEvers must also come for the sake of Galen and the recollection of that cutting soda water which I once administered to him. I cannot promise that I will be able this time to vault across the table with him,* or even to pitch into a corner with some dozens of custards &c., but he will be heartily welcome. Tell him this and persuade him to come. My wife elect expects Mary Anne for her bride's maid. I have had a generous offer of accommodation for her from one of the professor's wives so that she will I hope come and confirm my happiness. If she thinks of anything that may be useful upon the occasion, let her bring it, for we are in a poor place for purchases.

J. P. EMMET.

Immediately on the reception of the above letter his sister Jane, now Mrs. McEvers, must have communicated by letter the intelligence to her sister, Mrs. Le Roy.

MIDDLE ROAD, June 19th, 1827.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

Altho' my letter has been long coming I am sure you will say that it is the most agreeable one you have received since you left us. I do not intend to trust to my own powers of composition for procuring this delightful effect; I think the plain matter of fact news will do it and as I think my

* See page 213 and the account of upsetting the supper-table at his brother's wedding.

preface has raised your expectations sufficiently high I will come to the point, we expect about the end of next month to be favoured with a visit from Mrs. John P. Emmet! We received a letter last night from John bespeaking white gloves, stockings, pantaloons, &c. &c. summoning us all to his wedding, which is to be as soon after the 20th of July as possible. I suppose you would not object to hearing the young lady's name, tho' that is more than John favoured us with; but from the initials and William's help we have found out that her name is Mary Byrd Tucker, a cousin of the Miss Tucker who staid last spring at the Douglas's. William* says he has been a long time attentive to her and that she has always shown a partiality for John.

The boys of the University had a good joke against her for an involuntary expression of hers. When there was some riot in the college at which the boys were threatening the professors, she exclaimed "Don't hurt my father [uncle] and for God's sake spare Dr. Emmet." William says she is quite pretty, with a good figure, something like Mary Anne's, and of a very high family, but believes no money; so that John will not better himself in that way. However, he seems as happy as man can be and intends coming on here, as soon as he is married, to be merry for a short time and to show us his happiness and his wife together. He is very anxious, he says, to have us all on there at the event. But I do not believe any one will go unless Mary Anne and Tom, if he is able to leave town then, and I should not be astonished if Anna went also. But no other member of the family will be able to go as Robert and Papa are obliged to be in Albany at that time and Bache will be in Canada, or preparing to go. Of course you must not expect me at Potsdam this summer, as I must stay to see my new sister, besides I have taken the management of the house in the country upon myself and it would not do to back out so soon.

It has disappointed me very much, as I am extremely anxious to see the children and all of you. The children here continue quite well and Jane is cutting her teeth without the least trouble. Write me soon and tell me how all do and believe me—

Your affectionate sister,

JEANNETTE [MCEVERS].

Mrs. W. H. Le Roy,
Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

A few days after, on June 24th, his sister Mary Anne, afterwards Mrs. Graves, writes to her sister at Potsdam as follows: "I suppose by this time you must have heard of John's engagement, it startled us all and pleased us. I think a wife is just what he wants, and if she is all he says she must be all a wife ought to be. She is not musical, that is she does not play on any instrument, but she is very fond of it. From the description I think she must be very handsome. She has a dark skin, but the finest teeth ever seen in a head, at least so the lover says, and beautiful black eyes, a very fine figure, and 'in dignity of manner, walk and dance,' to take John's own words, reminds him of me. In the last letter she sent on a request for me to act as bridesmaid, of course I cannot refuse, and I think Tom and myself will set off the middle of July, as they are to be married the twenty-first of the month. 'Brian O'Linn, his wife and wife's mother' then are to come on and pay us a visit. From William's account I don't think the old lady will add to the pleasure; he says she is one of the 'quality folks.'"

* Dr. Emmet's youngest brother, Wm. C. Emmet, had been a student at the University of Virginia the previous year.

The bridal party set out after the ceremony on a visit to New York, and spent a month at the house on the Middle Road. The bride was received into the family circle with open arms, and the visit was one of great satisfaction, not only on this account, but from the opportunity thus offered the husband, as well as his wife, of seeing their most illustrious father, who died suddenly in the following October. Mrs. Tucker was cordially received and fully appreciated. With Mrs. Graves and Mrs. Tom Emmet she frequently corresponded, and continued to do so until her death.

On the return of the party to the University, a visit was paid to their uncle, Mr. Thomas Tudor Tucker, who still held the position of United States Treasurer, residing in Washington, and from some letters yet preserved, it is evident that Dr. Emmet was most fully appreciated by the old gentleman.

Mrs. Tucker gives the following account of her visit with the bridal party to New York, in a letter to her uncle, Judge St. George Tucker, of Williamsburg, Va. :

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, Sept. 8th, 1827.

A thousand apologies are due to you, my beloved uncle, for my long silence. My time was so completely engaged when in New York, making purchases, cutting out bed and table linen &c. &c., that I had it not in my power to write a single line to any of my friends in Virginia, except to my brother Henry [Dr. Wm. Henry Tucker], to whom I wrote a short letter after receiving a third from him. I left him quite well and in good spirits, also my son Henry, who went on directly to Hampden Sydney [College].

We set out for New York the day after my dear Byrd was married accompanied by a married brother of Dr. Emmet [T. A. Emmet, Jr.] and a single sister [Mary Anne]. On the 24th we had the pleasure of meeting our worthy uncle in Washington [Mr. Thomas Tudor Tucker], and we found a Hack sent by him to take us to his lodgings for breakfast. I was quite surprised to find him looking so young and well. The strong resemblance he bears to my dear departed mother, to Aunt and Richard, filled my heart with pleasure and pain, notwithstanding I felt more pleasure than I can express to see him. It was a source of much regret that we were obliged to leave him so soon after breakfast, when we set out for Baltimore, and reached New York on the 27th.

My beloved Byrd was received with open arms by Dr. Emmet's family, and their reception of me was that of a near relation. They are indeed a most charming family, all accomplished and intelligent, but unaffected and plain in their manners and a more united and affectionate family I have never known. They reminded me so much of your brothers and sisters, and many others of my dear Bermuda friends, that I felt I were with those whom I had known from infancy. The old gentleman is very mild and affectionate in his manners and very agreeable in conversation, and his wife, who is much younger, is very like Cousin Fanny in favor and Aunt Campbell in manners. Having every article for Housekeeping to purchase our time was nearly the whole four weeks taken up with shopping.

We saw, notwithstanding, *all* that was to be seen in such a fine large city; we went to West Point and spent a week at Long Branch, in New Jersey, where we were all made ill for a short time by the extreme cold, not being prepared for the sudden change.

We left New York on the 24th of August, and were so unfortunate as to be on the steamboat on our way to Baltimore in the storm of Saturday night. My dear Byrd was made so sick by the motion of the Boat that she could scarcely sit up. We arrived, thanks to my Heavenly Father,

safely at three o'clock in the morning, and had to walk through the heaviest rain I ever felt to a tavern. In consequence of this we were unable to proceed hither 'till the day after, when we arrived in time to visit my dear Uncle that evening. We breakfasted, dined and drank tea with him the next day, and saw all that was worth seeing in Washington.

We set out the next morning on our journey home, and arrived on Friday last in time for breakfast. My dear Byrd is as busy as a bee and as happy as possible arranging her household matters, and I have been so much engrossed with her that I have never had a moment to myself, or I certainly should have written to you, my dearest uncle, as I intended on my arrival here. I was so fortunate as to meet with a cousin, on board one of the Steam-Boats, from Bermuda, with several others from there. She is a grand-daughter of my uncle James Tucker, lately married to one of the rich Penistones, and traveling for pleasure; she had seen my dear Aunt Betty a short time since and my sisters too. She said my dear Aunt looked better than she had ever seen her and was very well, the complaint in her neck was removed, and our friends were all well.

I am requested by Byrd and by her spouse to present them most affectionately to you, my dear uncle and aunt, and to say how much gratified they both would be if you would, on your way home, make them a short visit; they will not ask you for a long one lest you should refuse. Do, my dear Sir, gratify us all by coming; you cannot think what pleasure it would give us. Dr. Emmet is very anxious to see and know our relations; he is very much pleased with my dear uncle in Washington and very often speaks of him in a way that gives me great pleasure.

I am also requested to remember them to Mr. and Mrs. Cabell,* and to say they hope she will accompany her good man when the Visitors meet again, and to dear Parke remember us affectionately, if you please. I had determined when I returned to make you a visit for two or three days, but I found both a conveyance and escort was impossible. The latter I would have dispensed with, but the former was not to be obtained, therefore must give it up. It was a source of much regret to us that Elizabeth Coulter should have left Washington on the morning of our arrival, and was expected back on the evening of our departure. I hope she will be prevailed on to visit us; my dear Byrd intends as soon as she is settled to request her to do so, to spend some time with us, and she will have a double inducement, her brother being here. My brother [Prof. George Tucker] is well and looks much improved by his trip; his daughters are still in Lynchburg.

My Dearest love to my good Aunt, to Mr. and Mrs. Cabell and Parke, in which my Byrd and the Doctor combine. Accept the sincere affection of your dutiful and attached niece,

ELIZA J. TUCKER.

Saint George Tucker, Esquire,
Warminster, Nelson Co., Va.

Dr. Emmet's residence at the University was the one nearest to the rotunda, on the west side of the lawn. The writer recalls a very amusing description, given by his mother in after years, of how she took possession as a bride. She felt compelled at an early day to make some changes. Her husband, as Professor of Natural History, had gradually accumulated a large number of live snakes, reptiles and other animals indigenous to Virginia, which had free quarters in the establishment. One of the largest and best rooms was devoted chiefly to a collection of snakes, which were retarded somewhat in their movements by having the floor waxed. A brown bear which had been raised from a cub roamed at pleasure through the house and garden; a large white owl also had full liberty of the house

* Mr. Jos. Cabell was one of the Visitors, or Trustees, of the University of Virginia, and married Judge Tucker's half-sister.



MRS. ELIZA J. TUCKER.

and rested for a greater part of the time in his master's room on the top of a high four-post bedstead. The owl was allowed soon to shift for himself, and in time the bear became an addition to the larder, while the snakes were banished in as summary a manner as if St. Patrick had exercised his power to that end.

Her absence in New York after her marriage and the cares of house-keeping after her return prevented Mrs. Emmet until a late date from answering a letter of congratulation received by her from Mrs. Le Roy. The following is a copy of her reply :

UNIVERSITY OF VA., Sept. 19th, 1827.

I received your affectionate letter, my dear Sister, at a time when I was busily engaged in collecting articles for housekeeping ; this with others equally indispensable so engaged my time that I deferr'd writing to you until my return here. But so it is, I, like all other young beginners, think I have not time for anything but to attend to my domestic concerns, which are not yet altogether in the train I wish.

The warm and affectionate feelings you express for me, as the wife of your beloved brother, are sincerely reciprocated, and let me assure you of my sisterly regard and affection. To know and love the relations of my dearly beloved husband are among my first wishes, and nothing but our limited time deprived us of the happiness of visiting and becoming personally acquainted with you, sister Margaret and your happy fireside. I must confess that the relations of my dear husband have a strong claim on my affections, but a *large corner* is yet in reserve for you, my dear sisters Elizabeth and Margaret. I hope and trust the time is not very distant when we shall know and love each other with that affection I so much desire. As you all know the worth and excellence of my dearest husband, I shall only say he is *all* that I could wish him, and if I am not happy the fault *must be mine*. In addition to this I have a tender affectionate mother whose aid and counsel is a treasure to me and to whom I feel much indebted for her early instruction in the desirable art of housekeeping, which is now my heart's delight. I am more and more convinced every day that matches are made in heaven, for *chance* never could have directed me in the choice of one who is so well calculated to ensure domestic happiness and comfort, which above all others I prize the most notwithstanding I have all that I could wish or desire to make me happy and comfortable. I still have some anxiety for the health of my beloved husband, who is more delicate than I had expected ; I will not however anticipate evil, but enjoy the blessings I have and trust by the aid of my heavenly father and with care and good nursing I shall re-establish his health and good looks again. My dear Mother is still I presume with you, remember me most affectionately if you please, and tell her I will be more happy than I can express to have her with me and shall indeed be jealous and think I do not possess such a share of her affection, as I had hoped to merit, if she does not pay me a visit. I need not add, to see my worthy father here would give me equal pleasure and happiness, but I fear his avocations in New York will be the means of depriving us of what my dear husband and myself so much desire ; this excuse I do not however extend to our Mother, therefore none will be admitted. Good brother William has promised to persuade her, and I must have a visit from her, and it would give my dear Mother also so much pleasure to see her under the same roof.

And now my dear Sister shall I not hope to see you, and your better half, at the University of Virginia? Yes, indeed, you must visit us, nothing else can compensate for the separation from my dear friends in Bermuda, but after being with those of my dearest husband, whose cordial and affectionate reception to me has already won my heart, and I often think with pleasure of the happy four weeks we spent in New York. Tell sister Margaret I shall also expect a visit from her, as the distance from this place is much about the same as Potsdam from New York, and tho' she will have mountains and bad roads to encounter, I shall not excuse her. Kiss your dear children for

me and teach them to love me as an Aunt. My best love to Mr. Le Roy and sister Margaret, in which I am joined by my dearest, and my dear Mother wishes her best regards. Accept, my dear Sister, the affection of yours,

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy,
Potsdam, N. Y.

MARY B. F. EMMET.*

For an interval of nearly a year there exists no record, among the old letters, of Dr. Emmet and his family circle at the University.

The old house on the Middle Road was about to be abandoned by the family, as all the sons and daughters had married, with the exception of the eldest sister, Margaret, and each member already had his own household; moreover, the death of the father, Mr. Thos. Addis Emmet, during the past year had rendered the establishment no longer necessary. At this time Dr. Emmet, in a letter to his sister, Mrs. McEvers, refers feelingly to the past life at the old house, but at length dispels the "dreams and shadows of the past" by a humorous criticism on the phrenological development of his firstborn :

UNIVERSITY OF VA. (Commenced), August 2d, 1828.
Finished August 17th, 1828. (Very busy.)

MY DEAREST JANE :

I have received your kind letter last written and I have been compelled to put off my answer in consequence of a great press of business. Among the contents I observe with alarm your toss out of a gig. Never do I wish to hear of such an accident befalling even indifferent persons, having two or three times cut such summersets myself. Neither do I think that Bache is such a mere atom, however he may deceive himself, as to admit of being shot off like a blank cartridge.

Our household gods must have deserted us, for I perceive the members of our large family are widely scattered. The days are gone which were wont to shine upon us in our knot of domestic comfort, and we appear now to be repelled from the common centre,—our house in the country. How I should rejoice in being able to spend my days at the house on the Middle Road and again to rusticate, or rather vegetate, year after year in an old Laboratory uniform, to make experiments and dream of great discoveries. I have always had a good share of enthusiasm, but little or moderate ambition, to seek for domestic comforts and retirement rather than aspire at great things. I would even now resign professorship, honors and all for the means of living to the end of my glass at the home upon the Middle Road, with as many of my dear friends as would volunteer a visit or so. You will perceive, my dearest Jane, that I have not forgotten in this retrospect your own courting days when Bache used to come to my garden house for the purpose, as he said of smoking a segar and studying Chemistry,—when in fact he was only thinking about you. Confident that I was making rapid progress in the pursuit of science, I put myself to the inconvenience of letting him monopolize the doorway and with it all the light of the room.

But no more of the dreams and shadows of the past? You will wish, no doubt, that I shall, at the conclusion of this very indefinite letter give some account of my little son. At all events I feel disposed to anticipate the desire and only hope that I may be able to fortify myself against a father's weakness and partiality.

First then I have concluded upon christening him Thomas Addis Emmet, after our beloved Father, but he is to be called simply Addis Emmet.

Altho' a delicate and small child when born, he has since rapidly improved and is now very large plump and heavy. His looks too have agreeably disappointed his mother, for he is at present

* Mrs. Emmet's full name was Mary Byrd Farley, after her uncle's second wife, whose mother was Mary Byrd, of Westover, Va., on the James River.

to come to my garden ~~in~~ for the purpose as he said of smothering
a dog and ~~blowing~~ ~~the~~ ~~chimney~~ when in fact he was only thinking
about you - Confident that he was making rapid progress in
the domain of science, I put myself to the inconvenience of letting him
monopolize the doorway & with it all the light of the room - But no more
dreams & shadows of the past - You will with no doubt that I should
the conclusion of this very indefinite letter give some account
of my little son - At all events I feel disposed to anticipate the
desire and only hope that I may be able to fortify myself
against a father's weakness of partiality - First then I have
concluded upon ~~calling~~ christening him Tho^s Addis Emmet
after our ~~beloved~~ beloved Father, but he is to be called simply
Addis Emmet - Altho a delicate & small child when born
he has since rapidly improved & is now very large & plump &
nearly - his looks too have agreeably disappointed his mother
for he is at present a very good looking boy - indeed he may be
said to be strikingly so for every body notices it - My opinion is
however that his beauty will not continue to manhood at all events
for he possesses one of the widest & most expanded foreheads that
I have ever seen upon an infant - Tom's Johnny has a noble
front but of so different a character that it is not possible to compare
them - were I at the premature period to apply the rules of Phrenology
I would say that Tom's Boy will excel in Mathematics & Science
founded upon close reasoning while my Chaps will become eminent in
Music wit & poetry - For God's sake dear Jane let no body
see this crude speculation for no one thinks less of bumps & the period
of life than I do - But as the youngsters do actually differ in their
constitution

from most other children there actually seems to be something of the kind
to be in upon - Young Master Addij. ~~now~~ now knows his
mother & myself ~~and~~ & actually did so before he was two months
old - But while I thus give you the sweets of his character I must
also be so candid as to add the Bitter - He is the most troublesome
& restless dog living - For whole hours will he lie upon his back
fidgeting about & moving his quick & restless eyes from one object
in the room to another - Indeed he sleeps so very little that he
compels his Mother & Father to keep him company during the
greater part of every night - Sometimes it proceeds from
Colic but more frequently depends upon an unknown
cause which makes his little eyes bright when mine are
dim with sleep - He is very frequently laughing both
- when asleep & awake which convinces me that his
wakefulness is not always attended with pain - When

I consider how very sound a sleeper I once was, I am filled
with astonishment that I am able to live upon the scanty allowance
taken at present - Great as our love for this little fellow will
seem, I firmly believe that he is more beloved by his Grandmother
Mrs. T. who is constantly devouring him with kisses and staggering his
young comprehension with "small talks" - How gratified ^{Mary would} ~~she~~
she could see her son in his Grandmother's arms at New York
and caressed by his numerous uncles & aunts - She has withed
the hundred times. But the time has not yet come, & perhaps
never will, ^{for many years} be fully realized unless my friends will condescend to take
a trip to Virginia & pay me a visit - I shall still cling to the hope -
we are all doing tolerably well at present but I must conclude by presenting
the warmest love of my dear Mother to our friends in N. Y. & by assuring you
of my lasting affection - J. P. C.

Miss M. Lewis
Care of
Bach & M. G. New York
New York

a very good looking Boy,—indeed he may be said to be strikingly so, for every body notices it. My opinion is however that his beauty will not continue to manhood at all events, for he possesses one of the widest and most expanded foreheads that I have ever seen upon an infant.

Tom's Johnny has a noble front, but of so different a character that it is not possible to compare them. Were I at this premature period to apply the rules of Phrenology I would say that Tom's Boy will excel in Mathematics and Sciences, founded upon close reasoning, while my chap will become eminent in music, wit and poetry. For God's sake, dear Jane, let nobody see this crude speculation for no one thinks less of bumps, and at this period of life, than I do. But as the youngsters do actually differ,—in these particulars, from most other children, there actually seems to be something of the kind to begin upon. Young Master Addis now knows his Mother and myself and actually did so before he was two months old. But while I thus give you the sweets of his character I must also be so candid as to add the Bitters. He is the most troublesome and restless dog living. For whole hours will he lie upon his back fidgeting about and moving his quick and restless eyes from one object in the room to another. Indeed he sleeps so very little that he compels his Mother and Father to keep him company during the greater part of every night. Some times it proceeds from colic, but more frequently depends upon an unknown cause which makes his little eyes bright when mine are dim with sleep. He is very frequently laughing both when asleep and awake, which convinces me that his wakefulness is not always attended with pain. When I consider how very sound a sleeper I once was, I am filled with astonishment that I am able to live upon the scanty allowance taken at present. Great as our love for this little fellow will seem, I firmly believe that he is more beloved by his grand-mother Mrs. Tucker who is constantly devouring him with kisses and staggering his young comprehension with "small talk." How gratified Mary would be could she see her son in his grandmother's arms at New York and caressed by his numerous uncles and aunts. She has wished it a hundred times. But the time has not yet come, and perhaps never will for many years be fully realized unless my friends will condescend to take a trip to Virginia and pay me a visit,—I shall still cling to the hope. We are all doing tolerably well at present, but I must conclude by presenting the warmest love of Mary and her Mother to our Family in New York, and by assuring you of my lasting affection.

J. P. EMMET.

Mrs. Bache McEvers,
New York.

Evidently the anxious care of the watchful wife soon detected that her husband was having his rest thus disturbed by his son's wakefulness, and consequently she persuaded him to visit his family in New York, as is shown in the following letter written by his sister, Mrs. McEvers, to Mrs. Le Roy:

SUNDAY, August 31st, 1828.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

As "age is honorable" and I have to get out of debt to you all, I have preferred you to Mary Ann this week, and I shall begin according to custom with a scolding, not that I am the least offended, but only I think it well to get the start of Mary Ann and Margaret when I have a chance. And as I think this may be the only time during the summer when I shall be in the agreeable situation of giving instead of getting a scolding I cannot neglect this opportunity of crowing over the girls. We have received no letter for two weeks, which has been a great disappointment to us all as we look out for Potsdam letters with the greatest anxiety. As I have no doubt you all have some good reason for your silence, I shall not launch out into any reproach on the occasion, but only beg that you will book it in my favor, as Bache says in his mercantile phrases, and deal as lightly with me when I serve you the same trick.

We were all surprised and delighted yesterday at the appearance of John walking into the room looking well and in as good spirits as possible. He took advantage of his vacation to pay us a visit

of a week or fortnight. His wife persuaded him to come on as she thought the visit to home would do him good and make him go to work again with a better heart than if he took no holiday. We are all collected again, Rosina and Anna have returned and the addition of John's company makes the house very pleasant. He speaks a great deal of his little boy, who he says is a very fine child and the only Emmet in the family with large black eyes. He promises by all accounts to be handsome. I send Mama on a little sketch that John drew of him when he was asleep just before he left home. It may give her something to think of the little fellow by, as it will probably be long before she sees him and John wishes him to have a little place in her heart, as well as the rest of the grandchildren. He calls him Addis, altho' he is christened the full name. John appears so happy to be with us again that we will find it very hard to part with him.

We all continue quite well here except a few cases of fever and ague among the servants. However we are more fortunate than most people about here, as it is very unhealthy on both the North and East Rivers and also in the city. There is a great deal of bilious fever in town and even some vague reports of the fever [yellow fever] having broken out in Old Slip, but they are not confirmed. The children have been remarkably well this summer, and altho' we have had very warm weather they have shown no symptoms of summer complaint. We are in dreadful want of rain here, it is so long since we had any that all the leaves are turned and have fallen and the country looks now as bare as it generally does in November. Write to me soon and tell me everything about the children. There are no letters come from Potsdam we like so well as those that mention them. I generally try to say something of Jane to keep her in Mama's mind. She is the greatest amusement to me that can be. She imitates everything and is talking all the time. Bache calls John always professor, and Jane thinks it his name and calls him Uncle Assessor. John sends his best love to Mama and all of you, Bache also, and all the other members of the family join with me in it. Give mine to Le Roy and the rest, and believe me—

Yours most affectionately,

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy,
Potsdam, N. Y.

JEANNETTE [McEVERS].

In April, 1829, a second son was born and christened John Tucker Emmet. He was a boy of good promise and was the idol of his parents, who in a few years were to experience a great sorrow in his early death. There seems to have been but little in Dr. Emmet's family for several years to disturb the monotonous tranquillity of the daily university life.

But in 1830 he met with a most serious accident from the carelessness of a negro man who was assisting him while preparing for one of his lectures. It was necessary to obtain a supply of sulphuric acid from a large demijohn, which the negro neglected to recork. While attempting to place the vessel on his head and carry it back to its proper place, the negro poured part of the contents over Dr. Emmet's shoulders, and getting a portion on his own hands, he threw the demijohn from him so as to break it against the Doctor's body. Fortunately Dr. Emmet's face escaped the acid, but his body was severely burned and the accident caused him months of suffering.

In 1831 the University was visited by an itinerant portrait-painter by the name of Ford, who painted the portraits of many of the professors and of other people in the neighborhood. He evidently possessed but a single paintbrush, from the general blending of his colors, and was an artist of



PROF. JOHN P. EMMET.
BY FORBES

very moderate capacity, but it was claimed that he was very successful in catching the likeness. It was shortly after the illness just referred to when Ford painted the portrait of Dr. Emmet which has been reproduced.

If the writer were to criticise this portrait of his father with the remembrance of a boy some fourteen years of age at the time of his death, the criticism would be that, while there was a strong resemblance, it did not do him justice. Dr. Emmet's eyes were very fine and were marked by the constant presence of an irresistible twinkle which was most suggestive of some coming witticism. His nose was well shaped, but his mouth when in repose was not good and was often expressive of suffering from bodily pain, but the shape of his head was faultless. He generally had but little color and his face was somewhat disfigured by the attack of smallpox from which he had suffered while a child. He was above the average height, but with a slight stoop of the shoulders, while his general appearance was that of an intellectual man with more brains at his command than possessed by the average individual.

Early in 1832 the year was noted in the family circle by an event which afforded great gratification to Dr. and Mrs. Emmet, namely, the birth of Jane, their only daughter, on the 29th of April.

At a later date in the year Dr. Emmet had the pleasure of receiving a long-promised visit from his mother, his eldest sister, Margaret, and his youngest brother, William Colville Emmet. For years after this visit a recollection was cherished of Miss Emmet's performance on the piano by a number of persons living at the University and in the neighborhood. The writer recalls as a child hearing, some years afterwards, a criticism by some negroes on her performance, which was termed "mighty peart music."

We find among the old letters one written by Miss Emmet from the University to Mrs. Le Roy, and dated October 18th, 1832:

You must not let anything I write in favor of the University make you jealous of Potsdam, for although it is a little world in itself and different in that respect by having pleasant society at hand when you wish to mix in it, yet you know I like congenial spirits at home as well as abroad. John and I get at the piano sometimes in the evening and play 'till all is blue, and I believe we pass for music-mad by those whose taste lies in a different direction. But there are several here who understand music and are fond of it, and we play together when we meet. You must know I am a *lion* for execution, however, and every now and then I hear of some one who wants to come and hear Miss Emmet play.

In 1834 Dr. Emmet purchased a tract of land to the west of and adjoining the University grounds on the Staunton Turnpike. For some five or six years after his house was built at "Morea," as he called his place, and before his health finally broke down, his life was passed very happily. After planting the greatest variety of flowers and fruit trees,

from some of which came the noted stock of apples and peaches still to be found in the neighborhood, he put up a brick building for the spinning of silk. The hedges on the place were formed of the *Morus multicaulis*, the leaves of which were to be used for feeding the silkworm. After several years he succeeded fully, through his own ingenuity, in making sewing-silk of the best quality. His different dyes and methods of coloring the silk became the common property of those who came after him, and they were in use until the discovery of the aniline products.

Just as he had demonstrated what could be done towards establishing the industry in this country, the building and its contents were destroyed by an incendiary.

The cultivation of the grape and the making of wine next occupied his attention. He imported grape plants from different parts of Europe, and employed persons who were familiar with their culture to attend to them. On the native grape he grafted the foreign stock and thus produced a hardy plant. He had at the time of his death a vineyard of some six or eight acres in good cultivation, and as early as 1836 he began to produce various wines and brandies in small quantities, but sufficient to demonstrate that as an industry it could be made profitable in Virginia.

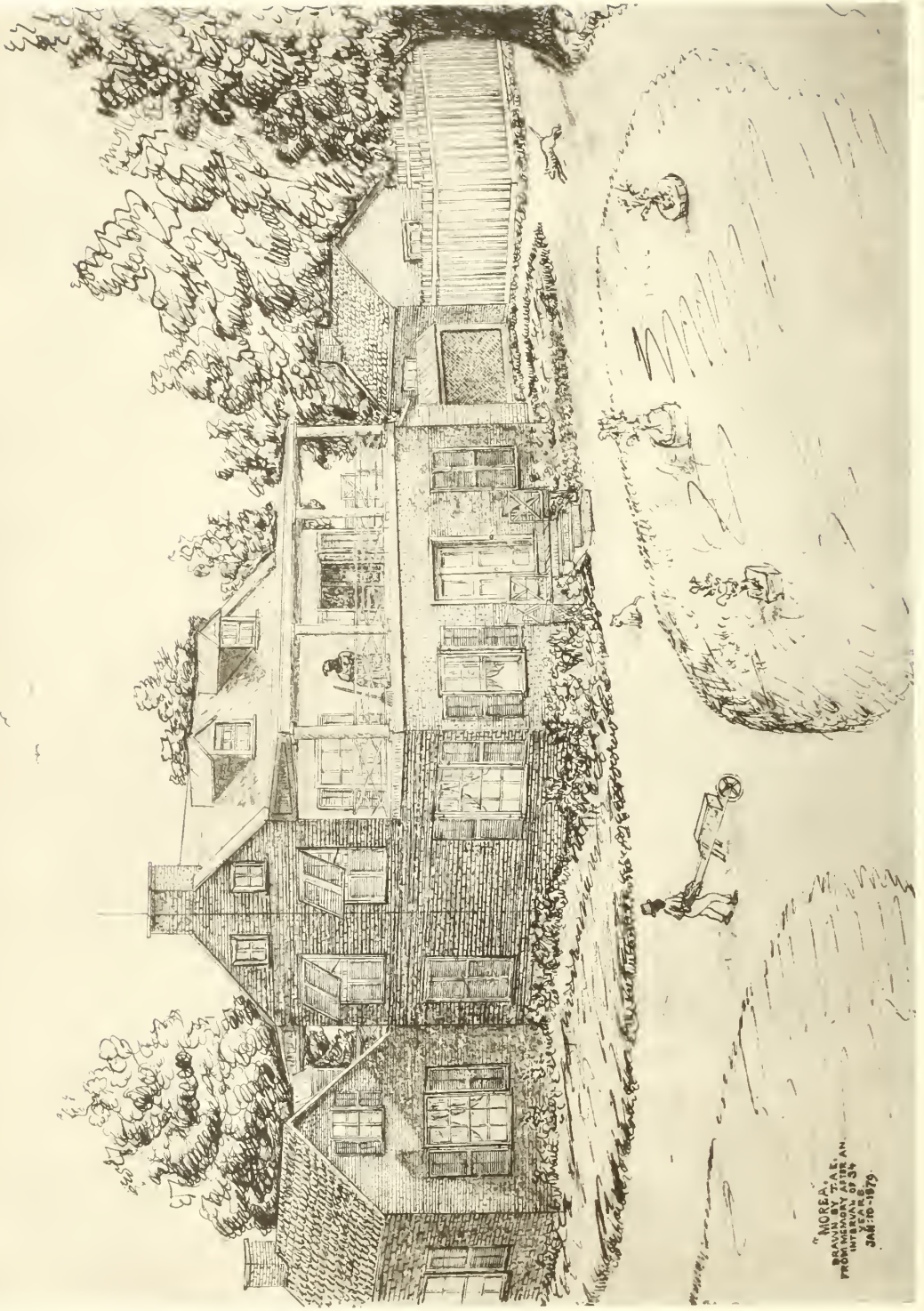
Shortly after Dr. Emmet purchased his place he discovered on it a fine vein of kaolin. This clay he soon employed for making pottery and porcelain vessels, and though lacking all practical knowledge at the beginning, without any apparent difficulty he was able to devise the various methods necessary to accomplish his purpose. He was also able from this material to produce a hone equal to the finest quality from Turkey; he made a variety of cements which were impervious to water and were light enough to be used for covering roofs of buildings, and he employed this earth to form the body of various kinds of paint intended to withstand exposure to the weather. When first removed from the earth this material was as soft as chalk, and from it he carved a number of statuary figures, one of which is still preserved.

After building his house and getting his family settled Dr. Emmet writes of his wants and prospects to the wife of his brother Tom, who was also just then getting in order a country-place near New York, called "Mount Vernon," the lodge of which was situated on the Third Avenue, about Sixty-first Street.

UNIVERSITY OF VA., Dec. 7, 1834.

MY DEAR ANNA:

I have for some time past been prevented by my duties from acknowledging how much I am indebted to you for the very handsome present lately received from you. Your peach trees are indeed highly acceptable and seem to be all of a very fine kind. Since their arrival I have been



"MOREA"
DRAWN BY A. K. B. B.
FROM MEMORY AFTER AN
INTERVAL OF 34
JAN 10 - 1879.

MOREA, THE RESIDENCE OF DR. J. P. EMMET, NEAR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

occupied in laying them, and the other trees from Shaw, out on the grounds and the whole make a very imposing appearance. Shaw's trees are fine ones as to size, and some I know are so as to quality. I particularly feel pleased with the Newtown pippins,* which ought to bear in three years. Mary and myself entertain strong hopes that we may yet have yourself and Tom under our own roof, as a slight return for debts of kindness already incurred. At some future period I must obtain a larger supply of the Seckle Pear, which is the most worthy of cultivation in this country and of which I have as yet only two trees. Don't forget to make Tom charge me with the balance now against me for the articles purchased from Shaw. I shall take an early opportunity of squaring our accounts for this and other items, but at present, after pushing my hands down into my pockets as far as they can go, I find myself minus as to the cost of my house, which will be about twenty five hundred dollars altogether when complete. Although contrived by myself I may venture to assert that a more comfortable country house does not exist in these parts for the same cost, and I rejoice to find that it has become the means of creating in Mary a feeling of contentedness with our present situation in Virginia which she has not felt hitherto. This object was not necessary for myself, for I have been much pleased with the situation which I hold in, I firmly believe, the most liberal literary Institution of our country. Independent of our general prosperity at the University, my own prospects are highly satisfactory. For the last two sessions I have had classes of between ninety and one hundred students and have good reason to believe that before many years I shall have classes averaging one hundred. My farm is so close to the University that without omitting the discharge of any professional duties I shall be enabled to ride my silk and wine hobbies to death even, should I choose to do so. I am preparing everything for the reception of my Mother and Margaret next Spring, and shall accordingly feel much mortification should they break their promise.†

Mary requests me to ask that you will give the enclosed sample of room paper, No. 43, to Margaret with the view of procuring a piece of the same kind to be sent to us in the Spring. Mary Ann, I believe, purchased it.

Mary also wishes Margaret to get her six more stair rods, like those already sent. As our University, dear Anna, is not celebrated for either novelties or wonders, so soon as business ceases to furnish us with matter for correspondence, little else remains than the assurance of abundance of love and constant attachment. All of which I assure you is here offered by Mary and myself to you and our dear New Yorkers.

JOHN P. EMMET.

Mrs. Thos. A. Emmet,
New York.

Mr. George Tucker prepared a memoir on the "Life and Character of Dr. Emmet," which was read by him before the Visitors, Faculty and Alumni of the University on July 4th, 1845.

As Mr. Tucker was better fitted than anyone then living to do justice to Dr. Emmet's memory, it will be necessary to quote at some length from his sketch. In connection with Dr. Emmet's many pursuits Mr. Tucker writes:

After he removed to the land purchased, he turned his attention to horticulture, and the subject of husbandry generally. Here, too, he was constantly planning improvements, making experiments on manures, and introducing delicate fruits, new species of esculents, and, above all,

* The stock from which came the apple since termed in Virginia the "Albemarle pippin," from the name of the county.

† The promised visit was made, with the addition of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. C. Emmet, shortly after their marriage.

rare flowers. His experiments in live hedges were various; and his pyrocanthus fence, had he lived to perfect it, promised to keep out even that portion of our live stock which has hitherto defied every form of this species of enclosure. It would be impossible for me to enumerate all that thus employed him. It ranged from the petty concerns of domestic economy to the highest efforts of practical science, from pyroligneous acid, by which the housewife was taught a shorter and better process of curing her hams, to the direct application of steam to rotary motion.

I always thought there was a great probability that he would eventually light on some discovery by which he would gain the renown due to his genius and zeal. On several occasions, when discoveries in physical science have for their ingenuity, or utility, made a noise in the world, I would remember that Dr. Emmet had long before shadowed them out as practicable. Among other instances, I heard him suggest the idea of using a vacuum in the air as a motive power, long before the atmospheric railway was invented; and prodigious effects of chemical agents in stimulating the growth of vegetables were also anticipated by him, and, indeed, partially verified by experiment.

We now reach a sad period in the life of both Dr. and Mrs. Emmet. It was, indeed, the turning-point in their hitherto unbroken happiness; for after the death of their youngest son, their first real sorrow, Dr. Emmet's health gradually began to fail from fortuitous circumstances, and from this time on he was no longer the same as of old. No one fully realized the fact at the time, nor did he for several years subsequently, but on looking back after his death it becomes very evident. Mrs. Tucker had been most devoted in the care of her little grandson, and in the following letter to Mrs. T. A. Emmet she details a full account of his illness and death:

MOREA, VIRGINIA, Oct. 26th, 1837.

MY DEAR MRS. EMMET:

Your letter from some unknown cause did not reach me 'till yesterday, and altho' you must have heard from my dear Byrd, who wrote to Mrs. Graves, long ere this, I haste to reply to your affectionate letter, if a severe headache and toothache will not oblige me to lay aside my pen. The loss of our darling Tucker was so sudden and unexpected that I may with truth say he was snatched from us without scarcely being warned of his danger. He had been hoarse for several days, but not more or so much as I had often seen him, and was with his Tutor on Friday afternoon. Medicines were administered and he was kept in bed on Saturday, more to keep off the croup, which was what we apprehended, than from any apparent indisposition. His mother was engaged with her family and I remained with him; during the time he read many little stories to me and would frequently say "come here, grand-mother and let me snug you and kiss you." About two o'clock his breathing became laborious and a fever succeeded. Dr. Griffith,* the new professor, was immediately sent for and remained all night. As he did not appear to be worse and I was very unwell, I went to bed and about two o'clock I was called and never while my senses are retained can I forget the sound and suffering of the dear darling child. From that time, to that of his dissolution, we were constantly bleeding, leeching, applying, mustard and blister plasters and hot baths, but all in vain. The disease never yielded in the slightest degree, on the contrary it seemed to defy the efforts of medicine or skill. To see his sufferings, and to see him bear them like a hero, never was there a murmur, a complaint, or the slightest objection to the most nauseous medicines. But with his usual sweet smiles and affectionate manner always said, "Thank you madam," or "Thank you Sir," for all that was ever done for him.

* Dr. Griffith, of Philadelphia, succeeded Dr. McGill as the Professor of the Practice of Medicine.

My afflicted children could not bear the distressing scene and were taken from him two hours before his death. But knowing that next to his mother he would have preferred my being with him, and heartrending as it was, I had determined to suppress every emotion and to remain with him. On my arm at half-past eleven o'clock on Sunday he breathed his last and the last words he spoke were "Dear Grandmother, come and lie down by me." Dear good child he is I trust far more happy than he ever could have been in this world of woe; and altho' I know that he was taken at a time when he was pure and spotless, still we find it hard to bow with humble submission to the will of the Allwise disposer of human events. Long, very long, will it be ere I can forget the dear lovely boy whose affectionate and warm heart combined with a natural flow of humour not only endeared him to his own family but to all who knew him. From bitter experience I know it is not in the power of the dearest friend to alleviate grief in its first anguish. Still, the gratification derived from the sympathy of dear and valued friends tends materially to soften the pains of our over-whelmed and anguished hearts under such bereavements.

This is the first *real sorrow* my beloved Byrd has ever felt and most keenly has she felt this. If I leave her for a few moments I always find her in tears and from her appearance every morning I judge she must have spent the greater part of her night in the same. My dear John is most keenly afflicted, and for eight or ten days was at times quite unmanned, but his daily avocations engage his constant time and attention, consequently tend much to lessen the weight of his sorrow. Neither of the parents will admit that Tucker was their favorite child, but there is no denying what was too apparent to every eye. Such uniform fondness and devotion for a child to a mother I have never before seen exhibited, but in one instance and that was in my own darling Saint George. None but those who have lost such a child can tell the pangs of a mother's heart. But while we lament the loss of those who are so dear to us in life, we must not be unmindful of the many very many blessings we have left, and that these trials are intended either as a wholesome discipline of the heart, or to prevent an undue attachment of things of this world. Under this impression I have been consoled in the many severe afflictions I have experienced and think whatever is, is best.

We are grieved to hear of Annie's [the daughter] indisposition, but as the pain in her breast is not attended with fever or cough I trust the skill of your Father * and the kind attention of her friends will soon restore her to her wonted health. Many of the Virginia Springs have high reputation for curing Dyspepsia, and should it be decided that Annie's complaint is that and she should not be restored before the Summer, I think you had better try their efficacy. I need not add how happy it would make us all to have you spend some time here. Present me, if you please, in the most tender and affectionate manner, to Mrs. Emmet, I have thought much of her, also to your better half, to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Emmet, Mr. and Mrs. McEvers, Mr. and Mrs. Graves, to Margaret and to Mr. and Mrs. Le Roy. Tho' I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Mr. and Mrs. Le Roy I feel as if I knew them very well and they being allied to my dear John is quite sufficient to make me feel a deep interest in them, for he is quite as dear to me as any child I have. And I assure you that I have no greater happiness than to meet and gladden his heart to the extent of my ability.

Our dear Addis and Jane are both well and desire to be affectionately remembered to their dear Grandmother, Uncles, Aunts and Cousins. Addis is much afflicted at the loss of his brother, they were scarcely ever separated, indeed they were so linked, as it were, that scarcely one was ever called without the other, and it seems quite an effort for either of us to do it even now. It is at meals and at our fireside that we miss the darling child the most. It was our constant custom after sundown to assemble together and the dear children to hang around their father, each trying to get the best place to comb his hair and to hear the stories which he regaled them with, and they in turn each did the same. This has afforded me no small amusement to see their lively imaginations put to the test, and their natural disposition develop itself; but alas, the link is broken and time alone can reconcile us to the void which has been made in our happy domestic circle.

I was obliged to leave my letter unfinished, having the toothache so violently, I scarcely knew, my dear Mrs. Emmet, what I had written; my nerves in addition have been so much unstrung that

* Dr. Macneven was Mrs. Emmet's stepfather.

I could scarcely guide my pen. Remember me to Mr. and Mrs. William Emmet and my respects to your father and mother, if you please. Kiss the dear children for me if they have any recollection of such a person. My dear Byrd and John desire to be affectionately remembered to every member of the family. The latter has said again and again that he would write to your good man, but his heart fails him and he dreads the subject. Will you be so good as to remember me affectionately to the "Bond Street Tuckers" * when you see them. Accept the sincere affection of your much attached friend—

ELIZA J. TUCKER.

Mrs. T. A. Emmet,
Mount Vernon, New York.

Mrs. Le Roy writes a letter of condolence to her brother. He in answer expresses his deep sympathy for her on the sudden loss of a young child, and in doing so gives vent to his own grief in most expressive terms:

UNIVERSITY OF VA., Nov. 17th, 1837.

MY DEAREST ELIZABETH:

Your kind and sisterly affection led you lately to attempt the trying duty of healing a brother's deep affliction, kind and considerate it was and deeply did it leave its impression. Although we have not heard from our friends I have learned, through the papers, of your very recent bereavement. Could I tell you how much aggrieved Mary and I were at the intelligence, situated as I was myself and just about to answer your kind letter, it would only, perhaps, augment the sorrow and affliction which you are now called on to endure. A few such scenes make a deep, abiding impression upon the mind; but they are not without their benefits.

I cannot convince myself nor attempt to reason you into the belief that such losses are intended for our good, *especially*, but, my dear Sister, we can draw lessons of wisdom from the trial. I doted upon my beloved boy for he was ambitious to emulate me in every respect. Proud of his father, he was forever speaking of the future; and I allowed my feelings to run away with my judgement. When the trial came I was not prepared, and ere I could think of the change he was gone. Mine was severe because it was the first; but, although no repetition can diminish the anguish of a mother upon such occasions, you have been tried before and from the event have drawn too many sobering reflections to stand in need of any moral suggestions. Sad necessity teaches us that such events must be, that we stand, as it were, upon the battle-field with the fatal weapons of Death around us, invisible and for ever threatening. Then who is safe! We must learn patiently to abide the event and turn the mind from vainly brooding over losses which we cannot restore. Seek then, my dear Sister, in your family and in your husband's heart the consolation which begets peace and you will find it. May you realize these my best wishes.

Yours most affectionately,

J. P. EMMET.

Mrs. W. H. Le Roy, New York.

* Mr. Richard Jennings Tucker, then a prominent merchant and banker, was Mrs. Tucker's uncle. It is held by tradition that Mr. Tucker built the first house in Bond Street, No. 9, on the lower side of the street, in 1826. The writer can recall distinctly a visit to this house when he was a small child, and it then seemed to be in the country. After attending service with his grandmother, Mrs. Tucker, in St. John's Church, he accompanied her, with his nurse, to take an early Sunday dinner with the "Bond Street Tuckers." Mrs. Tucker must have been persuaded to remain longer, for we did not return home until after sunset and it was bright moonlight. We were staying with Judge Robert Emmet or some other member of the family, who lived on the south side of St. John's Park, now covered by the freight depot of the Hudson River Railroad. To take a short cut we crossed Broadway, which seemed then to be a dusty country road, and over a stone wall by a stile into a cornfield on the west side. The writer recollects that he was very tired and sleepy and that his nurse refused to carry him, but dragged him along by the arm between the rows of corn, and the circumstance is impressed upon his mind, as a very small child, in consequence of the annoyance he suffered from the continued flapping in his face of the blades of corn, which were very wet from the heavy dew then falling.

For ten years after 1830 Dr. Emmet was a frequent contributor, on various scientific subjects, to *Silliman's Journal*; he also wrote often for the *Virginia Literary Museum*, at one time published at the University of Virginia and edited by the professors. His contributions were always gratuitous and most frequently anonymous. Dr. Emmet possessed so modest an appreciation of his own talents that his efforts to conceal or turn aside all credit for his work amounted almost to a weakness in his character.

His last scientific investigation was pursued to a greater length and in a more exhaustive manner than was usual with him. Mr. Tucker writes: "A year or more before his death, Dr. Emmet having casually noticed the coloured edge of a shadow on a piece of white paper, was led to speculate on the phenomenon; and his mind having thus started, soon became directed to the whole theory of light and colours. He plunged into the subject with his wonted ardour, and exhibited more than his accustomed copiousness of invention by the variety of his experiments. The result was that he refused his assent to the Newtonian Theory of refraction; and being in pursuit of nothing but the truth, he wrote a paper in which, with his characteristic candour, he stated the grounds of his opinion at full length, accompanied with diagrams and coloured drawings of his experiment."

At Mr. Tucker's suggestion the manuscript was submitted to the criticism of Professor Bonnycastle. Mr. Tucker states that the critic "gave the praise of novelty and ingenuity to many of Dr. Emmet's experiments; and thought he would obtain great credit if he would be content to publish them simply as experiments exhibiting phenomena of light not hitherto known, without attempting to assail the Newtonian Theory, which he supposed required a more thorough knowledge of the higher mathematics than Dr. Emmet relied on, or had indeed claimed to possess."

Mr. Tucker visited London in 1841 and submitted the manuscript to a noted publisher of scientific works. But it was declined and returned unread, on the ground that it was an absurdity to attempt to controvert any of Newton's views. The paper has been preserved, but has never been published or the experiments verified.

During the summer of 1841 Dr. Emmet and his wife visited New York to see their relatives and to select a good school for their son. St. Thomas's Hall, Flushing, Long Island, then under the charge of the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, was finally decided upon. So, on their return to

Virginia they left the writer in charge of his Uncle Bache McEvers, and shortly after Dr. Emmet reached home he received the following letter from Mr. McEvers:

MONTE ALTO,* NEW YORK, 20 Sept., 1841.

MY DEAR JOHN:

Your letter of the 16th enclosing check for three hundred dollars was received by me at home this evening and I wrote at once to acknowledge its receipt and presume your view of the account is correct, tho' as I have not access to my books I cannot say exactly. The am't, say three hundred dollars, will be put to your credit and when I write again I will state exactly how the matter stands between us. I gave your note to Robert on his return to town, but he has not paid the amount, and as I can advance the first payment to Mr. Hawks without inconvenience I shall not press it upon him. Next week I shall take Addis to Flushing and Robert has decided to send Bill and John there also, so that he will have intimates at once and find himself quite at home. He has behaved himself very well since he has been with us and has written once to his mother and once to you; the letter giving you an account of a pretty severe attack of Cholera Morbus, which he went through safely tho' I confess the symptoms were for a few moments rather alarming from the violence of the cramps. He has been entirely well since and as Robert's boys have been with us nearly all the while, he has been as merry as a cricket. I give you all these details for Mary's sake and want you to assure her that while he is under Jane's care, he will be quite as much at home as if at the University. Your letter found me as I stated at home and I have had for the last week as severe a bilious attack as I ever suffered under and today missed the fever for the first time, and hope I may not be troubled any more with it. I shall not go to town for a day or two, and if you were here the captivity would be much brightened. The fishing is glorious, but I cannot join it. Robert, Le Roy, and Tom yesterday caught one hundred and thirty-five bass at the Rock. Give my best love to Mary, and believe me, my dear John, ever truly yours—

BACHE MCEVERS.

Dr. Emmet, University of Va.

I shall have your message to Edward Wilson & Dick duly delivered.

* Monte Alto was Mr. McEvers's country-place of some twenty-five acres, situated on the Hudson River, just below Manhattanville, on the Bloomingdale Road. It is now a part of the Riverside Park. Gen. Grant's tomb occupies a portion of the ground where a large swing and gymnasium put up by Mr. McEvers had stood, a little to the northwest of the site of the dwelling house. The fishing rock referred to by Mr. McEvers was a noted spot for bass fishing, situated about half a mile nearer the city, on Mr. Schmidt's place; it was finally covered by the Hudson River Railroad. The bluff on the river-bank was then heavily timbered with forest trees, among which were extended walks, with rustic seats placed to command, at different points, a view of the river. These walks passed on to Mr. Schmidt's grounds, crossing the intervening places then occupied by a Mr. Claibourne, an Irish merchant, and next to him was Mr. Samuel Whitlock, also a merchant and the owner of the then noted French line of packet-ships. A close intimacy had existed between the families for many years, and Mr. Whitlock's son, of the same name, afterwards married the eldest daughter of Mr. McEvers. Mrs. Schmidt, as has been stated, was Eliza Bache, a half-sister of Mr. Bache McEvers, and her husband was for many years the Consul-General in this country from Prussia.

The writer some time ago accidentally learned the history of this place from reading an old letter written nearly a hundred years ago by a Mr. George Pollock, an Irishman from Belfast and a merchant. The statement was there made that he had cleared this place for his residence from the primitive forest shortly after the Revolution, and in consequence of the death of his wife and the subsequent loss of his only child by drowning he was about to return permanently to England. This child was drowned in the North River and was buried on the bank within a short distance of Gen. Grant's tomb, where the writer, as a child, frequently spelled out the inscription on its monument with feelings of profound sympathy for the fate of the little stranger whose history was then unknown to him.

Gulian Verplanck, of Verplanck's Point, North River, and whose city residence was at that time in Wall Street, on the site of the present United States Assay Office, purchased this estate from Mr. Pollock, and it then included the portion which has since been known as "Claremont," on which was subsequently built the present standing building as a country residence for one of the Post family. Mr. McEvers leased the place from his cousin, the literary savant, Gulian C. Verplanck, a son of the purchaser.

The writer recalls this portion of his life with an interest not free from feelings of sadness. On going to school he soon became a sufferer from fever and ague, which for the time impaired both his health and judgment. This led to a series of letters between his father and himself, which brought them in a closer relation than would otherwise have existed. His father's admonitions, coming as they did almost from the brink of the grave, were productive of better results than he himself could have anticipated. The recollection of his father's love and entire confidence was a constant incentive in after life to accomplish whatever would have met with his approval. The last letter written by his father to him, on December 13th, 1841, was certainly well calculated to bring about good results in any boy as soon as he could think and appreciate what his father expected of him.

UNIVERSITY OF VA., Sept. 20th, 1841.

MY DEAR ADDIS :

Your last letter had distressed us greatly in consequence of the accounts which you give of your very serious attack of sickness. Yet I know that, with your uncle and aunt, you are as well provided for in all cases as you would be under my own roof. As, however, you will be necessarily separated from them while at school, you must at once acquire the habit of taking care of yourself. I cannot of course say in what manner your late attack was brought on; but from knowledge of your peculiar disposition, your mother and myself have inclined to suppose that you have not been particular enough in your clothing or eating. This has been a cold and sickly season almost everywhere. You should, therefore, be warmly clad and not complain of clothing in the middle of the day which may be the means of saving your life during the morning and night. Your attack may also have been brought on by imprudent eating, such as eating unripe apples, &c. I do not write, however, to lecture you and shall, therefore, merely beg earnestly, that you will, henceforth, begin to be thoughtful about yourself. Remember, always, that the less trouble you give other persons in looking after you, the more they will love you. You need not expect to find such friends as your uncles and aunts when you are at school, and the necessity of providing for yourself will then be forced upon you. I trust that you have by this time fully recovered and that you feel stout and resolute about your studies. Believe me that I shall look to your future letter-writing with the greatest interest and shall remark with a father's pleasure every new token of improvement. We have a great deal to learn and were we to comprehend, at the commencement, the full extent of the task we should no doubt weary often and become frightened or dispirited, but then we also have a great deal of time for studying. You need not overtask yourself, when at school, or strain to do a great deal in a very short time. This is not the way to acquire patience or resolution. Go along steadily, never be absolutely idle and when you begin to study turn all your attention to the task.

I will say this for you, my dear son, that I have always felt good reason to rely upon you and I am very sure that you will not now disappoint me when you understand my wishes.

You requested me to enquire how your pets are going on. Judging from the Cat's placid exterior, while reposing upon the kitchen roof in the strong sunshine, I should say that she was well to do in this world and not liable to any heartrending emotions. Your dog has quit the premises, either as a defaulter or vagrant and I can give no further account of him than that he fancies Joe Woodley before any other person since you have withdrawn your protection. His place at Morea is more than filled up by other pets. John's* dog is his immediate successor; but besides we have lots of flowers, three canaries and a charming young mocking bird, who is already so extremely quick with his tongue and voice that I should not be at all surprised if he should talk Greek

* John Tom, the eldest son of Mr. T. A. Emmet and a student in the University.

yet before you do. As your mother has a postscript to add I must *shut up* for the present, but if you only do well at school and improve you shall have many pleasant letters from me.

My love to your uncle and aunt and to all the family of the great *ant-hill*.

God bless you.

JOHN P. EMMET.

The following is the postscript of Mrs. Emmet :

MY BELOVED ADDIS :

I cannot forbear putting a few lines in your father's letter to let you know how much uneasiness I felt at reading your letter tonight. I have thought a good deal of you this cool weather and often said I hoped you would make the change in your clothing by putting on your drawers. If you have not found the pair you left at your uncle Graves' ask your aunt Jane please to have you a pair made. I will bring you on in the vacation, if I live, drawers and night shirts also. Be prudent, my dear Addis, and remember the anxiety I must necessarily feel at being separated from you. Although you are now surrounded and will be near kind and affectionate friends who will be always pleased, I know, to do everything for you, yet when you leave them for your school, you will have to think for yourself. To your uncle and aunt, whom you are with, you can never be too grateful. We have all experienced their very kind attention in many similar instances of sickness and particularly in the case of your dear sister when she broke her leg. The kindness of all at that time I often think of with overflowing gratitude.

Let me beg of you, my dear Boy, not to let a fortnight pass without writing. If you think of your mother's anxiety, I know you will not. If your aunt thinks you have not winter socks enough ask her to get you more and everything else she thinks you will require. Your uncle Henry* and aunt Mary were very much disappointed at not seeing you. They will leave us on Monday next; their stay will be only three weeks in consequence of its being so cold already, and they are afraid to keep Julia out longer as she is so delicate. She and Emmet are dear little children. Your grandmother and sister are well and will write soon. John received a letter from his mother and she did not mention you, I dare say you were sick at that time, I can not help thinking so. I wrote to her yesterday to get me more seeds and box-edging,—so you must get me the rare roots and some carnations to send also, and some of the white Phlox from your Uncle Bache's, and that white wild-flower which your aunt Jane has. My love to Jane Le Roy and tell her when she has anything interesting she must write the first letter. Mention Temple† when you write. I hope he has not forgotten me. I think of you both several times a day and particularly at meals. Good night my beloved Boy, think often of your devoted mother.

M. B. EMMET.

Dr. Emmet again writes to his son :

UNIVERSITY OF VA., Oct. 22, 1841.

MY DEAR ADDIS :

We have just received your last letter, to your Grandmother, and are greatly pleased to learn from yourself that you have recovered from your indisposition. Fever and ague are troublesome acquaintances and will be sure to call again and again, unless you drive them off by force. When, therefore, you feel at all as if you were about to have another attack, return to your medicine and seven or eight grains of quinine, taken at once, will in your case, I doubt not, effect a complete cure. Lest you should think that I am satisfied with preaching, I will inform you that, at very nearly the same time as yourself, I was confined to my chamber with the same disease, fever and ague. This indeed occasioned the delay in answering your letter to me. I had, however, a return of the ague every day, but I broke it in a short time by taking fifteen grains of quinine at a dose. You have heard, that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of time," and a great deal of nasty medicines would have to be swallowed if we were to take no pains to prevent the recurrence of sickness. Let your clothing, therefore, be warm, and if you want anything to make yourself comfortable, in this respect, write at once to your Aunt Jane and she will send it to you before the

* Mr. Henry Tucker was a brother of Mrs. Emmet.

† A son of Judge Robert Emmet, and who had been a student at the University.

winter sets in. Don't be out late at night,—I suppose that I need not be so particular in cautioning you not to rise too early in the morning. What I wish to say is that although you may be out of your bed as early as you please, you should not expose yourself too early to the open air. Most of these remarks I make at your mother's suggestion, and I know how much pleasure it will give you to lessen her anxiety about you.

And now, my dear Boy, there is another topic to be noticed, more especially since it has been urged with much vehemence by yourself in your letters. You want me to promise that you shall stay at home next year. I know that you are *homesick*, and that it will be many years before you can become fully conscious that this is merely a *schoolboy's disease*, which when once cured, seldom, if ever, returns.

I remember when I had it! While it lasted, which was for a week or so, I could not take pleasure in anything, but was constantly dreaming over my lessons or moping by myself in profound solitude. I could not then perceive how merrily my school fellows played with each other, and what a number of fine fellows there was among them. But it was not long before I made the discovery, and as soon as I did away went the home sickness; so will it be with you, rest assured. Perhaps you are already cured.

I have been disposed to attribute your pressing request to go home after a year to this melancholy feeling which has beset you, and with the view of placing your proposition on its right footing, I will ask you whether you have not often noticed a piece of beef that has been roasted in a hurry and before too strong a fire. It may be done tolerably well on the *outside*, but it is absolutely *raw within*.

Could you relish such meat and praise the cook? Certainly not. One year's schooling will but make you like this roast beef, and were you then to return to me, I should be extremely mortified at not being able to find anything to praise, and still more so if I found that *you* were satisfied with your condition. As your father, I educate you not so much because your attainments may be a source of pride and gratification to myself; but because I know the value of such knowledge to *yourself*.

You are now too young to know that a highly cultivated mind is more valuable than anything in the nature of wealth. But you have a good understanding, good habits, good disposition, and, moreover, the *full confidence* of your father and mother. So that I feel satisfied that when you have completed one year at your school, you will never rest contented with so humble and low-minded a termination of your studies as you now contemplate.

Your idea seems to be that by great labor you will be able to do in one year what usually requires three years. Remember in doing so your improvement will be superficial—roast beef only done on the outside. Take things more quietly, and I will ensure your success. Do not, for the present, aim at doing more than to learn thoroughly the lessons given from day to day by your teachers, and to become obedient to all the regulations of your school.

MY DEAR ADDIS:

Notwithstanding the excellence of your Father's advice he is now again on his back with the ague, and in consequence thereof has not been able to finish his own letter. His relapse was occasioned by lecturing in a damp room. He requests me to state how much pleased he would be to learn something from yourself about your studies. He also requests that Dr. Hawks will forward a monthly report to him. As you feel so much attached to your cat, I cannot conclude this letter without informing you that she has been elevated to the responsible post of Governor General over all the stock of winter vegetables in the Garret, and her rebellious subjects are the rats and mice. She has refrained, with the strictest honor, from removing any of the vegetable deposits, but she mews a great deal at night and I fear she is troubled with your complaint of *home sickness*. Please to remember your father and myself to Dr. Hawks. I remain as ever—

YOUR DEVOTED MOTHER.

Master Thos. Addis Emmet,
Care of the Revd. Francis L. Hawks,
Flushing, L. I.

The following letter was the last one the writer ever received from his father, who when writing it could have little realized that the seed he was then planting would bear good fruit and that his admonitions would exercise such a very salutary influence on his son's after life. During his boyhood, in youth and even in manhood the writer has many times reread and studied the contents of this letter to appreciate its full bearing, and deep have been the regrets on the part of the son that he should ever have caused his father an anxious moment.

UNIVERSITY OF VA., December 13th, 1841.

DEAR ADDIS:

Last Friday evening we received your last letter, written to myself, and were very sorry to learn that you have had another attack of fever and ague. I presume that you exposed yourself too much when you went skating. By remaining too long in the cold, or by getting your feet wet, you will always incur the risk of an immediate attack. I trust that the disease has been removed by this time and you may prevent its recurrence by continuing to take the quinine for a week or two. Your letter has caused me uneasiness from another cause. We had begun to think that your good sense had made you become reconciled to your school. The letter from you, which produced this impression on us, pleasant and gratifying I can assure you, was written cheerfully and in it you declare you wish to remain at Mr. Hawks' school for two years, and you believe that there is not a better place for study in the country. But in your last letter, to which this is an answer, you wish to take back your words by telling me that when you wrote the former letter you were under the influence of sickness and did not know what you did. Now Addis, I am much older than you are and will tell you candidly my opinion. I do not think that you wish to deceive *me*, but most certainly, you have allowed your own good sense and judgement to be changed by the opinion of some of your school fellows who are either somewhat idle or do not like to submit to the rules and discipline of the school. It is not usual for people to write so cheerfully and contented a letter as your first one while under the influence of sickness and without being conscious of what was done. Your last letter shows much more of the feeling you allude to; for you show the depression of feelings brought on by your sickness, but you also show the *discontent* which is always so distinguishable when one's judgement and good sense have been tampered with. Now, my dear Addis, go back to your original feeling and learn again to become *contented* with your situation. Whenever any person tells you that the school is a humbug tell him that your father considers it quite good enough for you, and that you would stay there five years if this were necessary to please him. Never be rude, dogged, or self sufficient, but do, my dear Boy, at once endeavour to acquire independence of character and firmness of purpose in all matters recommended by those who are not only older than yourself but who value your own welfare more than they do their own. I do not send you to school to kill time and waste my slender income. Idlers and loungers dislike to be confined and restrained, but good boys soon learn to know that the habit of study, which leads to knowledge and distinction, can only become well established by discipline. If I were to take you away, which could only be done at a great sacrifice, you could not return home because there is no school here which I approve. Make up your mind, therefore, to be separated from us for some time yet, and endeavour to shorten that time, as much as possible, by attention to your studies.

Think yourself fortunate, moreover, that your father is alive, willing and able to confer upon you all the blessings of education. If all this does not give you resolution and a feeling of noble ambition, think of the fact that hereafter your *mother* and sister may have to look to you alone as their only support upon earth! My health is slowly giving way and, even while now writing to you, I am afflicted with a disease which is yearly killing thousands in this country! And what

would be your situation if now, or some few years hence, I were to be removed? Are you prepared to support your mother and sister? Or will you ever be able to do so if you waste the present time in idle complaints, or vain regrets? Turn, my dear Boy, *at once* a deaf ear to all those whose counsel or opinion tends to make you discontented, and determine to judge for *yourself* at the end of the season. Let me tell you that your school is well known to one or more of our students here, and one of them lately informed your mother, that he had been a scholar under Dr. Hawks. He concluded by saying that although the school was a very strict one it was also excellent and that any boy might consider himself very fortunate who had the benefit of its instruction. I must confess, my dear Addis, I have been so impressed by the belief that some one of your young friends has caused this change in your feelings that I have devoted the largest portion of my letter to the expression of my regret and disappointment. There is, however, but little news to add. We are well at present, with the exception of myself, and my health has greatly improved within the past week.

Your grandmother requests me to mention to you that she sent some time since a letter to you in the care of Mr. Sylvester, who said that he would see you and deliver it. As you did not allude to this letter your grandmother is uncertain whether it has yet reached you.

Your sister Jane is doing very well, and what is perhaps necessary for success at school, she is contented. I hope that your next letter will inform us of your entire recovery from sickness and that you will feel again disposed to declare your manly resolution in relation to your studies.

Your devoted Father and best adviser,

J. P. EMMET.

Master Thos. Addis Emmet,
Care Rev. F. Hawks,
Flushing, L. I.

Dr. Emmet's health, already seriously impaired, had become so much worse that in January, 1842, he was obliged to visit Florida, while his course of lectures was completed by one of his colleagues, Prof. Wm. B. Rogers. He received every kindness from his friends about the University, and particularly from the students, by whom he was greatly respected and beloved. He received a number of letters from his students, individually expressing their sympathy for his illness and their appreciation of the loss they would sustain in their studies by his absence.

The following letter was received from the members of his class through a committee appointed to express their deep regret at his contemplated departure:

UNIVERSITY OF VA., Jan. 20th, 1842.

DEAR SIR:

At a meeting of the Classes of Chemistry and Materia Medica, at which Mr. P. B. Stark presided, held this evening at half past four o'clock, we were appointed a committee on their behalf to express their deep regret at your contemplated departure.

While we are fully aware of the loss which your pupils will sustain by the absence of a Professor whose faithfulness and ability we have all experienced, we are yet convinced that your course is in every way the most proper and heartily concur in all measures which you may think suitable for the restoration of your health.

The personal attachment which we all feel would exclude the selfish desire to retain your services, even though your chair should be vacated. We hope, however, to prosecute our studies, if not with the same alacrity as under yourself, at least with success.

Our best wishes go with you for your speedy restoration to health, and to the enjoyment and duties of life.

With the highest respect,

POWHATAN B. STARK,
L. F. BULLITT,
J. R. TUCKER,
T. B. HOLCOMBE.

To Dr. John Patten Emmet,
Present.

Dr. Emmet's health rapidly improved in the milder climate, so much so that he decided to purchase a place on the St. John's River opposite Palatka. There was some difficulty and delay in obtaining money on some property in New York, and in consequence he writes the following letter to his brother Tom. This letter is believed to be the last letter written by him.

ST. AUGUSTINE, April 24th, 1842.

DEAR TOM:

I can not disguise from you that your last letter, received yesterday, depressed me a great deal. My arrangements for the purchase had gone so far that all parties looked upon it as settled. I know that you made as great exertion in my behalf as you would have done for yourself, and I do not mention my disappointment, therefore, as referring in the slightest degree to yourself. We must, however, continue our exertions, so that I may be prepared for some other opportunity. The place which I proposed to purchase was a very beautiful and desirable one. It had a house upon it which, with some repairs, would have enabled me to remove my family and settle there comfortably at once. Upon it, also, is a grove of Orange trees in full bearing, which, in two years, would have provided means to visit the North, during the Summer, and to pay for clothing and groceries.

The proprietor will take nothing but cash, because he wishes to purchase and settle upon land, at the government price, in an unsettled but more fertile portion of the Territory.

There are, however, other beautiful, though unimproved, locations on the St. John's river, one of which I hope will yet belong to me. This subject leads me to notice my reasons for seeking a permanent residence in Florida, or at least the acquisition of property there, as soon as possible. The war with the Seminole Indians has hitherto driven away the early settlers, most of whom have thus become absentees and have entered into other engagements for their support. The difficulty of making cash payments has also brought down the value of such property as is included within the Spanish Grants along the river St. John's. Land is now, consequently, as cheap as it is likely to be. But a reaction is already taking place. The war is certainly about to close, and has been so proclaimed by the officer in command of our troops—Col. Worth. The people have acquired the same conviction, and settlers are not only returning to their old homes, but persons from the adjoining states, and many even from the State of New York, are making purchases daily. These circumstances have convinced me that now is the proper time to acquire the right of property, even though I shall not take possession immediately. By doing so and immediately planting out an Orange Grove of a thousand trees, I shall increase the value of the land at least tenfold, and in such a manner that no casualty can permanently destroy the improvement.

As it will require five or six years to render the young trees capable of bearing fruit abundantly, it is obvious that the improvement to be of service to *myself* should be commenced at once. But, perhaps, the most cogent reason for purchasing speedily arises from my own position and circum-

stances. Where else, in the United States, can I live if my present profession is destructive to my health and my connection with the University must be broken off either this year or the next? If my Virginia farm could support my family, which it has never done, I should have to fly from it every winter, either alone or with my family, to expend much more in traveling and boarding elsewhere. I should have to leave behind my horses, my negroes, &c., to provide for their maintenance, and in all other respects to feel the heavy expenses of two homes. I am fully of opinion, therefore, that it is my interest *now* to provide for the contingency which must arise very speedily, if it does not already exist.

I have already entered upon the last third of the "three score years and ten," not with the diseases of my youth softened or removed, but with such an increase of them as to prove that they have assumed a chronic form for the future. It is my interest, as much as my inclination, to seek relaxation from intellectual pursuits, the most depressing of all others, and I have some reasons to believe that I have but a few years left to make the experiment.

You, and all the other members of our happy family circle, must have observed my debility and almost constant depression when among you, for the last five or six years, and although nothing but death can remove my affection for you all, no effort on my part has been sufficient to diminish the frequency of these attacks of the enemy which deprive me of my natural cheerfulness.

In the mild climate of Florida I hope, still, to recover much of what has been lost, but whether this, my last chance, is to benefit *myself* or not I still feel convinced that the acquisition of property here will contribute more to the independence of my family than any other, either in New York or Virginia, can do. Neither can I regard it as selfish that I should now seek to dispose of some of the New York property with a view of improving my own health, even though the change must be made at a considerable sacrifice.

You will perceive, however, that I do not make the change without the fairest prospect of acquiring competency. Before the war, the St. John's river was thronged by coasting vessels from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and other seaport towns, visiting the Orange Groves and paying cash for the crops, on the ground and without the risk of transportation. The oranges never, when most abundant, sold for less than seventy-five cents a hundred and a dollar was the usual price. A good tree bears from five hundred to a thousand oranges, so that taking seventy-five cents as the price of a hundred, a good tree will yield a profit of between seven and ten dollars. Though frost is seldom felt here it does, about every ten years, destroy the crops. Making allowance for this contingency to the utmost, the average annual profit, under the worst circumstances, of an Orange tree cannot fall below one or two dollars and a grove, therefore, of one thousand trees may be relied upon as giving a cash income of one thousand or fifteen hundred dollars, without labor or requiring the presence of the owner until October, when the sales are made. The Florida oranges are greatly preferred to those from Cuba, as sweeter and of a higher flavor. But suppose there is a perfect failure for one crop, then, where is the place except in Florida where cattle multiply with a profit of thirty per cent. on the spot and for cash, where they find abundance to eat during the severest winter, giving no trouble whatever except to mark them once a year and milk them. In short every living thing, whether hog, horse or poultry, provides for itself throughout the year, furnishing to the farmer every luxury which substantial living can require. The almost total absence of frost gives the crops great luxuriance. We have green peas at Christmas, the richest sweet potatoes two crops a year, Corn two crops, tobacco two crops, besides an abundance of garden vegetables, fruit, butter, milk, strawberries, &c., which makes it utterly impossible to starve unless the cultivator is a fool, or madman. One acre of rich land properly attended to and bearing the Cuba tobacco is estimated as yielding a thousand dollars when the leaf is cured and made into segars. The Florida sugar is considered to be superior to, and the crops more certain, than that of Louisiana, because the season of growing is longer and warmer, while the winter seldom injures the cane. The woods are literally thronged with wild flowers of the greatest variety and beauty. The pine forests abound with wild turkeys and deer, while an almost infinite variety of fish are to be found in the rivers. Almost every person who visits Florida feels its potent charms and longs to return. The land seems to stick, like honey, to the fingers and

produces a strong desire to enjoy it. You can well fancy, therefore, how all these advantages tempt a man who, like myself, first visits it as an invalid and then acquires the conviction that a permanent residence is necessary for his existence. Think of this, my dear Tom, and do not lax your efforts to enable me to succeed. I am slowly improving and Mary is very well.

Yours truly,

J. P. EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esqr., New York.

P. S. We shall leave this place for Charleston in about a fortnight, and shall, as soon after as possible, take a vessel for New York, as I am desirous of trying the effects of a sea voyage. You need not, therefore, reply to this letter and may retain any letters for me directed to New York. Before I arrive, you will, probably, become acquainted with Dr. Byrne, who carries, from me, a letter of introduction to Bache, whose residence in town will enable the Doctor to deliver it more conveniently. But I want you to become acquainted with him and to show him attention, as he has laid me under deep obligation by his unremitting attentions to me, from the moment of my arrival at St. Augustine.

Dr. and Mrs. Emmet returned to Charleston a few days after this letter was written, and there enjoyed for some time the hospitality of Mr. Daniel Ravenell, whose first wife was a half-sister of Mr. Bache McEvers. Mrs. Emmet's letters state that her husband gained more strength in Charleston than he had done in Florida, and greatly enjoyed the renewal of his acquaintance with the many old friends he had made twenty-five years before when practicing medicine there. In May he engaged passage for himself and wife on a sailing vessel then plying as a packet between Charleston and New York. By accident they were detained a few moments at the hour for sailing, and consequently reached the wharf just as the vessel was getting under way. The captain was surly and refused to delay a few moments until they could be put aboard by a rowboat. This proved a fortunate circumstance, as the vessel was never heard of after leaving the harbor, and all on board were lost.

Dr. Emmet and his wife, however, immediately boarded another vessel just sailing for New York. In a hurricane off Cape Hatteras the vessel was dismantled, the greater portion of her fresh water and provisions being washed overboard. The wreck drifted for some thirty-eight days without meeting any other vessels, and was twice blown off the coast after having been reported from the signal-station at Sandy Hook. At length, after all hopes of her safety had been abandoned, she was picked up and brought into New York harbor. So great was the privation and exposure that several of the passengers died, and Dr. Emmet was so much reduced that within six weeks after his arrival he died, on August 15th, 1842, at Mount Vernon, his brother Tom's country-place, near New York.

Although from day to day he slowly lost his strength, Dr. Emmet did not seem to realize the fact, for up to within a few moments before his



PROF. JOHN PATTEN EMMET M. D

death he was planning and looking forward to making his home in Florida. On the day of his death he seemed quite himself; after taking his breakfast he partially dressed himself and sat up in an easy-chair reading the morning newspaper. For several days he had been making out a list of the supplies he thought would be needed by the family in Florida. The lucifer match now in common use having been invented but a short time before, the writer was directed by his father to purchase some in the neighborhood and pack them in a tin box. While engaged packing the matches his father, who had just been reading from the paper the time advertised for the sailing of different vessels for the South, suddenly said: "My boy, call your mother quickly," and getting up from the chair unassisted, he laid down on the bed. Mrs. Emmet was in the adjoining room, and on reaching his side we heard him say: "I am never to see little Jane again."

He died, without a struggle, just at noon, the bells on the Blackwell's Island prison beginning to ring just as we reached his bedside.

His remains were placed in his brother's vault in the Marble Cemetery, Second Street, New York.

In the chapel of the University of Virginia there has been placed a brass mural monumental tablet by the children of Dr. and Mrs. Emmet, in memory of their father and mother.

At the first meeting of the Faculty of the University of Virginia, after the summer vacation, the following action was taken, as published in the newspapers of the day:

DR. EMMET.

At a full meeting of the Faculty of the University of Virginia, convened for the purpose of recording a tribute to the memory of Dr. John P. Emmet, late Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica in this Institution, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

We are again called upon to perform the sad duty of mingling our heartfelt sorrow over the grave of a beloved friend and colleague. Since the close of the last session death has bereaved us of another cherished companion—the inventive and learned, the ingenuous and high-souled John Patten Emmet, one of the earliest supports, and one of the brightest ornaments of this University.

As a cultivator of Physical Science, his talents for original investigation won for him a high place among the scientific of our land. As a professor his earnestness and vivacity, his learning and eloquence, his modesty and high-toned independence, his mingled firmness and urbanity secured to him the respect and cordial affection of his pupils, his colleagues and all the authorities of the University, and his valuable services in this capacity, from the foundation of the institution until his death, will form an important chapter in its history.

As a citizen and friend, a son, a brother, husband and father, he adorned his station by every social and domestic virtue, and long will the memory of his genius and excellence of heart be cherished by his colleagues, his former pupils and the wide circle of relatives and friends who now lament his loss.

As an earnest though feeble token of the respect and affection with which we regard the memory of our beloved colleague, and as a sincere offering of our heartfelt sympathy in the affliction of his bereaved wife and family:—

Resolved, That along with a Copy of these Proceedings we tender to Mrs. Emmet our most affectionate condolence and fraternal sympathy,—well knowing that, in the midst of her deep affliction, these mementoes of the warm attachment of those who knew and loved our lamented friend so well, will not prove an unacceptable offering to her feelings.

Resolved, That the above proceedings be published in the Charlottesville, Richmond, and Washington papers.

WM. WERTENBAKER,
Secretary of the Faculty.

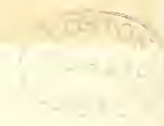
H. ST. GEO. TUCKER,
Chairman of the Faculty.

The earliest recollection of the writer in connection with his father is the fact that he was a very agreeable companion. Dr. Emmet was a great favorite with his children, who looked forward each day to the pleasure of spending an hour with him before tea was announced and their bedtime had arrived. He possessed an endless fund of stories and songs, and seemed to be able to perform equally well on all musical instruments. He was always bright, full of fun, and ever ready for a practical joke.

So jolly was he that, on recalling the past, it seems impossible now to realize that he could then have been in bad health and constant suffering. In after life the writer has been able to appreciate fully, from the remnant of his father's library, which was preserved, and from his father's papers, that he must have been a man of remarkable attainments. He retained a full knowledge of Greek and Latin throughout his life. There has been preserved a thick octavo volume, closely written in Latin, which Dr. Emmet wrote for his course of lectures on the natural history of this country according to Buffon's system. He spoke French and Italian, and had some knowledge of German; he was a good mathematician, and possessed a profound knowledge of the sciences. Very few men of his day were better read on all subjects, or more familiar than he with English literature. He was a remarkably good draughtsman, proficient as a painter in oils, and chiseled several family busts in marble which were most striking likenesses. Mr. Tucker states: "He now and then exercised his pencil, too, but it was chiefly on grotesque subjects. At the meetings of the Faculty he instinctively, if a pen was within his reach, began to make sketches of a comic or burlesque character, and some of the Faculty books still retain vestiges of this propensity. These hasty and careless draughts always showed a practiced hand and bore the stamp of genius. His house was decorated with more finished productions of his pencil, which bear evidence that had he devoted himself to this beautiful art, he had risen to eminence."



DRAWING BY DR. J. P. EMMET.



The writer has had reproduced a specimen of his father's free-hand pen-drawing. This he rescued from loss when a boy, having witnessed its execution on a sheet of paper which by chance lay before his father. It was drawn with great rapidity and while he was deeply interested in a discussion with a friend on some subject which seemed then to occupy his attention more than the drawing. He drew first the figure and afterwards the full face. When he had completed what he had to say on the subject of the discussion he threw down the pen on the inkstand, remarking, as if to himself, "The full face gives the expression of the profile," and at the same time he pushed the paper away from him as if, having accomplished what he had attempted, it interested him no more. The writer has also an oil portrait of Washington, painted by his father from the Stuart portrait, and while there can be no comparison made with the finished work of Stuart, the copy has been idealized into being, in all probability a better likeness of Washington than the original.

For his day he was a good musician; he composed music readily, had a good voice and left a number of songs in which both music and verse were original. Withal, he was a most ingenious man and seemed never at a loss for mechanical device, handling with great dexterity the tools of any trade and reproducing with them anything he wished.

Mr. Tucker states: "His was, I incline to think, the most inventive mind I ever met with, and its rare powers of making new combinations were manifestly not more in forming hypotheses than in devising experiments to test the soundness of his theoretical views and in contriving the mechanical apparatus required for that purpose. He was a very pleasing lecturer. His style of speaking, as in writing, was always clear, had the grace of simplicity and ease and was occasionally very felicitous. His mind, naturally excursive, took a wide range and often surprised and delighted his class by the beauty and novelty of his illustrations. Nor did he disdain to embellish and diversify the gravest subject of speculation with flashes of wit or even some original and ingenious pun; but in the play of his fancy he exhibited the temperance of modesty as well as of good taste. He was eminently a being of impulse, but his impulses were those of a warm, generous, unsophisticated nature.

"His virtues, his peculiarities, all his modes of thinking and acting, in short, were strongly marked by this feature of his character. Sudden and lively feeling prompted his likings or dislikes, made him enamoured of a theory grateful for kindness or resentful of supposed injury or indignity done or meditated. To the same cause may be ascribed his remarkable openness and sincerity from every species of artifice or affectation. One of the

most striking as well as pleasing traits of his character was his modesty, which in man or woman is a crowning moral grace ; and like the veil of a lady, but the more sets off the beauty it would seem to obscure. He spoke little of himself and never with pretension. He was backward in doing himself justice."

His individuality and great worth were indelibly impressed upon the memory of his son. Years after the death of his father, and when publishing a medical book in which was embodied the work of a lifetime, the author's gratification was intense when dedicating it to his father's memory. The dedication was written with the feeling that his father was present in the spirit, and if possible would have expressed his approbation. The dedication was to the memory of

An honest man,
Esteemed by all who knew him.
To his example and early training I owe my success in life ;
In youth I aimed to merit his approbation, in manhood I have striven to
be worthy of his good name.

Mrs. Emmet, shortly after her husband's death, came to New York and remained with his relatives until her son had graduated in medicine and had established himself there. Her son married, in 1853, Miss Catherine R. Duncan, of Alabama,* and after this time, with more leisure, she devoted her energies to the cultivation of her taste for rare exotics, an opportunity which in her busy life had never before presented itself.

Thus, in the midst of her children, grandchildren and flowers, Mrs. Emmet's life was uneventfully passed to the end. She died at her son's residence, on Madison Avenue, February 29th, 1860, and her remains were deposited with those of her husband in the Marble Cemetery vault, Second Street, New York.

* It became necessary to reprint this signature, after the work had been finished, so the writer was able to give this note relating to the Duncan family, of Alabama, which was supposed to have come from Ardounie, Scotland, in consequence of the similarity of the arms. The writer recently came into possession of a book published in London, 1875, with the title, "Real pictures of clerical life in Ireland," by the Rev. J. Duncan Craig, of Dublin, a distant relative of Mrs. Emmet, and in this work we find a clue to the early history of her father's family. Mr. Craig states : "In the same parish of Strathblane for some centuries lived the ancient family of the Duncans of Drummiskirk, who held their lands, prospered and were intermarried with the Lyles, Grahams, Craigs and, finally, by the marriage of my grandfather with his cousin, Miss Duncan,—when two of her brothers settled in Dublin at the close of the eighteenth century, the occasion arose of my father's leaving Scotland." "My grandfather Duncan, at the time of '98, commanded as colonel the Linen Hall Corps of Volunteers ; and my granduncle Duncan served as private in the same corps." "My father leaving Dalsholme, came to Ireland to his uncle, John Duncan, who lived in Granby Row about the year 1804. The Duncans have passed away. Some [one] went to the United States and became Southern planters, &c."

As Colonel of the Linen Hall Corps of Volunteers, Dublin, Mr. Duncan must have been an Orangeman, with no interest or sympathy in common with nine-tenths of the Irish people at that time.



CATHARINE R. DUNCAN EMMET.



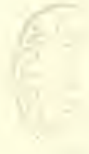
THOS. ADDIS EMMET M. D.



THOS. ADDIS EMMET, M. D.



CATHARINE R. DUNCAN EMMET.



JOHN PATTEN EMMET, M.D., AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

John Patten Emmet, the second son and the fourth child of Thos. Addis Emmet, was born in Dublin, Ireland, April 8th, 1796, and died August 15th, 1842.

He married, July 24th, 1827, Miss Mary Byrd Farley Tucker, who was born in Bermuda, August 2d, 1804, and died February 29th, 1860.

Dr. and Mrs. Emmet had the following children :

I. Thos. Addis Emmet, M.D., LL.D., born at the University of Virginia, May 29th, 1828. He was partially educated at the University of Virginia; began the study of medicine, in the autumn of 1845, at the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and graduated in 1850. Began the practice of medicine in the City of New York, in the autumn of 1850, as Resident Physician for fifteen months in the Emigrants' Refuge Hospital, Ward's Island; then he was appointed, in 1852, a Visiting Physician, and served in this position until the autumn of 1855, when he became Assistant Surgeon to the Woman's Hospital Association. In 1861 he was appointed Surgeon-in-Chief to the Woman's Hospital in the State of New York, and served in this capacity until 1871, when, under a change of the organization, he accepted the position as one of the Surgeons of the Surgical Board, and has continued to hold this position. He has served as Consulting Surgeon or as Consulting Physician to the Roosevelt Hospital, St. Vincent's Hospital and other institutions in the City of New York.

In 1868 was published by him an original surgical work on Vesico Vaginal Fistula, which was the foundation for this form of plastic surgery. The Principles and Practice of Gynæcology, written by Dr. Emmet, was issued in 1879; three editions of this work were printed in this country and in London, and it was translated and published in Germany and in France. Dr. Emmet has written sixty or more monographs on different professional subjects, all of which were printed in the medical journals of the day at home or abroad. He has also written various essays bearing upon subjects connected with American history—as the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, the Annapolis Convention, the Presidents

of Congress and of the United States, etc.—of which but a single copy was printed, for the purpose of being illustrated with autographs and portraits. These works form now part of the “Emmet Collection” in the Lenox Library of the City of New York. He has also completed recently a work, which has occupied his attention for several years, on the political and commercial history of Ireland during the past three centuries—to show that it has been a settled policy on the part of the British Government that Ireland should not prosper. The title of the work is “The Indictment of 1898; or, Why Ireland has not Prospered under English Rule,” with the legend “God Save Ireland.” This book has not yet been published.*

Dr. Thos. Addis Emmet married, February 14th, 1853, Catherine Rebecca, daughter of John Duncan and Catherine Moffitt Creyon, of Autauga County, Ala., and had the following children:

- I. John Duncan Emmet, born April 26th, 1857. Physician. Was educated at the University of Virginia; afterwards studied medicine and graduated there in 1880, and subsequently received the same degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York. He then served the full term as one of the Resident House Staff of the Roosevelt Hospital, and afterwards, during 1884 and 1885, in the same capacity for eighteen months in the Woman's Hospital. To this institution he became an Assistant Surgeon in the autumn of 1886, and has continued on duty to the present time. Dr. Emmet was a founder and proprietor, as well as editor, of the New York Journal of Gynæcology and Obstetrics, later the American Gynæcological and Obstetrical Journal. After service as Surgeon to the Sixty-ninth Regiment, N. G. S. N. Y., early in 1898 he became Surgeon to the Fifth Brigade, on the Staff of Gen. George Moore Smith, awaiting orders to be called into active service as portion of the New York Volunteers.

* When the sentiment, supposed to exist to some extent in this country, in favor of “British Alliance” has been dispelled, and in more peaceful times, when a truthful version of Irish history will be acceptable, this work may be published. At present the author has the satisfaction of feeling that he has probably done justice to his subject, as a number of publishers, from alleged motives of policy, refused to publish the work even at the author's expense. Yet it is believed the time is not distant when the people of this country, who are to so great a degree of Irish blood, will realize the truth that the government of Cuba by Spain for the past three hundred years was merciful and just in comparison with England's management of Irish affairs during the same period. If the sympathies of the American people are sincere for the past suffering of the Cubans, in maintaining the present war with Spain, we will never be deluded into forming a “British Alliance” until Ireland's wrongs have been redressed. The purpose for writing the work will have then been accomplished through other means, and there will be no need for publishing it.



MRS. JANE EMMET GRISWOLD.



MRS. ROBERT EMMET AND HER SON
ROBERT EMMET, JR.

2. Annie, born March 12th, 1859. Married, February 8th, 1888, Charles N. Harris, lawyer. Died March 13th, 1898. Had issue:
 - a. Margaret, born December 2d, 1888.
 - b. Addis Emmet, born February 9th, 1890.
3. Mary Tucker, born July 31st, 1860; died in New York, October 16th, 1877.
4. Thos. Addis Emmet, born April 18th, 1863. A member of Squadron A, N. G. S. N. Y. He was mustered into active service of the United States July, 1898, as a trooper of the New York Volunteers, and was ordered to Porto Rico.
5. Kathleen Erin, born October 6th, 1864.
6. Robert Griswold (dropped the name Griswold in 1891), born October 23d, 1871. Was educated at Harvard and graduated in 1892. Began the study of medicine and graduated in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, New York, 1896. In May, 1898, as Sergeant of Squadron A, N. G. S. N. Y., he was mustered into active service of the United States as a trooper of New York Volunteers, and was ordered to Porto Rico.* Married, November 25th, 1896, Louise, daughter of James A. and Anna Louise Tuller Garland, of New York, and had issue:
 - a. Robert Emmet, born September 28th, 1897.

II. John Tucker Emmet, born April 9th, 1829; died at the University of Virginia, September 24th, 1837.

III. Jane, born at the University of Virginia, April 29th, 1832. Married, March 29th, 1860, John Noble Alsop Griswold, of New York, and had issue:

1. Minnie, born July 20th, 1861. Married John Murray Forbes, of New York, and had issue.
2. Richard Alsop. Died young.
3. John Noble Griswold, born October 9th, 1865; died July 22d, 1895.
4. Florence, born October 20th, 1867. Married Horatio R. O. Cross, Surgeon British Army, and had issue.
5. Addis McEvers, born November 29th, 1870. Changed his name to George Griswold, 1890.

* Since the preceding portion of the book was printed other members of the family have entered the United States service for the war. Robert Temple Emmet (see page 257), formerly U. S. A., was commissioned Major of the First Provisional Regiment of New York Volunteers in the United States service, and sent to Honolulu and Manila. Wm. Le Roy Emmet (see page 257), formerly U. S. N., has entered the Naval Reserve Corps as a Lieutenant, and is on duty off the coast of Cuba. Grenville Temple Emmet (see page 256) entered the army as a Private, and afterwards became a Lieutenant in the Sixty-ninth Regiment, N. G. S. N. Y.; later became Captain and Adjutant on Gen. Coppinger's Staff.

IN MEMORIAM.

[Written on the death of Miss Mary Tucker Emmet.]

BY AN UNKNOWN AUTHOR.

She has solved it, life's wonderful problem,
 The deepest, the strongest, the last,
 And into the school of the Angels,
 With the answer, forever has passed.

How strange that, in spite of our questioning,
 She maketh no answer, nor tells
 Why so soon were life's honoring laurels
 Dispelled by God's immortelles.

How strange she should sleep so profoundly,
 So young, so unworn by the strife,
 While beside her, brimful of hope's nectar,
 Untouched stood the goblet of life.

Strong men sleep like that when the evening
 Of a long, weary day droppeth down.
 But she wrought so well, that the morning
 Brought for her the rest and the crown.

'Tis idle to talk of the future,
 And the rare "might have been" 'mid our tears.
 God knows all about it, yet took her
 Away from the on-coming years.

God knew all about it, how noble,
 How gentle she was, and how brave,
 How bright was her possible future,
 Yet put her to sleep in the grave.

God knows all about those who love her,
 How bitter the trial must be,
 And right through it all, God is loving,
 And knows so much better than we.



MARY TUCKER EMMET,
Died 1877.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, JR.,

MASTER IN CHANCERY.



THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.
Master in Chancery.

THOS. ADDIS EMMET, JR.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Jr., was born in Dublin, Ireland, May 29th, 1797. He remained with his grandfather and other relations in Ireland until his father had settled in New York. He was educated at Columbia College, and afterwards studied law. Mr. Emmet confined his business almost entirely to office work, and held for many years a position of great trust as Master in Chancery.

He married, March 4th, 1823, Anna Riker Tom, a daughter of John Tom and a stepdaughter of Dr. Wm. J. Macneven, who had married Mrs. Tom.

It was at Mr. and Mrs. Emmet's wedding, the reader will recall, that the accident happened to the supper-table in consequence of Mr. Charles McEvers's attempt to vault over it. It will also be remembered that Miss Tom has been frequently referred to in the family letters as one always ready and to be relied upon for any proposed jollification.

Shortly after his marriage Mr. Emmet purchased a country-place, which he called Mount Vernon, on the Third Avenue, running back towards the river. His gate and lodge was between Sixtieth and Sixty-first Streets and the Third Avenue, and the estate covered ten or twelve city blocks. The streets had not been opened in the neighborhood, and as late as 1845 it was essentially a country place, the Boston Post Road, passing nearer the river, being a dusty country road, and there was nothing to indicate the proximity of the city except the pavement on Third Avenue.

Mr. Emmet's garden and greenhouses were noted, and his vegetables and fruit often bore off the prize when exhibited. This place was a paradise for young people, where they were allowed the fullest liberty to enjoy themselves to the utmost. Every member of the then younger generation will recall their visits to this place with the most pleasant recollections.

It would not be possible to find a more genial, kindly and charitable couple than Mr. and Mrs. Emmet. The term charitable could be applied to him in every sense, as it was difficult for him even to suspect a bad motive, and he frequently suffered for his faith in others. For years Mrs. Emmet seemed to have under her special protection all the poor of

the neighborhood, and not only had she to relieve their immediate wants, but she was consulted in reference to the ailments of the pig, the chickens and the children. It often devolved upon her to settle their petty disputes and to see that the husband or brother took the pledge. Her audiences, held every morning after breakfast in the basement of her house, were not unlike those of a prime minister, from the variety of subjects which were presented for consideration.

Mrs. Emmet inherited from her father a very delicate constitution, and in early life she was not strong, but on reaching womanhood she developed her strength and eventually lived to an old age. Her children were brought up in the country and were seemingly robust, but after attaining their growth they all in turn died at comparatively an early age.

Late in life Mr. Emmet became embarrassed on account of the frequent assistance he had rendered supposed friends and from placing too much reliance on their promises. With the loss of his children and other misfortunes which pressed upon him, a life which was so bright and hopeful in early manhood, became greatly overcast, and it may well be stated that he sank under the burden on August 12th, 1863.

Mrs. Emmet survived her husband some years, and died June 2d, 1886, in the eighty-first year of her age.

The children of Thos. Addis Emmet and Anna Riker, his wife, were:

I. John Tom Emmet, born May 13th, 1824; died unmarried May —, 1863.

II. Anne Riker, born August 27th, 1826; died unmarried 1859.

III. Thos. Addis Emmet, born November 1st, 1828; died unmarried November —, 1858.

IV. Macneven Emmet, born March 15th, 1831; died unmarried September —, 1862.

V. James Joseph Emmet, born June —, 1832; died unmarried May —, 1860.

VI. Robert Emmet, born June —, 1835; died unmarried November —, 1856.

VII. Temple Emmet, born April —, 1837; died unmarried August —, 1862. Captain Temple Emmet was an officer of the Irish Brigade, under

the command of General Thos. Francis Meagher, in the civil war. He was in all the early battles and escaped without being wounded, but finally died from exposure in the army. His record was excellent.

VIII. Rosa, born June —, 1839; died unmarried July —, 1853.

IX. Richard Riker Emmet, born September —, 1842; died unmarried February —, 1863. Lieutenant Richard R. Emmet was in the several charges made by the Irish Brigade on the Heights of Fredericksburg, Va., December 13th, 1862. In consequence of the exposure and exertion he contracted a fever which terminated fatally shortly after.

X. Dudley Selden Emmet, born 1844; died unmarried 1866.

CHRISTOPHER TEMPLE EMMET, U.S.N.



PAST MIDSHIPMAN
CHRISTOPHER TEMPLE EMMET, U. S. N.
Died 1822.

CHRISTOPHER TEMPLE EMMET, U.S.N.

Christopher Temple, the sixth child of Thos. A. Emmet, was born in Dublin, Ireland, October 16th, 1798. Nothing is now known of his early history beyond the fact that he entered the United States Navy a very young boy, according to the custom at that time, when the cadets were educated on shipboard, with stated hours for study, as at school. And it was apparently the custom for the midshipmen to remain with some superior officer and to be transferred with him from one ship to another, or else a commanding officer had the right to name those he wished attached to his command. Midshipman Emmet was for years with Capt. Stephen Decatur. He was on board of the frigate *United States*, under Decatur, when the British frigate *Macedonian* was taken, October 25th, 1812; he fought with him on the *President* when captured by a British squadron off the Long Island coast in January, 1815. But for the knowledge that he was continuously attached to Decatur's command nothing would be known of his service. After Decatur was appointed a Navy Commissioner, about 1817, Midshipman Emmet was with Commodore Bainbridge and on board of the United States ship *Columbus*. We have given a letter from his father to Mr. John Patten, written from New York, July 29th, 1820, in which he writes: "Temple is on the ocean in the U. S. Ship *Columbus* and at present in the Mediterranean. From his roving life you may one day see him, and unless he should materially change, I am sure you will like him." This is the only reference which has been found in the family letters giving any idea of Temple Emmet's disposition, and all the older members of the family have passed away who knew him personally. But the following letter from Commodore Decatur indicates clearly his standing, as no man in the service knew him better:

WASHINGTON, April 6, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

Some time in January last I received a letter from you respecting your son Christopher. I have endeavoured to have his name placed on the list for promotion this season, but without success. It could only have been done by enlarging the list, so as to take in the year in which he was warranted, but this the Gov't thought would give a greater number than they could have confirmed in one year.

Of this, however, you may rest assured, that no midshipman of more recent date of warrant will receive promotion before him, if my influence will avail.

We have fought together on the losing as well as on the winning side. I have seen him in each situation acting gallantly. Under these circumstances were I to forget the claims upon me of a companion in arms I would be ungrateful and cold blooded, neither of which I hope will ever be fairly attributed to my character.

Yours truly,
STEPHEN DECATUR.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esqr.

All that is known of Lieut. Emmet's death is that it occurred from yellow fever, in the autumn of 1822, on board of the Macedonian, United States ship of war, while at sea. Lieut. Emmet died unmarried.

JANE ERIN EMMET McEVERS.



MRS. JANE EMMET MCEVERS.

JANE ERIN EMMET McEVERS.

Jane Erin, the seventh child, was born April 18th, 1802, at Fort George, Scotland, a few months before her father's release from prison. We have no record of her childhood, but she grew up a very handsome, witty and accomplished young woman. Her sense of humor was very marked and more distinctly Irish in character than was possessed by any other female member of the family. She was quite as good a musician as either of her older sisters; she drew from nature remarkably well and was a good caricaturist.

As a young girl she corresponded with her brother John, and it is only through his answers, which are about the earliest of the family letters, that we get any insight into her life at that time. Several letters written at a later period by her to her sister, Mrs. Le Roy, have been already presented.

The following description is taken from a letter written by Miss Margaret Emmet to her sister, Mrs. Le Roy, as it gives an account of her sister's marriage with Mr. Bache McEvers :

NEW YORK, Oct. 16th, 1825.

When I last wrote I told you I would not favor you until after the wedding was fairly over and as yesterday was the important day I can sit down quietly and tell you how matters went off. They were married at half past nine in the morning in Grace Church and Jane, although in no small tremor, behaved with more firmness than I expected. She looked uncommonly handsome and was dressed as becoming a bride, with a white hat and orange flowers and worked paraphernalia of all kinds and a beautiful camel's hair shawl sent to her the night before by Bache. By way of disposing of a long day we set off in the family coach to Flushing and Robert and Tom, with their establishments rubbed up for the occasion joined in the cavalcade and we spent the day there and returned home to supper. We had no one at supper but our own family as it was not meant to be a formal one and no one was asked but the girls from the McEvers. This week is to be passed in seclusion and Monday and Tuesday week she will see her friends. The week following is to be our trial, for we intend sending out invitations for a ball, that we may forestall our friends' civilities. I told you in my last letter Jane sees company in the morning at Anna's, and her attendants are to be, as I said, Harriet Lawrence and Anne Wilkes, if not engaged with Anne Macmaster who is to be married tomorrow, with Eliza and Mary Ann. I will write you word how all matters go off when we have gotten through the "Mazes of the Dance."

Shortly after their marriage Mr. McEvers leased a country-place called Monte Alto, situated just south of Manhattanville, on the banks of the

Hudson. It now forms a part of the Riverside Park, and the site of General Grant's tomb is but a few yards from where the house used to stand. This place has been referred to already in a footnote on page 302.

Mr. McEvers was a man full of life, and was ever ready for a practical joke; he was very dexterous in performing all tricks, and was never so well pleased as when he obtained a new one. He delighted to have young people of all ages about him, and he made himself most attractive to them. While he astonished the younger child, he was very certain of gaining its friendship by giving it the sixpence which he was supposed to have drawn out of its ear, eye or nose. He and his wife kept their house filled with young people, and they were both so remarkably bright and genial that a visit to the house was always remembered with pleasure.

The recollection of this charming couple has remained bright in the memory of all who knew them.

After several years of impaired health, Mr. Bache McEvers was induced to go abroad with his wife a second time, with the hope of regaining his strength. They were accompanied by Miss Theresa Meert, a niece and adopted daughter of Mr. Edward B. Graves, who married Miss Mary Anne Emmet, and also by Mr. Herman Le Roy, a nephew of Mrs. McEvers and a son of her sister Elizabeth, who married Mr. Wm. H. Le Roy.

While yet at sea, on the passage out to Europe, Mrs. McEvers writes the following letter to her eldest daughter, Mrs. Whitlock. Her keen sense of the ludicrous and her great power of observation are shown very characteristically in this letter; her good common sense is apparent from the advice she gives her daughter how "to hold fast a husband."

AT SEA, June 6, 1851.

MY DEAR JEANNETTE:

The first superabundance of my sorrowful feelings I worked off upon Mary yesterday; and today feeling very well, and a little gayer, tho' still rather lachrymose, I have sat down to devote a little time to you.

You must not be startled at the handwriting, which necessarily shares the shakiness of everything else on board, and, as you know, the accommodations for writing are not so good as to counteract the motion.

I must thank you first for your foot muff, which I find a most inestimable gift; with it, and my Scotch boots, I can keep my feet quite warm, which is accomplishing a great deal for the weather is colder than cold. I am sinking under the weight of clothes, I never in my life wore so many, including the flannels which Sally Richards made for me, and yet the wind whistles thro' them as if I was wrapped in tissue paper. However, the Captain promises that in a few days it will be milder again. I have got my old place near Capt. Byrie, with Lady Bulwer on one side and Mrs. Ousely on the other. I find my seat between nobility and diplomacy; dignified but dull, and many a joke falls stillborn to the ground from the recollection that "my bear must only dance to the gentlest of tunes." However, nobility is already at a discount. Sea sickness, like death, levels all distinctions; and Cæsar begins to cry "give me some drink like a sick child." So I may hope

soon to have the field to myself and be plebeian and merry. Mr. Ousely, who is seated next to your father and opposite to me, seems to be a very gentlemanly person, rejoicing in a pair of very *dirty hands*, but as I know it is very hard to be long in political life, and keep clean hands, I am willing to make all allowances and I dare say in a few days I may find him very agreeable. It is impossible to say how much I miss you. At every turn I find myself looking for you. There is so much here to remind me of our voyage together, that every instant I feel as if you should be at my side. And tho' Theresa is everything that it is possible for any one to be, and as attentive as you would be, still I find that no one can replace a child to a mother—indeed unless the yearning after home and its inmates soon wears off, I fear not even the beauties of the exhibition, about which everybody is speaking, will be sufficient to cure my home sickness. However, I will hope for the best and when we get steady on land, I dare say all will go right, but at present it pitches enough to bring all ones disagreeable thoughts uppermost, no matter how hard one tries to keep them down, but I am unfortunate that it is only thoughts and not breakfast, which is the case with almost every one else.

Sunday morning,—9th inst. Impossible to write.

Saturday 14th inst. The first thing on reading this over again, which has struck me, is my great ingratitude to Theresa, in appearing to undervalue her agreeable qualities. She is indeed a treasure to me. She rubs away the neuralgia, and laughs away the low spirits; and her unflinching cheerfulness and good temper convey a salutary reproof to any one disposed to yield to the sea vices of selfishness or ill humour. I grieve to say that her noble spirit was obliged to succumb to the *ground swell* off the Banks of New Foundland, but she soon rallied manfully, and has been well ever since. Our passage has been a dull one. There are not apparently many agreeable people on board and those have rather kept aloof. When I remember how every one flocked around us on our other passages, I cannot but think I owe much to *your bright face* which seemed to be a passport to universal good will. Mrs. Ousely, my next neighbor, is a handsome intelligent woman, on whom, however, sea sickness produces rather a cross graining effect; but as she eats a very hearty dinner she settles down before evening into a sufficient state of placidity to take a hand at a game of whist, for nothing, with your Father, her husband and myself. You may see that our pastimes are not of the most brilliant or exhilarating nature. Your father has been perfectly well, except one day when he honestly turned into his berth and was as sick as his best friend could wish, and is in good spirits making a very good traveler. I am certain his mind is greatly relieved by having Herman with us, who I am sure will add as much pleasure to our trip as he can receive from it. By the bye, Herman is decidedly the *handsome man* of the ship and has attracted the eyes of two rather flirtingly disposed ladies, who but for the eyes of their husbands would tell him so more plainly.

I am surprised to see that I have gone on so long without mentioning the dear, dear baby, do not, however think he is forgotten. His picture is always by me and "in the visions of the night" his beautiful face brightens many a dream. I did not know, 'till I lost sight of him, how dear, in spite of myself, he has become to me. May the prayers offered for child and mother in a distant land, guard both from every evil. My thoughts are already overstepping all the pleasures of the intermediate time, turning to the happiness of next winter, when I shall sit with "my bairn's bairn" around my table and tell my adventures of flood and field and be assured nothing I may meet 'till that time will equal the pleasure of such moments.

Your summer I think will be a very happy one, and you cannot imagine what a comfort it is to me to know you are in very good hands. Try, my dearest child, to deserve the love which seems so freely offered to you—it is a pleasant duty, and one which is well worth your efforts to fulfil. Your "lines have fallen in pleasant places," be thankful for it and do not receive thoughtlessly the many blessings by which you are surrounded. You know my creed; there are few things more acceptable to God than a cheerful appreciation of the blessings He sends us, but gratitude must go with cheerfulness; and I think you will need little more, as your rule of life, than you will find in the *rightly understanding* of these two words—"be thankful." Among the minor things not to be thanklessly received, I will not call it a blessing tho' perhaps it might some day prove such to you, is your voice for singing. You do not know, now that you are young, well and happy, what

a resource it may be to you, or those you love, in times of illness or despondency. Nothing is made in vain, and that, with other advantages, was given to you *not to be neglected*. Let your practising then employ a portion of almost every day. Think that every hour given to your piano is given to me, and remember how many I have devoted to you and it. You will not grudge me at least one a day. Do not think me frivolous, nor let your husband do so of whose severe judgement I am somewhat afraid.

I have a deeper motive than mere vanity in urging you to cultivate your powers of pleasing. I did not educate you *to catch*, but to *hold fast* a husband, and as you pass through life you will find that it was well to set out armed with many little contrivances to soothe away the asperities and roughness of the road. Your husband may thank me for my advice before he has passed his life with you. As a last argument, remember I am growing old; do not deprive me of what has been my greatest pleasure and what I looked on as one of the innocent amusements of my old age. You owe me as much as this. All that I have said of music I say even more of drawing, and all what I say of both I would repeat to Mary, but that I have written to her, on other subjects and dare not say more in the *way of lecture* just now. But I can fancy her little cottage piano going more merrily from the thought how I should like to hear it. You must give my love to Sam. I know you will like to have me call him so, better than "your husband," as I have already done. Tell him I have still the bouquet he brought me, in my tumbler. It has given me many pleasant thoughts in reminding me of the kind things he said and the feeling of affection he showed me at our parting. It gratified me more than he was perhaps aware of.

Your father and I have lived so much in our children, and they seem to us so much a part of ourselves, that we feel a right to be loved by those to whom we have given them and I could not relinquish our privilege without great pain. I have just been called on deck to see land.

It is a lovely day and as I stood on deck on the spot where we first saw it together, my heart swelled a little remembering your drawing—"my first look at Ireland" and what high spirits we were in.

But thank God I have reasons still to be in high spirits when I see your Father standing by me so much better than he was at that time, therefore, taking my own lessons in thankfulness home to myself. I mean to profit by them, and as this is the last I shall write at sea, I hope it is the last dull letter you will get.

BANGOR.—You will see, dear Jeannette, from Mary's letter how to get here; and as we have travelled it together, you will enter into my pleasures at seeing all again, with more time to admire. The only drawback is the cold which is almost as bad as at sea, but large fires, in June, keep us comfortable, and we have this time plenty of wrappings.—I have shown your daguerreotype to Mrs. Graves and she is delighted with the baby's beauty. Good bye and God bless you. The carriage is waiting—Your Father sends plenty of love to all.

Your affectionate Mother—

JANE E. McEVERS.

The following letter was received by the author from Mrs. McEvers, then residing in England with Sir Bacie Cunard, her grandson, and it was accompanied with many of the valuable letters which have been given to the reader:

HALLATON HALL,

UPPINGHAM, ENGLAND, March 7th, 1875.

MY DEAR ADDIS:

I have for some time past been "putting my house in order," as all people should do when they reach the age of seventy-two, and part of my clearing out has been burning old letters. As I could not bear to leave them to fall into the hands of those who did not know the writers, nor feel any interest in their contents and to whom the feelings expressed in them might only be subject of ridicule. But when I came to a bundle of your dear father's, the love that still clings about my heart would not let me put them into the fire. It struck me that for you and your children they

might still have value, and when you have read them over I would like you to give Janey a couple of them, for I think she also would be glad to have a memorial of her father. You can choose which you like yourself. Kate will be amused at reading the *early promise* of her husband, tho' I know she will not agree that "his beauty would not last 'till manhood," and for the children it will prove the fact that their father was once a child, which all children find it so hard to believe.

You must not think it is from indifference that I am destroying these mementoes of old times, I assure you in most cases it has been a hard struggle to me. But I am gradually narrowing down my existence to the present and as I have not much future before me, I think it best to have as little of the past, except what I can carry about in my memory.

I send you also some letters from your grandfather's mother and from his father. You have I think some already, but might like the rest. At least I know no one whose antiquarian taste they would be so likely to please as yours. With much love to Kate and all the dear ones about you, whom I never can forget, and with an especial share for yourself, ever

Your affectionate Aunt,

J. E. McEVERS.

Dr. Thos. Addis Emmet,
91 Madison Avenue, New York.

In Mrs. McEvers's letter, written at sea and dated June 6th, 1851, reference is made to the great improvement in Mr. McEvers's health. The voyage was undertaken for his benefit, but the improvement was only a temporary one, and he died in Paris July 15th, 1851.

After her husband's death Mrs. McEvers devoted herself to her children and grandchildren. She was living with her daughter, Lady Cunard, at the time of the death of the latter, and for the remainder of her life she took charge of her grandchildren and filled the place of their mother.

After Sir Edward Cunard's death the family returned to England, and Mrs. McEvers accompanied her grandchildren. She continued to preside over Sir Bache's household until his sisters were all married.

Mrs. McEvers's death took place at Stratton-Audley, England, on June 7th, 1890,* in the eighty-seventh year of her age.

Children and grandchildren of Bache and Jane Erin Emmet McEvers:

I. Jeannette Emmet, born August 12th, 1826. Married Samuel H. Whitlock, February 21st, 1850. Died August 11th, 1884, and had issue:

1. William, born November 28th, 1850. Married, —, 1894, Frances Parker.
2. Bache McEvers, born June 11th, 1852. Married Emily Ogden Simonds, and had issue.

II. Mary Bache, born May 8th, 1828. Married, May 17th, 1847, Edward Cunard, who succeeded to the title of Baronet on the death of his

* In consequence of an error in copying the date, 1887 is given as the year of her death in the Pedigree of the Emmet Family, facing page 249.

father. Lady Mary died May 25th, 1866, and her husband, Sir Edward Cunard, April 6th, 1869. The children of Sir Edward and Lady Cunard:

1. Bache. Died young.
2. Bache, born May 15th, 1851, succeeded to the title. Married Miss Maude Alice Burke, of New York, and had issue.
3. Mary, born November 4th, 1852. Married Col. George Gosling, British Army, and had issue.
4. Edward, born January 2d, 1855; died August 31st, 1877, unmarried.
5. Gordon, born May 22d, 1857. Married Miss Edith Howard, and had issue.
6. Jeannette Emmet, born July 20th, 1859. Married Mr. Edmond Leatham, and had issue.
7. Annie, born June 21st, 1863. Married Hon. Arthur Lawley, and had issue.
8. Caroline Margaret, born May 25th, 1866. Married Mr. Athole Haye, and had issue.

MARY ANNE EMMET GRAVES.



MARY ANN EMMET GRAVES.

MARY ANNE EMMET GRAVES.

Mary Anne, the eighth child, was born in New York, March 24th, 1805.

She grew up a handsome and accomplished young woman. She was rather taller than her sisters and had a good figure; her appearance, it is said, being striking, for her remarkably fine carriage was frequently referred to in the family letters. In one her brother John compares the figure of Miss Tucker, to whom he was engaged, with that of his sister Mary Anne.

She was evidently a success in social life, and probably too much of one, as she married rather late in life.

Few of her early letters have been preserved, but from them some extracts have been already given. The following letter is of interest from a social standpoint, showing what was going on in New York society, and also from its reference to the marriage of Caroline, the sister of Mr. Wm. H. Le Roy, to Daniel Webster:

SUNDAY, December 20th, 1829.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

Though I can't tell the time that a line from you has crossed my sight, yet I promised not to be hard upon you and intend keeping it, though I must say, I think I fairly deserve the next letter that comes this way. Margaret wrote to you the day after the wedding and of course gave you a minute account of everything. The Bride saw company last Friday. Anna says it was an immense crowd. You know it was at Mrs. Jones's, but the rooms are so handsome, they admit better of it than most others. As usual, everything was splendid, not a sit down supper, as that is quite exploded; even at Ned Prime's, where Bache requested a chair, and Ned would not allow it to be brought, excuse the digression. There was a refreshment room the whole evening. Caroline looked extremely well in white satin, with points round the bottom, edged with fringe, and white flowers in her head. In short everything was managed very discreetly. She went about the room entertaining her company, and though nobody could help seeing her, yet she did not sit up in form. Margaret and Jane went there today after church, the room was filled. She had on a changeable silk, pink shot on green and a white satin hat lined with pink, and very wide blond lace around it, upwards of a quarter of a yard deep. They go to Washington on Thursday. I have not been able to see her. I have been confined to the house for a week with a violent cold, but as she intends bringing Mr. Webster up to introduce him to Mamma, I will have an opportunity of seeing them both.

I was perfectly thunderstruck to see William Ogden in the street. I am sure it was he even at a distance, but Jane said it was an Ogden but not him, I soon found that I was right, and could hardly believe it possible, hearing no mention of his intending to come. He staid but one day on his way to Boston, but when he returns he won't slip through so easily. He has so many claimants on his time I had to make him promise that the day after his return, be it when it might, he must spend it with us, otherwise I dare say we would hardly see him. Duncan brought Margaret a letter from Mary, she mentioned the plants you sent her, by which means I guessed

they had reached you, for your letter to Jane did not come for some time after. The butter has also arrived and is pronounced most excellent. Rosina said she meant to write to you about it, but you know her good intentions very often fall through.

Mrs. Harrison is staying with her, she leaves here on Tuesday. She has lost none of the art of pleasing, she used to possess, unless a little too much wish to do it may take from it, but the art of rousing she certainly has lost, whether for effect, through her black veil, or what, I don't know, but yesterday it was frightful and I suppose will go on increasing daily. She and Bull are a real pair of dogs, paradox, as the Frenchman says; I am sure she would not have him, yet if he is the least sick she frets and gets out of spirits about him, I don't know what to make of her.

I nearly forgot our dinner party today, Judge Temple from Vermont and his daughter dined here, and two or three gentlemen. They are on their way to Washington, where Mrs. Webster has promised to matronize her. She is extremely pretty and pleasant. They might have gone out of town without our hearing of it, if they had not been at Mrs. Newbold's house. They were engaged to Charles King this evening and went. Judge Temple said he heard Mr. Le Roy had been in Richmond after he had gone, and regretted so much not seeing him. He attacked old Prime about his daughter-in-law, rather a *mal à propos* question. I don't know how it was answered. No explanation I suppose, as he was speaking of her again, nothing more positive has come out but everybody seems to have it on unquestionable authority. Miss Hutchinson had a very gay wedding, and sees company tomorrow evening. Miss Sutton is a great belle, but all the gentlemen find fault with her manners, absent and inattentive to what is said to her. She seems as if her heart was not in the ball room with her. It is not with Dale. Mrs. Cary and Mrs. Cutting have invitations out for balls. There is no end to gaiety. I suspect there has not been such a winter as this is to be for many years, I will find enough of it at the later end when I begin. We will soon be looking out for Le Roy. I hear he is coming in his own sleigh. Mary Ogden seemed very anxious that you should come also, but that I almost despair of. Mrs. De Luze has a sweet little baby, but I suppose that is old news, as the Ogdens get regular news from New York. I have turned out a second mantle and sent Anna off in the tip of the mode. She has been out a great deal, but I tell her as it is her last winter, she must take it out. Mamma is delighted that Le Roy is pleased with the box, as she attended to that herself.

Yours affectionately,

MARY ANNE EMMET.

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy.

Miss Mary Anne Emmet married, in 1832, Edward Boonen Graves, a distinguished merchant of New York and a most estimable man. She had one child, a son, who was a boy of good promise, but he died young. Shortly after her son's death Mrs. Graves's life became one of bad health and care, as her husband's health, as well as her own, from that time gradually began to fail. She was much interested in some public charities, besides a number of private ones, and she thus endeavored to discharge her duties in life, but she was obliged in time, as her husband's health failed, to give them up. At last he died, and a few months later she followed him, in July, 1866.

For many years Mrs. Graves lived in the country, and in consequence of the loss of her child, her own and her husband's bad health she thus became to a great extent cut off from society. But at one time she had a large circle of acquaintances and many friends who fully appreciated her great worth and her lovely character.

The only letter we have from Mrs. Graves in later life is given in Madden's life of her father. It was written to her aunt, Mrs. Patten, after her return from a visit to Ireland, in 1842. This letter is interesting in connection with those written by Miss Margaret Emmet, which have been already given in the sketch of her life, but particularly so on account of its reference to her brother John's death.

NEW YORK, October 18th, 1842.

To you, my dear Aunt, whose sympathies are so easily awakened, I need make no apology for not having written sooner. You will fully understand the struggle I have had in my heart, between joy and sorrow, since my return, and how unable I felt to make the effort of even writing a letter.

Mr. Graves wrote to Uncle John from Liverpool, to acquaint him with the sad news we received there. For some time back our letters had prepared us to find our dear brother an invalid, but in no immediate danger; and we cherished the hope that we would still be in time to soothe by affection and kindness some of his sufferings. I do not murmur that he was not allowed to linger, indeed all who loved him must rejoice that his spirit passed so quietly away—at peace with the world, and I trust with its God. Still it would have been a melancholy pleasure to have looked upon him once more; but as you said, my dear Aunt, we must all look to that blessed home where there will be no more parting. I almost wished that we had been kept in ignorance of the sad event, 'till our return home, for it seemed trying to be obliged to mix at once in such a crowd when the heart longed for solitude. But though painful at the time it was of service, and enabled us on arriving to partake of the universal joy created by our return, which seemed, with its tide of grateful and happy feelings, to sweep away everything like sorrow before it. Unless you had once looked into our family circle, and seen how free it was from all the little jarring and jealousies that so often disturb that union, I could not describe to you the delight of being once more among them. There was not even one loving face missing, for my dear brother John, from his delicate health, had for years been obliged to separate from us, and resided at the South, and therefore the void was not so perceptible to the eye, though the heart must ever feel it. Mamma had gone through much fatigue, for she had watched as a Mother, and such a Mother, only can watch the sick bed of a dear child.

She has, however, now quite recovered her looks, and is, I think, as well as she has been for years. What delight she took in asking me questions about Clonmel, and all about Mrs. Colville's place, where she used to spend her holidays. I had particularly observed many things that I thought must have been there when she lived there, among others the nut tree in the garden, at Anerville, which the moment I mentioned she exclaimed "How well I remember racing over the whole place to find John, and tell him there were nuts on it." I have not yet allowed her to move in from the country. The weather is delightful, and she rambles for miles through the fields, which is very good for her. Margaret is out of town with her, but I have been obliged to remain with Mr. Graves, who is endeavouring by hard work to struggle against the hard times.

If I was to begin, my dear Aunt, and separately name those kind friends to whom we all wish to be most affectionately remembered, my paper would not hold them; but I trust to you to assure them, one and all, how sensibly we felt their warm hearted hospitality and how happy we would be at any opportunity of returning it. To Uncle John and young John give our kindest love. Mr. Graves has been anxiously looking out for some pamphlets which were to have reached us at Liverpool. He begged me to remind Uncle John about it.

Believe me, my dear Aunt, as ever, your affectionate niece,

MARYANNE GRAVES.

WILLIAM COLVILLE EMMET.



WILLIAM COLVILLE EMMET.

Youngest Son, Born in N. Y.

WILLIAM COLVILLE EMMET.

William Colville, the youngest child of T. A. Emmet, was born in New York, April 25th, 1807. It is not known where he was educated as a boy, but later he was a student at the University of Virginia, during the second session, where his brother was one of the professors. Mr. Emmet, as a young man, was chiefly noted as a good dancer and for his inimitable rendering of Irish songs.

He studied law and was admitted to the Bar, but did not practice, although he took the necessary steps to notify the public that he intended to do so. The writer recollects hearing him give a very ludicrous account of the care and great thought expended on the painting of his professional sign. He described how, when it was placed in the most advantageous position on the doorpost, he stationed himself on the opposite side of the street to witness its effect, and how greatly chagrined he was to observe the general indifference exhibited by the passing public.

He married, January 15th, 1834, Laura M., daughter of Henry A. Coster, of New York. Shortly after he purchased a farm on the North River, near Staatsburg, where he resided many years in elegant leisure, developing his place and entertaining his friends. In 1854 Mr. Emmet sold this estate and went abroad to educate his children. After remaining in Paris about fifteen years he returned to America with his family, living in New York, and later in New Rochelle, until his death, on July 19th, 1875.

Mrs. Emmet survived her husband and died in New York, May 13th, 1886.

Mr. Emmet had the same happy, genial and fun-loving disposition which was possessed to some extent by every other member of the family. He was a good story-teller, and was noted for his Irish songs, preserving his voice to a later period of life than is usual. His sister Margaret, in one of her letters from Ireland, it will be recollected, designated his singing

powers by expressing her regret that he was not with her to sing "Barney Brannigan" when they were seeking a place to sleep, the burden of the song being "Don't say no, charming Judy Callegan."

Two very characteristic letters from the pen of Mr. Emmet have been found among the family papers, written from his country-place to his nieces, Miss Jane and Susan Le Roy.

LOCUST GROVE, Feb. 27, 1847.

The Fire being made up, hearth swept and windows closed in for the night, thoughts of friends absent have been conjured up by the feeling of snugness around. As you, dear Susan, stand prominent on the list of relations and friends, the idea of a pleasant little chat with you has prompted me to take my pen and acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th inst. The snow storm, which I perceive by the newspapers has fallen in New York, did not this time disappoint us and we have been making a regular frolic of it by every day starting after breakfast for a drive to Poughkeepsie or Hyde Park. You would laugh to see your Aunt Laura's costume for sleigh riding, a pair of blue worsted stockings of unlimited length and cloth boots enveloped her understandings and a hat that can stand the attack of snow balls, compose the two extremities of her apparel, while the filling is formed by cloak, muff, shawls &c. &c. She takes great care in getting in or out of the sleigh lest some of the upper crust of Poughkeepsie should see the blue stockings and mistake her for some literary character.

I have been renewing my boyhood pleasure in snow, with Tom today and find I am as great at running *abdominal* down hill as ever I was. You would have laughed heartily to have seen your old Uncle lying on a little sleigh with his son sitting on his back, both tearing down hill as if we were going to the other side of the river, and the respectable wife and mother standing at the window enjoying the fun as much as either of us. I had almost forgotten a very important event which took place here today,—“the enrobing Willie in jackets and trousers.” If ever there was a young gentleman too large for his nether garments Willie was the individual all this day and the reflection of himself and new clothes in the glass afford him a great deal of satisfaction.

I opened a new mode of correspondence with your Uncle Tom yesterday by Telegraph. Laura wanted to witness the working of the apparatus, so we stepped into the office and sent a message to 45 William Street and received an answer in two or three hours. The answer ought to have come back in about twenty minutes or half an hour, but as it was of no great importance I suppose Tom did not hurry himself to send the answer, tho' his delay nearly lost me my dinner. In case of sickness this means of sending intelligence would be of inestimable value, as the officers of the Telegraph, if desired, will send the message by express anywhere within twenty miles, and I could receive word here at my house in an hour from the time it was left at the New York office. This mode of communication with your friends will do very well for an experiment, but it must be on the principle of “brevity is the soul of wit,” as the charge is twenty-five cents for every word, so dear Susan you may stick to pen, ink and paper. Not but your communications would be worth all they would cost, but you might curtail them of a great deal of amusing matter on the plea of expense. I am happy to see the persons in New York so cheerful and liberally responding to the call in behalf of the Irish poor. The Irish blood that is in my veins rushes very joyously through my American heart when I read the contributions published in the papers. I have raised here in the neighborhood of Hyde Park over four hundred dollars, but it comes slowly when you have to collect the drops from five dollars to fifty cent pieces. The idea of starving among a whole people is so novel to the farmers amid their plenty that they cannot believe it and turn a deaf ear to the appeal. One man said “Yes, he had made over fifty dollars by the scarcity” in selling his corn and pulled out a dollar bill. The Irish stand by their countrymen, and I collected from my servants and men thirty-six dollars.

Your Aunt Laura joins me in love to you all and left her good night for you, as she has gone to bed with a headache, which she brought on by setting over a jelly bag trying to make the liquid

run clear when it would keep clear of doing any such thing. Our beautiful sleighing has commenced closing its winter business and has gone into a state of liquidation, and a heartless creditor, in the shape of a warm rain, has put its affairs in such confusion that its most sanguine friend cannot move a step in its behalf without being swamped.

And now, dear Susan, having crossed the Rubicon of my letter writing, and by getting a few lines on the *fold overs*, I will close before you are driven to wish I had gone to bed when my wife retired. I remain your affectionate Uncle, wide awake, or half asleep as at present.

WM. C. EMMET.

Miss Susan Le Roy, New York.

LOCUST GROVE, Sept. 4th, 1847.

DEAR JANE:

To one situated out of the family circle an occasional letter is necessary to prevent his feeling the discomfort of living beyond talking distance and I freely confess that I felt hurt the other day when I was asking how Bache was to find I have been left in total ignorance of his sickness by my own family. However, this opening is but a poor return for your kindness in writing spontaneously, and you must view it as an evidence of my appreciation of your letter, both for its intrinsic value and the rarity of epistles in general. Having now unburdened my heart of its grievances I will turn to a brighter theme and give you some further particulars of your aunt Laura and son. I wrote your mother on the arrival of the young gentleman and promised her a second letter, but will make you the channel of information and transmit the bill of health through you. The lady mother continues very well and in better spirits than I could expect after the disappointment [in not having a daughter]. We are sorely puzzled for a name, tho' little Charlie will insist upon calling him "Johnny Peter," but that will not influence our choice as we neither of us think "Pete Emmet" would sound well. The family by the time you receive this will have returned home and scattered to their respective puddles, to woolens and splash in the Croton Water.* Your Uncle Tom, I perceive by your letter, makes a much longer stay, I suppose until all his young "pollywogs" turn into genuine bull-frogs, but as education is certainly *dirt cheap* up there, I am afraid they will never get beyond "mud pouts."

I do not know whether your studies in Ichthyology carried you into the class of fresh water varmints, but if it did, my names will be familiar to you. Give my best love to Susan and tell her I hope she has returned a perfect water lily and I expect a good long letter from her. I saw Herman on his return from the healing font at Brattleborough, and he looked very well, tho' I had not time to ask him whether he had been under treatment. The topic of conversation among us country folks will not interest you, as you do not trouble your head about the rot in the potatoes, or the bugs among the pumpkins. But I am sure you will sympathise with us in our dread of the Hudson River Railroad running through our place and keeping us in constant fear of being run over if we walk out on our grounds.

One route has been surveyed within thirty or forty feet of my Lodge and runs along by Mrs. Livingston's gate to Mr. Wilkes' place, which is cut up completely and almost spoiled for a residence. Yet we have some hope that this line will not be adopted as there is strong opposition. It would cross the road twice within a mile of me and then cross the lane by my gate, so that I would have three chances of being killed by the locomotive if I should happen to be on the road when the train was passing.

I hope the Edgars boys will sail their new boat up into these waters this fall and pay me a visit, as my chickens are waiting for them and practicing the name of their yacht, they can say the "Corn" very well but are not yet perfect in the pronunciation of the "elia." After the tedious time you all had in returning from here, after your last visit I hardly dare look for the pleasure of seeing you again this season, but if your courage is equal to the undertaking we will endeavour to

* A number of the family had recently become converts to the water-cure system.

bespeak better weather for you. After I had gotten my letter partly written I received an Epistle from Dick announcing the return of the Emmet tribe from Vermont, so that I will finish this with the request that it be committed to the flames after perusal, as I should not like my discourse upon fishes to fall into the hands of any of Tom's family. Your aunt Laura continues improving and sends her best love to all and joins me in the hope of seeing you this fall. With sincere thanks for your letter, I will bid you good night and subscribe myself your affectionate uncle,

WM. C. EMMET.

Miss Le Roy,
Care of Wm. H. Le Roy, Esqr.,
49 William St., New York.

The children of William Colville and Laura M. Emmet :

I. Thos. Addis Emmet, born November 14th, 1834 ; died unmarried July 25th, 1895.

II. Henry Coster Emmet, born September 8th, 1835 ; died August 5th, 1844.

III. Wm. Colville Emmet, born June 13th, 1836. Married, April —, 1863, Emily, daughter of John Hone, Esq.

IV. Laura, born December 31st, 1840 ; died August 4th, 1843.

V. Edward Fitzgerald, born March 10th, 1842.

VI. Bache McEvers Emmet, Physician, born May 23d, 1843. Married, June 1st, 1876, Annie, daughter of Judge Lavinus Munson. Surgeon to the Woman's Hospital of New York.

VII. Charles Emmet, Lawyer, born April 15th, 1844.

VIII. Henry Coster Emmet, Banker, born January 27th, 1846. Married, April —, 1886, Maria Louise, daughter of Watson Case, and had issue :

1. Henry Coster Emmet, born March 29th, 1887.
2. Laura, born April —, 1890.
3. Watson Case Emmet, born 1892.
4. Jeannie, born June —, 1893.
5. Marie Louise.

IX. Walter Emmet, born September 1st, 1847 ; died in China, September 27th, 1872.

X. Herman Le Roy Emmet, born October 20th, 1850. Married, December 2d, 1885, Alice Wellington, daughter of Hezron A. Johnson, and had issue:

1. Herman Le Roy Emmet, born September 26th, 1887; died April 27th, 1889.

XI. Augustus Schermerhorn Emmet, born May 23d, 1860.

ACCOUNT

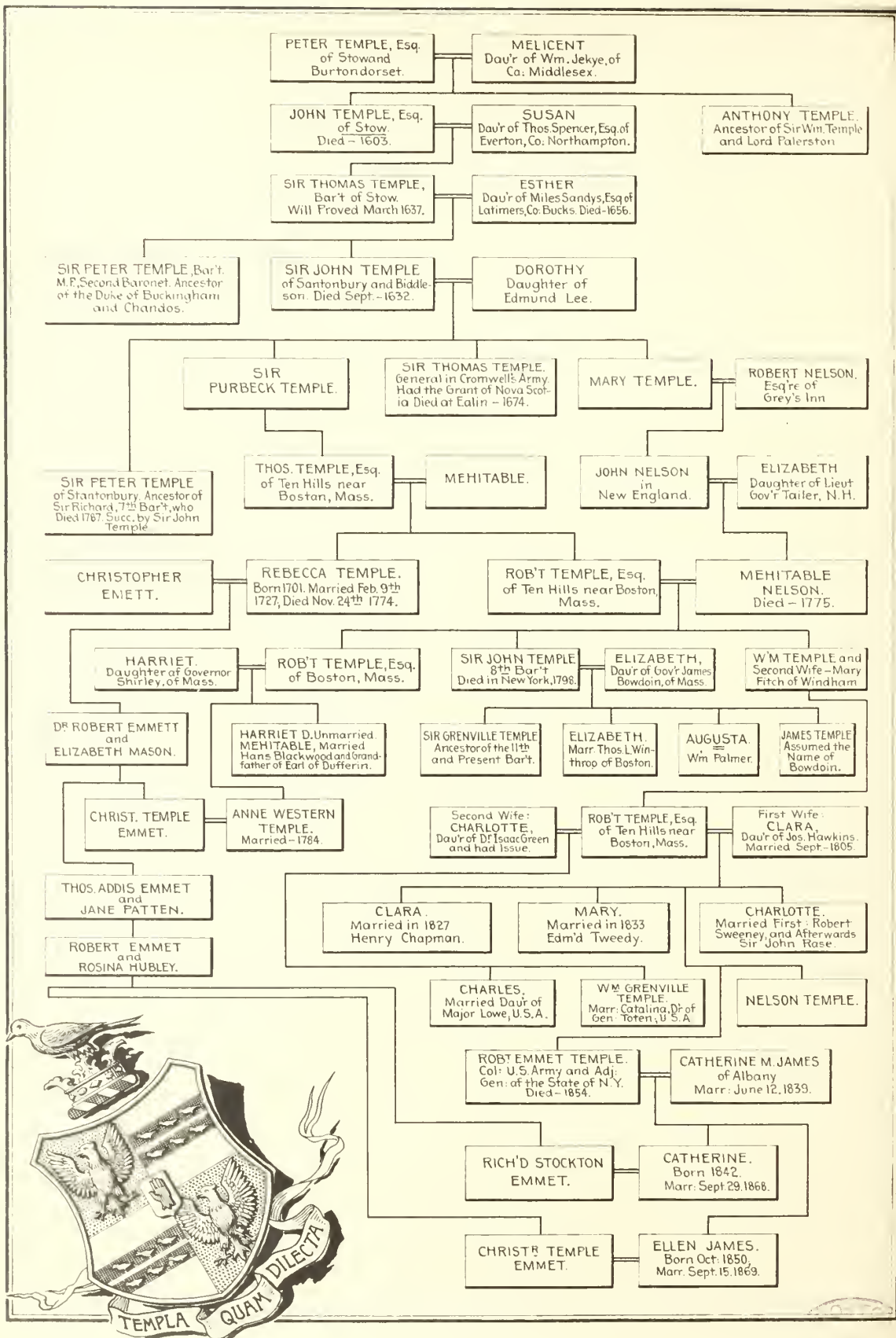
OF THE

TEMPLE, MASON, PATTEN, TUCKER,

AND

DUNCAN FAMILIES.

THE TEMPLE FAMILY.



PEDIGREE OF THE TEMPLES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE EMMET FAMILY.

THE TEMPLE FAMILY.

Soon after the Norman conquest the Temple family became prominent in England. Sir Bernard Burke, in his "Genealogy and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire," states as follows: "This ancient family derives its surname from the Manor of Temple, Leicester, and it deduces its descent from Leofric, Earl of Chester, who lived in the reign of Edward the Confessor. This Leofric married the celebrated Godiva, the heroine of Coventry, who is said to have appeased the wrath of her offended lord, and to have obtained a restitution of privileges for the good citizens of Coventry, by riding unclothed through that city on horseback. This she did in submission to what her husband had hastily sworn, viz.:—that until she so rode, he would not relieve the citizens. Thus goes the narrative, but certain it is that pictures of the Earl and his Countess were set up in the south window of Trinity Church, in that ancient city, about the reign of Richard II., more than three centuries after the occurrence of the supposed event, his lordship holding a charter in his right hand with the words:

"I, Lurick, for love of thee
Do set Coventry toll free."

From this Earl of Chester was lineally descended Peter Temple, who lived in the reign of Edward VI., and who appears at the head of the line in the Temple pedigree given. This Peter Temple was the sixteenth generation since Leofric, whose son Algar was the Earl of the East Saxons, and died in 1059. His eldest son, Edwin, also Earl of the East Saxons, was killed, in 1071, defending his country against the inroads of the Normans. His son, the great-grandson of Leofric, was the Earl of Coventry, and took the name from the Manor of Temple, near Wellsborough, which he owned. He was known as Henry de Temple, and from his day the line is unbroken and fully authenticated.

Sir Wm. Temple and Lord Palmerston were descended from the youngest son of the first Peter Temple. From his grandson sprang the ancestor of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and from him also

came the present Baronet, through Sir John Temple, who has been frequently mentioned in connection with the history of the Emmet family.

Sir Thomas Temple, Sir Purbeck Temple's brother and Rebecca Emmet's granduncle, having purchased the grant of Nova Scotia, received the concession from Cromwell, with whom he was a great favorite. On the restoration of Charles the Second this grant was nullified, and Nova Scotia reverted to the British Crown, although no compensation was given Sir Thomas Temple, or his heirs for his great outlay of money. Sir Thomas Temple was an unmarried man, and on settling in Nova Scotia he took with him his nephew and namesake, Thomas Temple, the father of Rebecca Emmet. On the reversion of the Nova Scotia colony to the Crown, and after the death of this uncle in 1674, Thomas Temple began to have business relations with New England.

From a private company Thomas Temple purchased lands on the Kennebec River, in Maine, in what was afterwards termed the New Hampshire grants, and from a portion of which the present State of New Hampshire was formed.

It is well known that early in the eighteenth century Thomas Temple was occupied for a number of years developing the grant he held in what is now part of the State of Maine. In a letter written in September, 1717, to the Plymouth Proprietors, he mentions his intention to move his servants and effects to Boston. He was introduced in Boston by "his uncle," as he terms him, "Nathaniel White, the merchant of Plymouth," England. This Mr. White was consequently the granduncle of Rebecca Temple Emmet, but from some of the documents which have been preserved it would seem that this Nathaniel White, or his son of the same name, was more closely related to Christopher Emmet than by the ties of marriage. Mr. Thomas Temple brought out from Ireland, where he had lived, about 1720, several hundred families to settle the grant he held in Maine. At a later period his grandson, Sir John Temple, was interested in one of the New Hampshire grants, within the limits of which the present towns of Dublin, Temple, Mason and others were built. It is not known that any connection existed between these grants beyond the fact that both were settled by Irish families who came from about the same section of Ireland. But the settlement commenced in Maine by Thomas Temple was so frequently harassed by the neighboring Indians, and those from Canada, that many abandoned the older settlement for the newer one in New Hampshire.

From the town histories of this section of the country the names of



SIR JOHN AND LADY TEMPLE WITH OLDEST CHILD (GRENVILLE TEMPLE)
AND INFANT (AFTERWARDS MRS. PALMER.)
PAINTED BY J. TRUMBULL.

Patten, Holmes, Temple, Mason, Nelson, and in fact almost every surname but that of Emmet connected with the history of the family, and all from the soldiers of Cromwell's army in Ireland, can be found among the descendants of these early settlers. This circumstance is a strong proof that all who bore the name of Emmet in Ireland were closely related, for there is scarcely a name mentioned in the general history of the family, or connected with any particular branch, which does not appear among the settlers of these grants.

In the central portion of England, about Warwick, and to the north, whence originally the Temples came, there are still to be found families bearing these names. It is therefore likely that many of the settlers in Tipperary, Cork and Kerry were originally from this portion of England. This circumstance probably kept up a clannish feeling among them in Ireland, and was perpetuated among their descendants who emigrated to America. This bond still exists among some of these families to the present day.

This Thomas Temple was the first settler of the name in New England, and some portion of the family continued to reside near Boston until the beginning of the Revolution, when, as Loyalists, they returned, as we have seen, to Ireland. The name of Thos. Temple's wife, the mother of Rebecca Emmet, is now unknown, but it is supposed to have been Elizabeth, notwithstanding there has been some evidence to indicate that it was Mehitable. Further investigation has convinced the writer that a mistake has occurred and that this Mehitable Temple was the first wife of Wm. Temple, of Portsmouth, N. H., the grandfather of Robert Emmet Temple. Mrs. Rebecca Emmet's sister was named Elizabeth, and she is referred to in the will of Christopher Emmet as his sister-in-law. As a portion of the circumstantial evidence the writer may state that he has in his possession a pair of sugar tongs marked E. T., which came to Dr. Robert Emmet from his father's family and which were made at the beginning of the eighteenth century, at the time when Mrs. Thos. Temple was a young married woman. Thos. Temple's son Robert, of Ten Hills, Mass., married Mehitable, the daughter of John Nelson, of the New Hampshire grants, and his grandsons, Robert and John, married into the Shirley and Bowdoin families. Sir John Temple, previous to the Revolution, was Governor, or Acting Governor, of New Hampshire, and held other positions of trust in New England and New York. After the Revolution he returned to the United States and lived in New York, as Consul General for England,* until his death.

* On his mural tablet in St. Paul's Church, New York, it is stated that his was "the first appointment to this country after its independence."

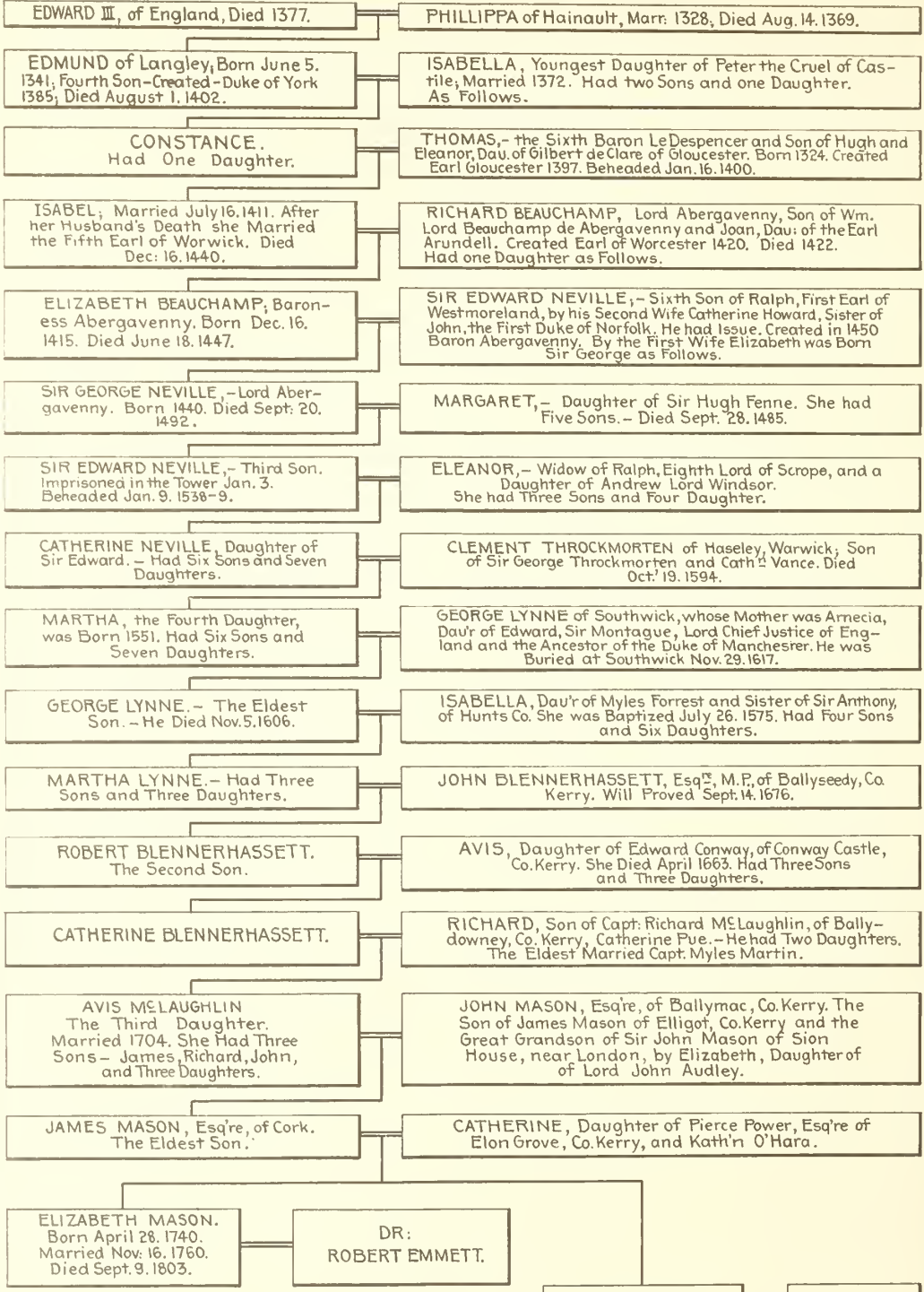
His descendants are still living in England. From the youngest brother, William Temple, are descended the different male and female branches, which have remained in the United States since the Revolution.

The earlier connections between the Emmet and Temple families have already been fully stated, and it therefore only remains to refer to those descended from William. William Temple kept up his connection with New Hampshire, and there he married Miss Mehitable Whipple as his first wife. The two daughters of his grandson, Col. Robert Emmet Temple, U.S.A., married, at a recent period, two sons of Judge Robert Emmet, the great-grandson of Rebecca Temple Emmet. Thus, since 1727, there were four intermarriages between the two families.

Through an oversight, the Temple arms as here rendered are those of the baronetcy, with the addition of the open hand. The hand shows the connection with Nova Scotia and is always present on the arms of the "Nova Scotia Baronets." Without the hand the arms would be those of the Temple family at large. The elder branch holds, it is claimed, the oldest baronetcy in England and had no connection with Nova Scotia.

In the Temple pedigree which has been given, the names of all the members who were not directly connected with the Emmet family have been necessarily omitted.

THE MASON FAMILY.



· A · M · A · B · S · T · R · A · C · T · F · R · O · M · T · H · E · M · A · S · O · N · P · E · D · I · G · R · E · E ·
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 · E · L · I · Z · A · B · E · T · H · M · A · S · O · N · E · M · M · E · T ·

THE MASON FAMILY.

A member of the Mason family settled in Ireland towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He was a son of Sir John Mason, of Sion House, near London.

The first settlement was probably made in Co. Kerry, though their place of residence is not positively known before the marriage of James Mason to Aris McLaughlin in 1704. He was the great-grandson of Sir John Mason, and his estates at that time are shown by the marriage record to have been situated at Elligot, Co. Kerry.

The granddaughter, Elizabeth, of this James Mason married Dr. Robert Emmet, then of Cork. Mrs. Emmet, in her letters to her son, Thos. A. Emmet, when imprisoned in Fort George, frequently refers to her nephew, St. John Mason, as being very eccentric, and it is evident, from the statement made by those who knew him, that as he grew older his peculiarities became more marked.

St. John Mason was an intimate friend of his cousin, Robert Emmet, having been with him both at school and at Trinity College. It is not known that he had any intimate knowledge or connection with the uprising under Robert Emmet, though he was arrested immediately on suspicion by the authorities and confined in prison. He was, however, finally released without having had any charges preferred against him. He never married, and on his death this branch of the Mason family became extinct in the male line.

The abstract of the Mason family pedigree, which has been given as an illustration, was taken from a voluminous document, obtained in Ireland from a relative of the Mason family through a female branch connected several generations before the marriage of Elizabeth to Dr. Emmet.

The writer distinctly recollects when a boy seeing among the old family silver several pieces with a strange crest engraved upon them, which he was told was that of the Mason family. But owing to the subsequent

divisions of this portion of the property, these pieces cannot now be found, and consequently neither the crest nor the arms which this family was entitled to bear can now be identified. The difficulty is increased by the fact that the works on heraldry give three different families of Mason living in Ireland during the past century, with arms and crests bearing no resemblance in common.

THE PATTEN FAMILY.



WILLIAM WAYNFLEET,
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

THE PATTEN FAMILY.

From Richard Patten, of Waynfleet, Co. Lincolnshire, and Margery, the daughter of Sir Wm. Brereton, of Co. Cheshire, England, the Irish branch of this family claimed direct descent. Richard Patten, of Waynfleet, had three sons: the eldest was William Waynfleet, the Catholic Bishop of Winchester; the next was Richard Patten, of Baselow, Derbyshire, where the family was living at the time of James the First, and from him the Irish family sprang; the youngest son was John Patten, Dean of Chichester.

Jane Patten, who married Thomas Addis Emmet in 1791, was the daughter of the Rev. John Patten, a Presbyterian minister, of Clonmel, Ireland, by Margaret Colville, the daughter of Wm. Colville, Esq., and Margaret Thompson.

Mrs. Emmet died in 1846. A few weeks later, while passing along Fulton Street, New York, the writer noticed in a shop window the old folio edition of "Burch's Heads of the People," which was opened at the portrait of William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester. The work was purchased because of the strong resemblance this portrait bore to the writer's grandmother; in fact, when first seen from across the street the likeness was still more striking, for at that distance the bishop's miter closely resembled the cap generally worn by Mrs. Emmet. Prompted by curiosity the writer looked up the Bishop's history and discovered that his family name was Patten, and that he had assumed, on entering upon his religious life, the name of Waynfleet, from the name of his father's estate. After having obtained this information the writer learned for the first time, from both his uncle Robert and his aunt, Mrs. Le Roy, that their mother had claimed her family was descended from Richard Waynfleet, the Bishop's brother, and that both her father and grandfather had been educated in Oxford, and, she believed, in Magdalen College.

The writer visited Oxford some years after to ascertain if any member of the family had been educated in Magdalen College, but unfortunately it was during the vacation and he was unable to verify the statement. But the writer discovered that the arms of the college, which were those

borne by the founder, were the same as those given on a book plate in a volume from his father's library printed in the early part of the eighteenth century.

From the date, the book, and consequently the arms, must have belonged to the Rev. William Patten, of Dublin, the grandfather of Mrs. Emmet.

The only difference in the arms was the addition, in those of William Patten, of a white rose in the right-hand corner of the shield, which doubtless was intended to indicate that some subsequent member of the Irish family had taken part in the War of the Roses.

By the Bishop's will a grant of this College was made to the University, it is said, and the writer has seen it stated somewhere in print, on the following conditions—that a mass should be said daily, praying for the repose of his soul, and that the eldest of his family should be gratuitously educated at the College. If so, the eldest of the family doubtless held the right of free education, but as the authorities soon ignored one condition it would have been quite as easy for them to have laid aside the other.

The Bishop of Winchester died in 1486 and was buried in his cathedral. The features of the marble effigy on his tomb bear even a more marked resemblance to Mrs. Emmet than do those of the engraved portrait. This is certainly a most remarkable circumstance, that so marked a family likeness should crop out after an interval of some four hundred years. Moreover, there seems to have been a clergyman in nearly every generation of the family, and the same family names were preserved.

The descendants of William Colville Emmet, the youngest son of Thos. A. and Jane Patten Emmet, have in their possession a small tortoise-shell box which was apparently intended for a snuffbox. On the top of this is an engraved silver plate, with a bishop's miter and so intricate a monogram that W. W. can be traced as readily as any other combination.

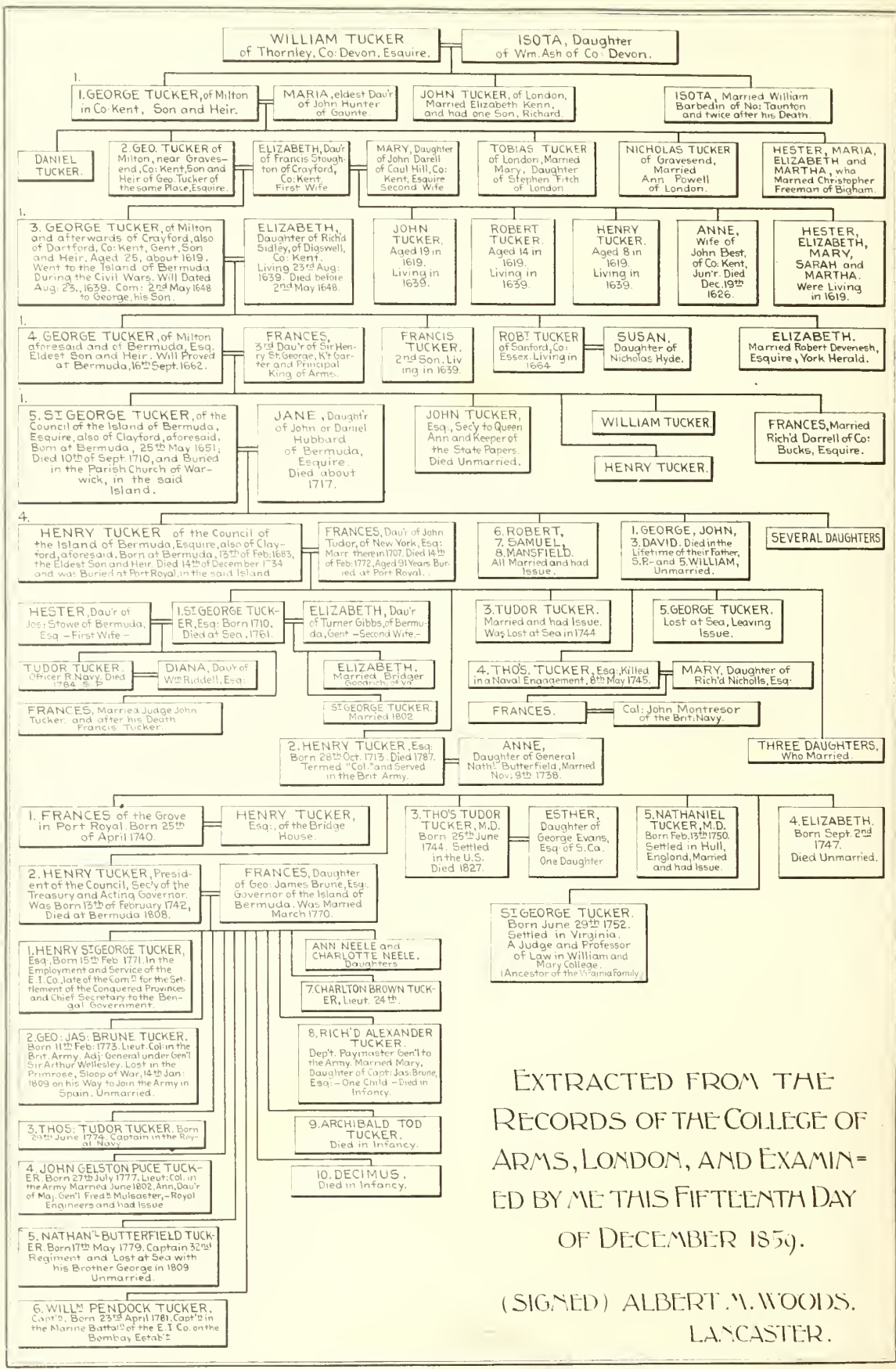
It has been a family tradition, and one doubtless received from Mrs. Emmet, that this box belonged to William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester. This is doubtful, however, as tortoise-shell or horn is exceedingly liable to crack and disintegrate, even in a much shorter period. Moreover, it could never have been used by the Bishop as a snuffbox, for he lived before the introduction of tobacco from America. If it ever had belonged to the Bishop it would probably have been used for conveying the host to the sick. But such a box is always made of some metal, so that it can be kept thoroughly clean, and the greatest care would be taken,

even to its destruction, to guard against its being put to a profane use. The probable explanation is that it was a snuffbox belonging to some connection of the Colville family, which was a very extensive one. In corroboration of this view the author has established the fact that several bishops in Ireland of the Established Church of England were closely connected with the Colville family towards the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

With the exception of her brother John, the other members of the Patten family seemed to have held no further intercourse with Mrs. Emmet after her husband's connection with the Irish movement was brought to light by his arrest. Consequently at the present time all trace of these connections have been lost to the relatives in America, and on the death of Mrs. Emmet's nephew, John Patten, Jr., a young, unmarried man, that branch of the family became extinct.

THE TUCKER FAMILY

OF BERMUDA.



EXTRACTED FROM THE RECORDS OF THE COLLEGE OF ARMS, LONDON, AND EXAMINED BY ME THIS FIFTEENTH DAY OF DECEMBER 1859.

(SIGNED) ALBERT M. WOODS. LANCASTER.

THE TUCKER FAMILY OF BERMUDA.

During the winter of 1852 the writer visited Bermuda for the chief purpose of gaining some knowledge of his mother's family history. He had the good fortune at that time to meet Mr. Daniel Robert Tucker, of Hamilton, a son of Robert, of Tucker's Island, and others of the older members of the family, who were all at that time well advanced in life.

Through the aid chiefly of Mr. Daniel Tucker's local knowledge and his familiarity with the family traditions all of the available records on the island were examined. But they were found, as a rule, in a very delapidated and even mutilated condition, in consequence of neglect and exposure to dampness; and the parish church papers were generally in a worse condition than any others examined by us. In fact, we found so many links wanting, in consequence of the mutilated condition of these papers, that without the aid of family tradition and information obtained from other sources our efforts would have been fruitless.

The writer found that it was well known, through tradition, that the Tucker family came from Co. Kent, England, where its members had been settled for centuries as landholders and were entitled to bear the arms, which had been preserved unchanged, in daily use on family plate, and, when needed, on monumental structures for the dead. It was also known that the first settler of the name in Bermuda was Governor Capt. Daniel Tucker, and that he and those supposed to have been his brothers, George and William, were large landholders in the Virginia Company, and it was believed that they eventually settled in Bermuda. Capt. John Smith, in his "History of Virginia," gives among the list of "adventurers" the names of Capt. Daniel Tucker, George Tucker and William Tucker as shareholders in the Virginia Company.

Daniel Tucker was the second Governor appointed by the company, but the first in that capacity to reside on the island, which he did from 1616 to 1626, when he died. It was supposed that his brothers came to Bermuda during his term of service, and in consequence of frequent inter-marriages afterwards, all bearing the name could claim a common descent; but it was held that the line was more direct from George Tucker, and yet no

one of the family living in 1852 possessed information sufficiently accurate to be able to furnish an unbroken line from either of these individuals.

With this difficulty at the beginning of our investigations, and with no indication found at first of any connection with George or William, the supposed brothers, or even with Capt. Daniel Tucker, we were unable to establish who was the ancestor of James Tucker, of Devonshire Parish. It was only ascertained at a subsequent date that the grandfather of Chief-Justice John Tucker, son of James, bore the name of Henry. At first we found nothing to indicate that Governor Daniel Tucker had a family or had any relative with him of the name during his service in Bermuda. But among the mutilated records of Port Royal Parish Church we found a document which had then become almost illegible from moldiness. With a little time and care this was found to be a conveyance of some property made by Henry Tucker in 1629 and 1630, who termed himself "a son of late Governor Capt. Daniel Tucker, of the said islands."

Capt. Daniel Tucker was a gentleman by birth, and was evidently a man of fortune. He was also a seafaring man, but it is not known how long he served the Government as an officer in the marine or British navy; he was, however, an officer with Bartholomew Goswold during his cruise along the American coast in 1602. The records of the Virginia Company show that he was among the first to be interested in the Virginia Settlement, and to have held property there as early as 1608. Governor Tucker, at the time of his death, was a man already well advanced in years, and it is likely that he was a widower when he went to Bermuda, and had no family with him. But he may have had a son or sons, who, having reached manhood, had interests elsewhere and only settled at first in Bermuda to take charge of the father's property.

By means of a document furnished from the Lancaster Herald at Arms Office, England, in 1859, and taken in part from the Harleian manuscripts of the visitation made in 1619, the family descent in Bermuda is made clear, and made direct from George, the brother of Daniel Tucker; and it is also shown that the Governor had no other brother connected with Bermuda. The fact was also ascertained from the same office that the family sprang from John Tucker, who settled in England before the close of the eleventh century.*

* The Pedigree of the Tuckers of Bermuda in Connection with the Emmet Family has been compiled from the Lancaster document, and some of the recent connections, which were not direct, had to be omitted from lack of space. For the same reason the three daughters of George and Maria Tucker were placed below the name of their brother Tobias, and that of Mansfield below his brother Nicholas. Without this explanation the brother and sister might be mistaken for children of Tobias and Nicholas Tucker.

Mr. Ephraim Tucker, of Worcester, Mass., published within the past year a work on the "Genealogy of the Tucker Family," and it is an exhaustive record of those bearing the name in this country who sprang from the New England settler. It has proved a gratifying circumstance to find the correctness of the chief point of information gained in Bermuda has been verified by Mr. Tucker's individual researches.

But in many respects his work has been more extended than the writer had the time or opportunity for investigation. The liberty will therefore be taken of presenting to the reader a portion of the information to be found in this book and bearing upon the early history of the Tucker family.

Mr. Tucker states, page 16, that "John Tucker came to England and fought at the battle of Hastings, October 4th, 1066, under William the First, who is usually called the Conqueror." "John Tucker was granted a coat of arms in 1070 by King William I., and was assigned the estate of South Tavistock in the County of Devonshire, a little more than two hundred miles from London. He married the relict of 'Trecareth,' who was supposed to have been the former proprietor, and their son Stephen Tucker in 1110 received from King Henry I. a permit to wear his hat or bonnet in his presence, and was granted also the estate of Lamertin, near Tavistock." This document, taken from the Harleian manuscripts, is printed in full in the work by Mr. Tucker. "In the subsequent reigns the Tuckers spread into the southern counties of England, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, also in Pembroke County, Wales, where the Tuckers have held over four hundred years the Sealyham property, and use the same coat of arms."

It is shown in the record furnished by the Lancaster Herald that the grandfather of Governor Daniel Tucker was William Tucker, of Thornley, Co. Devon, and that he married Isota, daughter of William Ash, or Ashe, of the same county. There seems to have been some uncertainty about her name, and Mr. Tucker in his work gives it as "Josea."

It is shown conclusively by this document that George Tucker, the brother of Daniel, did not settle in Bermuda, but he may have been a stockholder in the Virginia Company, and remained in England, as many doubtless did. It was held a tradition that Daniel had also a brother Henry, who was a stockholder and settler in Bermuda.

There is no clue, however, presented to show who Henry Tucker, the supposed stockholder, was. The only person mentioned in the record at this time bearing the name of Henry Tucker was a nephew of Daniel, who was but eight years of age in 1619, and was living in England in

1639, at the time of the visitation of that year. It is therefore certain that this person bearing the name of Henry could not have been the Virginia stockholder. We may assume, however, that a Henry Tucker known to have been living in Virginia at that time was the stockholder, and was possibly the brother of Daniel, and was there looking after his own and his brother's interests.

But an almost unanswerable objection could be advanced against such a supposition, since whoever made the return to the Herald in 1619 would, as the head of the family, have returned the name of his kinsman Henry with the same certainty as he did that of Daniel, both of whom were of the same relationship, both were living at the time, and both were then absent from England.

The most plausible supposition is that the Henry Tucker living at that time in Virginia was a son of Daniel and was there in charge of his father's interests in that colony. After his father's death he would naturally have gone to Bermuda to settle up his father's estate, and he may have been the Henry Tucker mentioned who transferred the property in 1629-30.

The name of Henry does not appear again in the Virginia records until many years after the time of Daniel Tucker's death. But about this time a William Tucker settled in Virginia near the present town of Elizabeth City, and in the same neighborhood where Henry Tucker had lived. He held there about eight hundred acres of land and for many years after he was a most prominent man in the affairs of the colony. This William may have also been a son of Daniel, and if so he must have been the eldest son.* He was in England in 1633, and after that time his name does not appear in the affairs of Virginia.

The record from the Lancaster Herald may aid in clearing up another obscure point, for the solution of which no explanation has ever been offered.

* Mr. Alexander Brown, in his work on *The Genesis of the United States* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1890), mentions (as the son of John Tucker, of Thornley) Wm. Tucker, Gent., of Erisey, in Cornwall, Esq., with his wife, Honor Erisey, and "their son William is said to have been the William Tucker of the Virginia Company." This, however, is not likely to be the case, as it is stated in the Tucker Pedigree, from the Lancaster Herald Office, that John Tucker, of London (son of William, of Thornley), married Elizabeth Kenn and had only one son, Richard.

We are therefore still unable to identify this William Tucker of the Virginia Company. We can only suppose it possible that he was a son of Capt. Daniel Tucker, of Bermuda. He either died in England about 1633 or settled in Bermuda after this date among his relatives, and as he was now an old man his name would naturally not appear afterward among those directing public affairs.



JAMES TUCKER.
of Devonshire Parish.

Mr. Ephraim Tucker has made the suggestion in his book that Daniel Tucker may have influenced his nephews, John, Robert and Henry, to settle in America, the first going to Newbury, and Robert to settle in Milton, Mass., New England, and Henry to Bermuda. But it is clear, on account of their ages at the time of Governor Tucker's death, that such an influence was not likely to have been exerted, while it is proved that they were all still living in England as late as 1639.

That Robert did settle in New England and was the ancestor of the greater portion of those bearing his name throughout the country is most conclusively shown by Mr. Tucker's work. We find that Mr. Tucker states, on page 19, "George Tucker, first of 'Milton, next Gravesend,'" was a man of note in that ancient place. Queen Elizabeth conveyed the manor to George Tucker in 1572. The first charter of the incorporation of the towns and parishes of Gravesend and Milton was given July 22d, 1562, in the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth, and there were ten Jurats appointed, of whom George Tucker was the second. A second charter was given June 5th, 1668. Of the twelve Jurats, George Tucker was the fourth. In 1572-73, September 3d, of the twelve principal inhabitants of Gravesend and Milton, George Tucker is mentioned as third.

"In 1634 a third charter was given, and Henry Tucker, supposed youngest brother of Robert, was the fifth of the twelve Jurats.

"In 1637 the same Henry Tucker was Mayor of Gravesend and Milton. Soon after this the Tucker family disappears, and no further trace of it is found in the annals of 'Milton, next Gravesend,' confirming the generally accepted tradition that at about this time the younger members of the family, one after another, emigrated to America."

Again, page 262, we find "Henry Tucker, brother of Robert Tucker, of Milton, was Secretary of the Somers Islands (Bermuda), and held fifty acres of land in 1662. He and St. George Tucker were of the Assembly in 1673."

Mr. Daniel R. Tucker informed the writer in 1852 that it was a tradition in the family that Henry Tucker, the father of James, was an Englishman by birth, and naturally, if such were the case, the circumstance would have been remembered, as those of English birth in the British colonies have always regarded the incident as one of distinction.

The fact was obtained by Mr. Daniel R. Tucker, the writer thinks from a tombstone inscription, that Henry, the father of James, was born in 1658; and from the minutes of the vestry meetings it was shown that he was in Bermuda at least from early manhood until his death. Henry

Tucker, the brother of Robert, was a Cromwellian, it is said ; therefore it is most probable he left England about the time of the Restoration. If so, his son would have accompanied him as a young child, but he would have naturally attached all due importance to the circumstance of his birth and in after life would have naturally claimed the credit of being an Englishman. This would give sufficient ground for the family tradition that Henry, the father of James, was an Englishman, and if we accept this, the other supposition naturally follows that Henry, brother of Robert, was the grandfather of James and the great-grandfather of John Tucker, the Chief Justice.

Henry Tucker, the Englishman and the brother of Robert, may have been the father of James ; this is possible, but not probable, as he would have been a very old man at the time of the birth of James. The reproduction of James's likeness does not indicate his age so clearly as is given by the original oil-painting. This would show that he was between thirty-five and forty years of age, and his costume was that worn in the latter part of Queen Anne's reign. It is true that no positive evidence can be advanced in proof, and equally so that nothing can be given to the contrary. Yet the circumstantial evidence is all favorable to the supposition that Henry Tucker, the brother of Robert, was the ancestor of Chief-Justice John Tucker, of the "Bridge House," Somerset, but originally from Devonshire Parish, where this Henry Tucker, the Englishman, first settled.

We have still another undetermined point relating to Governor Daniel Tucker. If he had a son Henry who settled in Bermuda and lived in Port Royal and Somerset Parish, as the supposed son did, the Governor was likely to have been the grandfather of George, who was born about 1700 and lived in this immediate neighborhood all his life. If the estimate of descent be based upon about three generations to the century, it will appear that only a single link was wanting in time between George Tucker and Henry, the supposed son of Governor Daniel Tucker. The same reasoning can be advanced on circumstantial evidence, as already given in reference to the ancestor of James Tucker, to prove that this George was descended from Daniel Tucker. We have no other alternative at this late date, and in the absence of direct testimony, than to accept the most plausible supposition based upon circumstantial evidence, which is frequently the most reliable.

The family in Bermuda became united, from a common descent, through the children of Frances, daughter of Col. Henry and Anne Butterfield



COL. HENRY TUCKER,
Of "The Grove."



ANNE BUTTERFIELD TUCKER
WITH HER CHILDREN ELIZABETH AND NATHANIEL.



FRANCES TUCKER.
of "The Grove"



HENRY TUCKER.
of the "Bridge House."

Tucker,* of "The Grove," and her distant relation, Henry Tucker, of the "Bridge House," and by the marriage of Daniel, his brother, of the "Bridge House," with Elizabeth, the daughter of George, and the supposed great-grandson of Governor Daniel Tucker.

All the brothers of Frances from "The Grove" were noted for their remarkable talents. President Tucker, the eldest son, took a most prominent part, throughout a long life, in the public affairs of his native country. He had a large family of sons, all of whom went to England to be educated, and remained there. The eldest son, Henry St. George Tucker, was for many years President of the East India Company, and held the position until the country passed into the full possession of the British Government. During his service he developed a remarkable degree of executive ability. All his brothers entered the British army or navy, and many of their descendants have since become distinguished in India or the British service.

From one of these was descended the distinguished authoress, Charlotte Brontë Tucker, who was known under the *nom de plume* of A. L. O. E.—*A Lady of England*. This estimable woman gave a large portion of her life to the duties of a missionary in India, and died there in 1894.

When the American Revolution commenced two brothers of President Tucker who sympathized with the colonies came to the United States at an early period of the struggle. The eldest, Dr. Thomas Tudor Tucker, made his residence in South Carolina and became a distinguished member of the Continental Congress from that State. He afterwards served as Surgeon in the Army until the close of the war. In Washington's administration Dr. Tucker was appointed the Treasurer of the United States, and he held his position until his death in 1828. He married at an early period of his life and had one daughter, who died young. A description of this old gentleman can be found among some of the letters written by his niece, Mrs. Eliza J. Tucker, and given in the sketch of Dr. John Patten Emmet. The younger brother, St. George Tucker, served in the Revolutionary army, rising from the position of Captain to that of Colonel in the Virginia State troops. After the termination of the war he became a Judge and subsequently a distinguished Professor

*The portraits of the Tucker family from "The Grove" were painted, in 1753, by J. Blackburn, who came from London to Bermuda for the purpose of taking them. He was evidently an artist of merit, and his painting of the lace was remarkably well done. At a recent visit to Bermuda the writer found these pictures had within a few years become so dilapidated from neglect that when photographed it did not seem possible they could be reproduced so successfully.

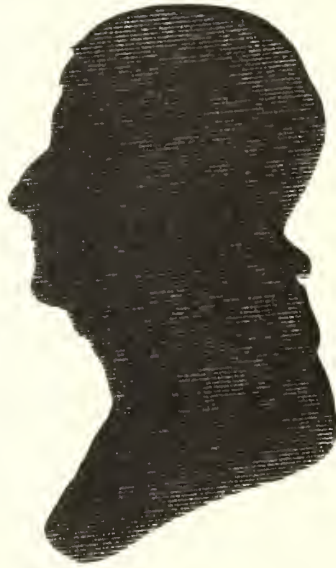
of Law in William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va. Mr. Tucker was twice married. His first wife was Frances, daughter of Colonel Theodoric Bland, and the widow of John Randolph, of Chesterfield, Va. By his first wife he had five children, two of whom died at an early age. Frances, the eldest, married Judge John Coulter, of Virginia, and had issue. Henry St. George Tucker married Ann Eveline, daughter of Moses Hunter, and had nine children, who married and were the progenitors of a numerous descent in Virginia and elsewhere. Mr. Tucker was distinguished as a lawyer, an author, a member of Congress, a Judge, and Professor of Law at the University of Virginia. He died in 1848. The next son, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, was also a distinguished man as an author and professor of law. He married and had one child, a daughter, Cynthia, who married, first, Professor Washington, of Williamsburg, Va., and afterward a Mr. Coleman.

Mr. St. George Tucker's second wife was Lelia, a daughter of Sir Peyton Skipworth and the widow of George Carter, of Currotoman, Va., by whom he had three children, all of whom died young.

At a later period and after the Revolution, Dr. William Henry Tucker and George Tucker, uncles of Mrs. Emmet, joined their kinspeople in this country. Dr. Tucker became a successful practitioner of medicine in Virginia, and eventually died, and was buried at the University of Virginia. He married shortly after his settlement in this country and had several daughters, but it is not known to the writer if they were married or survived their father.

Mr. George Tucker began the practice of law in Lynchburg, and at an early age was returned to the Legislature as a representative from that neighborhood, and afterward was a member of Congress from Virginia. He was regarded from the beginning of his public service as an authority on finance and on questions relating to political economy. At an early period he was known as the author of a work "On Money and Banks," which was considered an authority at the time. While a member of Congress, Mr. Jefferson offered Mr. Tucker the Professorship of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy in the University of Virginia, which he accepted, and was the first to fill this chair. Mr. Tucker became intimate enough with Mr. Jefferson to obtain from him in detail much of the valuable historical information which was afterwards so successfully utilized by him. He retired after a most distinguished service, and after having held the professorship for some nineteen years.

In the meantime, with a number of other works, Mr. Tucker was the



JOHN H. TUCKER.

author of one of the most reliable histories of the United States, as to accuracy, and the most interesting Life of Jefferson, from the fact that it was based chiefly upon information obtained personally from the subject of the memoir.

Mr. Tucker died in 1860, having been married three times, but all his children were by his first wife. She was the grand niece of Washington and the granddaughter of his sister, Elizabeth Lewis. His second wife was Mary Byrd Farley, whose mother was Mary Byrd, of Westover, and after whom the author's mother was named. His third wife, Louisa, was a widow of ——— Thompson, of Baltimore, and a daughter of Peter Bowdoin, of the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

Mr. John H. Tucker, the youngest son and Mrs. Emmet's father, was at one time in affluent circumstances, but in consequence of the long-continued war between England and France during the early part of this century, his fortune, as a merchant in Bermuda, became greatly reduced. Having been captured on one of his own vessels, fitted out as a privateer, he was held for several years a prisoner of war in one of the French West India Islands. On his release he was taken to England and there was induced to accept, as a temporary engagement, a position in the Paymaster's Department of the British Army, under Wellington, in Portugal. He died November 23d, 1811, from a fever which was then devastating the British troops.

His wife, Eliza J. Tucker, was a woman of remarkable ability, of strongly marked character and of great worth, for which she was respected and greatly beloved by all who had the good fortune to have known her. She possessed the mind of a logical man, with all the instincts of woman in its application. The writer was for the first nine or ten years of his life under almost the sole charge of his grandmother in consequence of the bad health of his mother, and her precepts and training at this early age made an indelible impression on him, strengthened afterwards by the loving remembrance of her many virtues.

To keep within the scope of this work it has been found impossible to trace out intelligibly the later generations of the Tucker family from Bermuda. Chiefly as merchants the young men have now become scattered to better their fortunes, and are found most numerous in England, the United States and among the British Colonies.

The arms, crest and motto, as represented on the outer margin of the Tucker pedigree, are the same as those which have been used by the family, at least since the settlement in Bermuda. The pedigree furnished

by the Lancaster Herald at Arms is an official guarantee that the Bermuda family was in direct descent from the Co. Kent family in England, to whom these arms were granted in 1079.

The "family arms" represented by Mr. Ephraim Tucker in his work as being possibly those first granted the family only correspond in a general way with those which were employed in Bermuda, and are still used in Kent and other portions of England by different families bearing the name of Tucker. Some special explanation is needed, since the difference is greater than could be attributed to careless use. The crest and motto are, however, the same, with the exception of the battle-ax. This, according to Mr. Tucker's representation, should be grasped at the end, as if ready for use; and with some branches of the Tucker family, he states, the battle-ax is omitted from the crest, as "evidencing sea leadership."

This version of the arms as given by Mr. Tucker is reproduced on the pedigree alongside of those which were supposed to be correct, and the following is his description of these arms, with the authorities cited:

TUCKER COAT OF ARMS.*

William the Conqueror introduced into England the feudal system of Normandy; having dispossessed the old English of their lands and baronies and placing upon them his chief Norman followers, he made a list of them in a document called the Domesday Book, and established heraldic evidences and laws of heraldry. The Tucker arms are of record for 1079 and 1080. As clearly as can be ascertained the above representation is the arms,—that of 1079 being for Tucker of South Tavistock, Devon, and of Hellam, Cornwall; that of 1080 being for Tucker of Devonshire, the same as 1079, omitting the battle axe, evidencing sea leadership.

Blazon; † The Shield; "Barry wavy of ten, arg. and az. on a chev. embattled between three sea-horses naissant or., five gouttes-de-poix."—Tucker, Co. Devon.

Papworth's Ordinary of British Armorial, page 530, first column, fourteenth line.

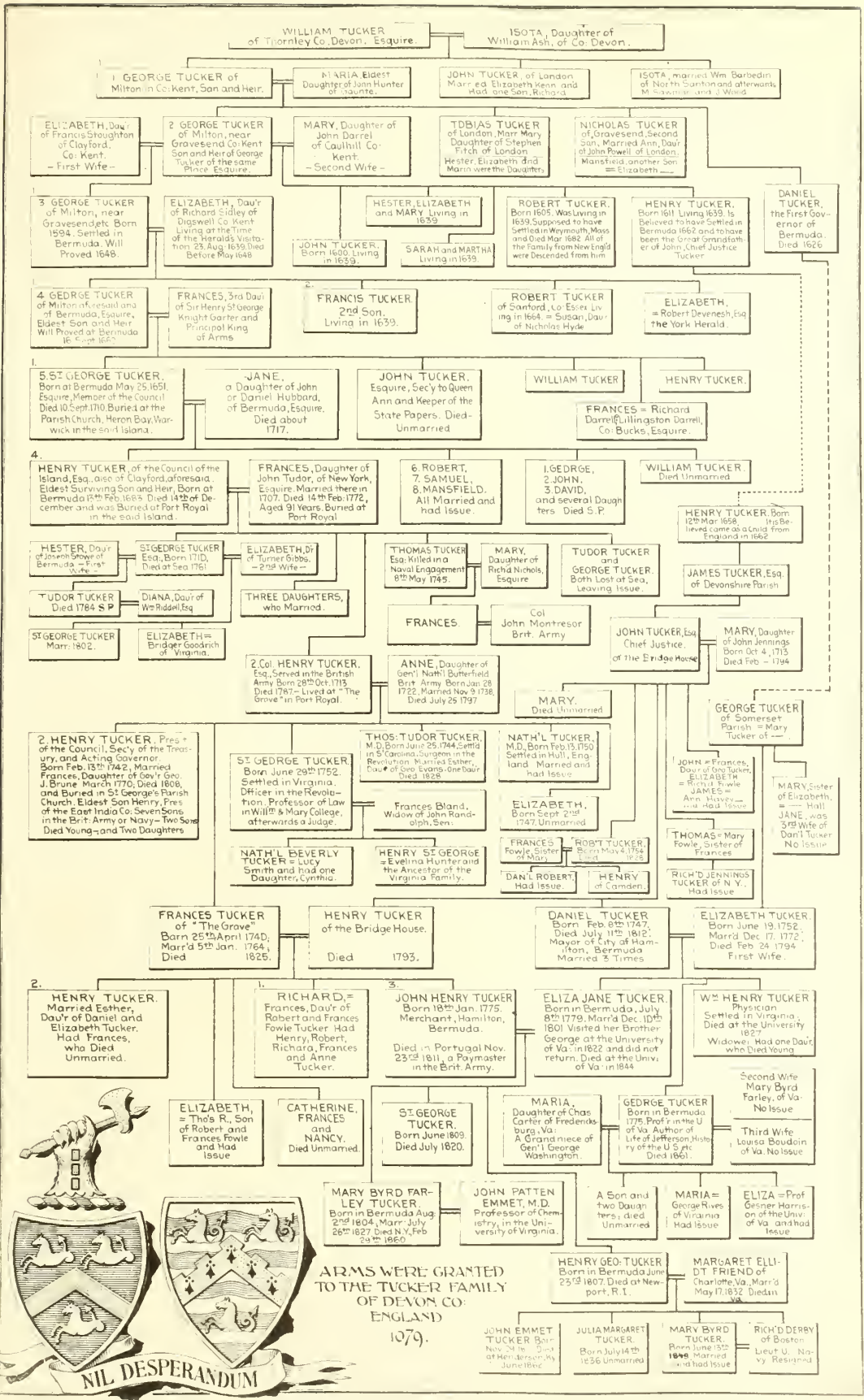
Pub. Harleian Society of Visitation, Devon, 1620, page 362: The Crest—"A lion's gamp, erased and erect, gu., charged with three billets in pale or., holding in the foot a battle-axe ar., handle of the second."

Barry's Encyclo. Heraldry; Burke's Encyclo. Heraldry and General Armory, 1847.

The motto: "Nil Desperandum" [Never Despair].

* It will be seen that in the representation of the coat of arms herewith, the sea-horses are of gold, which impinges upon the silver of the field. Boutwell's Heraldry, a standard English work on heraldic science, on page 43 states: "It is a strict law that metal be not upon metal, nor colour on colour. This rule is modified in the case of raised fields, upon which may be charged either a metal or a colour."

† Upon page 1034 of Burke's General Armory, edition of 1884, a blazonry is given for Tucker, Tooker or Toker, Exeter, Co. Devon, which gives the sea-horses "naiant" (swimming), instead of "naissant" (rising up), and the chevron embattled and counter-embattled, etc. These arms were granted, in 1538, by Thomas Hawley, Clarendieux. "None are entitled to it unless proving descent from Robert Tucker of Exeter [page 298], the grantee, or the Tuckers of Lamerton and Holland, to whom the same arms were admitted at the Visitation, 1620." There are many apparent defects between this blazonry and the original patent, says Burke, in which the field is "azure and argent wave, without naming bars or their number." The chevron is "semée of gouttes-de-poix, lion's gamp coupé," etc.



PEDIGREE OF THE TUCKERS OF BERMUDA IN CONNECTION WITH THE EMMET FAMILY.

It is most probable that these arms, as represented by Mr. Tucker, were a new creation in 1538, and were only intended to bear a general resemblance to those which were granted to the family in 1079-80. It is a well-known fact that the arms first used in England were of the simplest form, consisting generally of but one color and metal. They only became more elaborate as the number in use increased among those who were not soldiers and as the emblem became less used for the purpose of designating in battle the individual who bore them. It is a reasonable supposition, therefore, in the absence of any other evidence, to assume that the less elaborate arms given, which were borne by the Bermuda family, are the same as, or the nearest approach to, the original grant.

THE DUNCAN FAMILY.



JOHN DUNCAN,
of Autauga, Alabama.

THE DUNCAN FAMILY.

John Duncan was born in Dublin, Ireland, April 1st, 1796. Every advantage was offered him by his father for obtaining a collegiate education and a profession, but young Duncan set out for the United States, in 1815, against his father's wishes, to seek his own fortune.

For several years he held a position in New York as a trusted clerk in some commercial house, and while in this situation he made many lasting friends. As a member of one of the military organizations of the city he served in the body-guard which was detailed to accompany the remains of Gen. Richard Montgomery when they were removed from Quebec, and which were deposited, on July 11th, 1818, under the portico of St. Paul's Church, in this city. As a soldier he also took part in the landing at Castle Garden and reception of Lafayette, on his last visit to this country, in 1824. Shortly after Mr. Duncan visited the south to form some business connection, and at a ball given to Lafayette, at Montgomery, Ala., he met Miss Catherine Moffett Creyon, whom he married March 14th, 1826.

Mr. Duncan's father and grandfather bore the same name as himself. The grandfather came from Glasgow, and was a merchant of means and position in Edinburgh, but beyond this fact, casually stated at some time by Mr. Duncan to his children, no other information can now be obtained of him or of his ancestors. The only possible clue for obtaining any additional information might be through means of the arms. Mr. Duncan always wore on his watch a seal engraved with his family crest. On investigation it has been found that this crest belonged to the arms of the Duncan family of Ardounie, Scotland, and they have been represented on the Duncan pedigree, to be found at the end of this description of the family.

It is shown by the Dublin Directory of 1796 that two uncles, William and James, and the father of Mr. John Duncan, Jr., constituted at that time a wholesale mercantile and shipping firm, carrying on their business at No. 22 Beresford Street, where they had been established a number of years.

John Duncan, Sr., the junior member of this firm, was evidently a man of wealth, as he resided at that time on Merion Square in Dublin.

John Duncan, Jr., had two sisters, one of whom married Mr. John Hutton, of Monkstown, near Dublin; the other became the wife of Mr. Samuel Crawford, who held some connection with Trinity College. At the present time there are female descendants from both the uncles and sisters of Mr. Duncan living in Dublin, or in the neighborhood, though the male members have sought their fortunes elsewhere.

Miss Catherine M. Creyon was widely connected through her mother, Catherine McCall, with some of the most prominent families of South Carolina and Georgia. But unfortunately Mr. and Mrs. Duncan died before their children were old enough to take any interest in such matters, and, as they did not keep any family record, it is now impossible to supply the needed information.

All that is known was obtained by the writer from his wife shortly after their marriage, when she had to rely upon the recollection of casual conversations overheard in childhood.

Esther Williams, who became Mrs. John McCall, and afterwards the widow of the Rev. Mr. Harper, lived for many years, and to a great old age, under the roof of her granddaughter, Mrs. Duncan. It is said her recollection of persons connected with the Revolution was remarkably clear, and that she frequently entertained her great-grandchildren with accounts of what she had witnessed at the siege of Charleston and during the British occupation of the neighboring country. Her father was a Col. Williams, who throughout took an active part in the war. He was at the battle of King's Mountain, and was taken a prisoner at the surrender of Charleston. Mrs. Harper frequently described the difficulties she encountered as a young girl when visiting her father, who was confined on one of the prison-ships in Charleston harbor, before he was sent, with others, for closer confinement, to St. Augustine. Unfortunately, there were at least four officers who have been designated "Col. Williams," who were companions at King's Mountain and Charleston, and who were prisoners at St. Augustine. It is therefore impossible, not knowing this Col. Williams's full name, to ascertain anything more definite about his special services, or his relations. Mrs. Esther Williams Harper died February 2d, 1842, in Autauga County, Ala., and not in 1824, as stated by error in the Duncan pedigree.

Mr. John Moffett Creyon was connected with the Irish troubles of 1798, and to avoid arrest he escaped to France in a fishing-boat, emigrated to South Carolina in 1812 and in 1819 he settled in Alabama. By his



MRS. CATHERINE MOFFET CREYON DUNCAN.



MRS. ESTHER WILLIAMS HARPER.

Born Jan. 11, 1761, Died Feb 2, 1842



MISS CATHERINE REBECCA DUNCAN.



CHARLES N. HARRIS.
MRS. ANNE EMMET HARRIS.

DR. J. D. EMMET.
MISS ELIZA E. DUNCAN.
MARGARET HARRIS.

T. A. EMMET, JR.
MRS. CATHERINE DUNCAN EMMET.

ROBERT EMMET
MISS KATHLEEN ERIN EMMET
DR. T. A. EMMET
ADDIS EMMET HARRIS.

marriage with Miss McCall he acquired a large amount of property and became a most prosperous man. His daughter married Mr. John Duncan, and they lived at Violet Hill, on a tract of land adjoining one of the Creyon plantations, about twelve miles from Montgomery, in Autauga County, Ala.

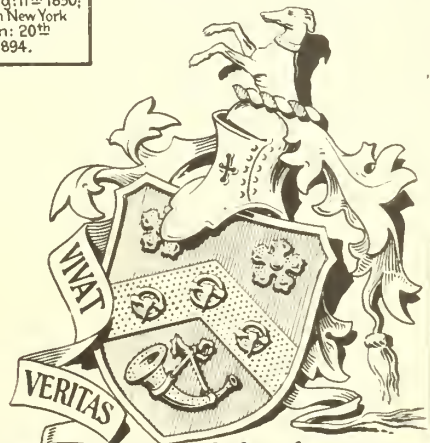
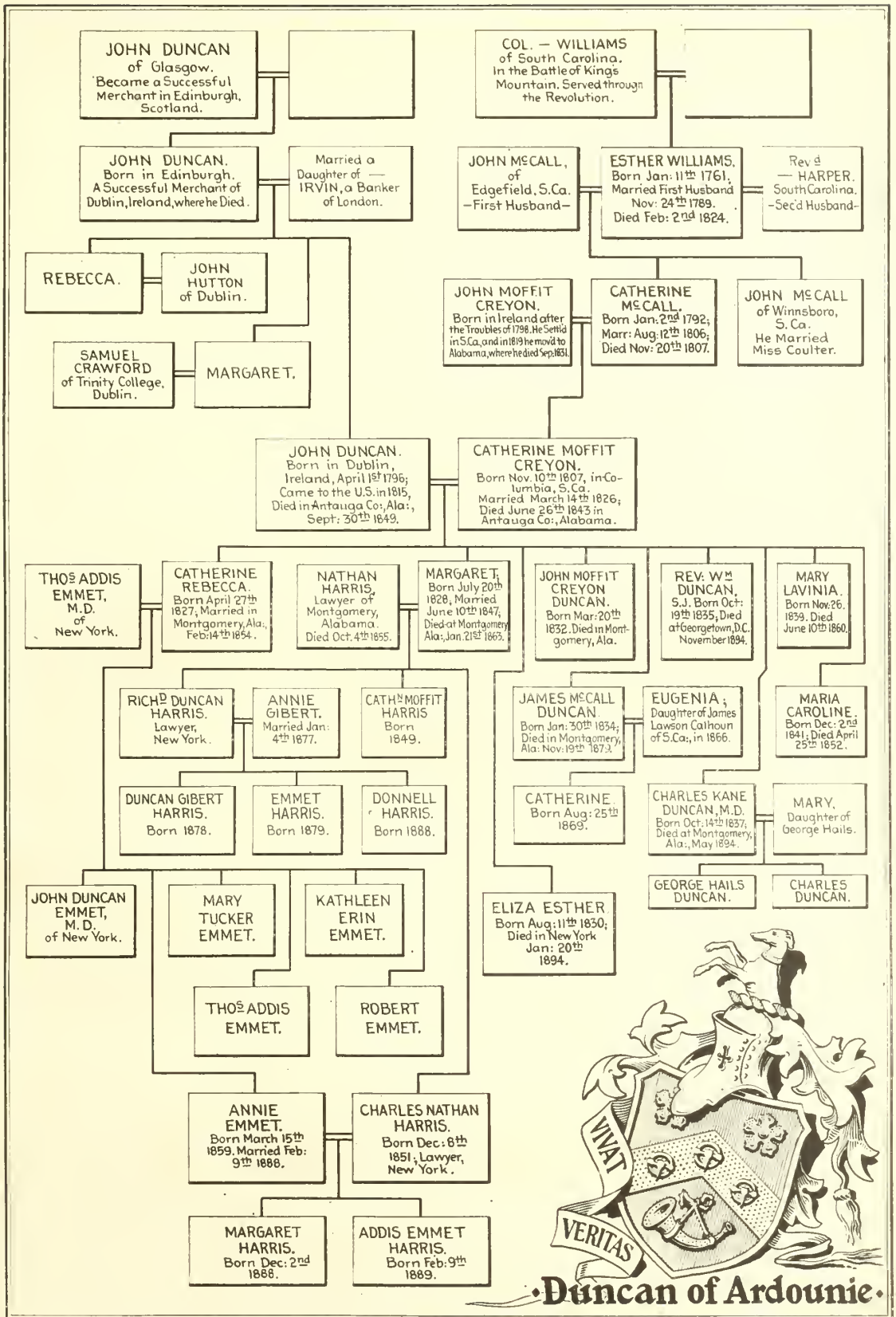
For many years Mr. Duncan prospered and became one of the wealthiest men in the State. It has been stated to the writer by many persons that Mr. Duncan was generous and charitable to a fault, and that he never was so happy as when aiding others to prosperity. Such a man was necessarily often imposed upon and to a remarkable extent. With the spirit of a public benefactor, he sank a princely fortune in building up and developing the mineral wealth and the water power of Wetumpka, which is situated above the junction of the Alabama and Coosa Rivers. Mr. Duncan clearly saw the future prosperity which must attend such a site, and his judgment has been fully vindicated, as it is now a thriving manufacturing place. He had the misfortune to have lived fully fifty years before the need for his enterprise existed, and he consequently suffered.

The friends and neighbors of Mr. and Mrs. Duncan universally testified to their many attractions and great worth. They warmly claimed that their charity was from the beginning to the end so widespread and generous that they passed through life as public benefactors and the exponents of every virtue. Mr. Duncan survived his wife and lived until 1849.

Catherine Rebecca Duncan, the eldest child, married Dr. Thos. Addis Emmet, of New York. The next eldest daughter, Margaret Emeline Duncan, married Mr. Nathan Harris, of Montgomery, Ala., and had three children—Duncan, Charles Nathan and Catherine Moffett.

Charles N. Harris married his cousin, Annie Emmet, and had two children—Margaret and Addis Emmet Harris.

The other connections of the Duncan family in the United States will be shown in the pedigree to follow.



•Duncan of Arduinie.

DESCENDANTS OF JOHN DUNCAN AND FAMILY CONNECTIONS
IN THE UNITED STATES.

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NOTE—The dates in parentheses following some of the names in this index are inserted to distinguish members of different generations, or of different branches, who possess the same Christian names. These dates are usually the years of birth, though in the cases of older generations they connote some prominent incident which may serve for identification.

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