



*1 – Garret Morphey (attrib.), CATHERINE BROWNE  
n.d., oil on canvas (courtesy Muckross House, Killarney)*

# Madame da Cunha prefers her own 'dunghill' to a palace: city lodging and country visiting in early eighteenth-century London

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IN 1716, HAVING SPENT SOME YEARS ABROAD IN EUROPE, IRISH-BORN CATHERINE DA Cunha, a thirty-four-year-old woman adrift from her older husband, the sometime Portuguese ambassador, returned to London (Plate 1). This article examines the strategies that Madame da Cunha employed in her choice of London lodgings and in her country house visits while establishing and maintaining herself in London society as an independent woman. A series of letters written to her nephew Valentine Browne, later Viscount Kenmare, contain a stream of advice specifically designed to aid the recovery of his forfeited Irish estates, but also reveal tantalising details of her life in London (Plate 2).<sup>1</sup> The condition of permanent displacement represented by expatriate life in eighteenth-century London presented a challenge for a well-born Irishwoman. Moreover, as a member of an aristocratic Irish Catholic family who had married a Portuguese diplomat, the establishment of an identity flexible enough to allow her to negotiate an elite social circle in London required confidence and an agile mind. Fortunately, Madame da Cunha possessed both of these qualities.

Although an edited selection of these letters was published by Edward MacLysaght sixty years ago as part of a wider survey of the Kenmare papers, a further analysis of this primary source reveals many new insights. Much contemporary and recent secondary literature on eighteenth-century conditions in urban England has assisted the interpretation of this original correspondence. In 1716, the very year in which these letters begin, John Gay's poem *Trivia: or, the art of walking the streets of London* delineated his experience of urban life. Recent analysis of this poem has illuminated its contribution towards opening a discourse on eighteenth-century urban conditions.<sup>2</sup> In the last fifteen years, pioneering academic research in social geography and history has opened up pre-Industrial Britain's use of social space and patterns of consumption in terms of gender and social



2 – *Gottfried Kneller (attrib.)*  
*VALENTINE, 3RD VISCOUNT KENMARE*  
*n.d., oil on canvas (detail)*  
*(courtesy Muckcross House, Killarney)*

hierarchy. Lorna Weatherill, Susan Whyman and Amanda Vickery, among others, have demonstrated that an astute analysis of family correspondence can reveal women's strategic importance in the public as well as the private sphere.<sup>3</sup> Elaine Chalus has examined political patronage in the mid-eighteenth century, finding that women with the credentials of good birth, social connections and strong character were able to operate as active agents by that time.<sup>4</sup> However, in spite of the plethora of new urban studies, many of which deal with a period significantly later than the early decades of the century, problems encountered by certain categories of persons have remained largely unexplored. Studies of Irish people in eighteenth-century London, for example, have been mainly concerned with the poor, indigent or criminal; those who did not conform to these stereotypes have typically been denied their national identity by being included with other elite groups.<sup>5</sup> Unaccompanied female visitors of the upper social echelon, who were also both Irish and Catholic, were highly unusual; these combined criteria make Madame da Cunha's situation compelling for the historian of early modern urban life. Finding a balance between appropriate location, spatial requirements and price was essential to future social success. As a lone woman trying to establish a meaningful and useful existence in London, her intelligent letters betray only occasional trepidation. Although an early initiative to obtain a court position failed, she rebounded with new vigour when her nephew in Ireland succeeded to his title. At this point she negotiated a strategic redeployment of those connections she had nurtured in order to achieve her aims.

## MADAME DA CUNHA: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

MADAME CATHERINE DA CUNHA, NÉE BROWNE (1682-1764), HAD BEEN BORN (IN county Kerry) into a world in turmoil. As openly declared Catholics, Jacobite peers and prominent landowners, her father and elder brother were inevitably made to suffer in the years following the Williamite wars. Sir Valentine Browne (1638-1694) and his son Nicholas (d.1720), respectively 1st and 2nd Viscounts Kenmare, had supported King James II both militarily and politically and were subsequently attainted; their estates, including the newly improved Ross Castle, were thus forfeited to the Crown. Sir Valentine did not long survive this shock, and when Nicholas found himself outlawed, homeless and near-penniless in the last decade of the seventeenth century, he abandoned his forfeited lands in counties Kerry, Limerick and Cork and moved to London with his wife, Lady Helen, several infant children and his two younger sisters, Jane and Catherine. In 1695 his younger son and eventual heir, Valentine (1695-1736), was born, and a pension of £400 per annum was granted to Lady Helen, for her support and that of her children, by the personal grace and favour of Queen Mary.<sup>6</sup> Shortly thereafter, Nicholas removed himself to Ghent, where he remained until his death in 1720.

By 1703 both Jane and Catherine were married. Jane, a conformed Protestant, married John Asgill, a smart English lawyer who had taken full advantage of the legal opportunities available to English entrepreneurs in Ireland, through which he bought a life interest in the forfeited lands of his brother-in-law, Nicholas Browne.<sup>6</sup> Catherine married the much older Don Luis da Cunha (1662-1749), a career diplomat who represented Portugal at London from 1696 to 1712. Between 1712 and 1716 the couple lived in Europe, but by 1716 the marriage had broken down and the thirty-four-year-old Catherine returned to London alone to attempt the difficult feat of setting herself up as an independent woman within the upper echelons of London society.<sup>8</sup>

In London she reconnected with her nephew Valentine, who had been under Protestant guardianship since the death of his mother, Lady Helen Browne, in 1700.<sup>9</sup> Details of the education received by Valentine Browne while under the guardianship of Anthony Hammond, sometime administrator to Lady Helen, are unknown.<sup>10</sup> The correspondence between Madame da Cunha and Valentine began in 1716, when Valentine, who had very recently achieved his majority, had left his aunt in London to travel back to Ireland, accompanied by William Weldon, an Irish lawyer.<sup>11</sup> His aunt's expectation that this would be a short visit was due to be disappointed. Arriving in county Kerry, Browne slowly discovered the degree of mismanagement of the forfeited estates that had been achieved under John Asgill's stewardship, while his aunt came to realise that Ross Castle, long established as a permanent garrison, was unlikely to be surrendered to Browne for recovery as the principal family seat. While Catherine da Cunha might have contemplated a return to Ireland with the prospect of retirement in Ross Castle, she was not prepared to risk returning to a residence that she considered entirely unsuitable, expressing her feelings succinctly: 'a young man as you are can ramble and make shift, a woman of my



3 – Anon., *LADY CATHERINE WALMESLEY*  
*n.d., oil on canvas, 137.2 x 106.7 cm (detail)*  
*(courtesy Ingatestone Hall, Essex)*

*opposite 4 – John Rocque, from A PLAN OF THE CITIES  
 OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER, AND OF SOUTHWARK,  
 WITH THE CONTIGUOUS BUILDINGS, 1746*  
*(reproduced by kind permission of the publishers,  
 Harry Margary and Phillimore & Co, Chichester)*

age must set up her rest.’<sup>12</sup> As long as matters remained unresolved to her satisfaction, she would remain in London.

As in other burgeoning metropolitan centres, London’s residential quarters were divided along lines of class rather than nationality. Whereas, in the early eighteenth century, poorer Irish residents in London lived alongside other immigrants from provincial England and Europe in the eastern part of the city, Catherine da Cunha would not have considered taking up residence anywhere less than at the margins of ‘the polite end of town’ in order to maintain her status in the lower ranks of aristocracy.<sup>13</sup> Madame da Cunha’s London address up to late 1716 remains unclear, but it was likely to have been close to the epicentre of the fashionable West End, in the vicinity of St James’s Square. However, it seems that she was already finding it difficult to maintain her identity as a woman of independent means: as an ambassador’s wife who had appropriated her husband’s diplomatic status, despite his mysterious absence from her life, she was evidently attempting to uphold an image which required greater financial means than she had at her disposal. In fact, the first letter of the series is written from Ingatestone, Essex, in mid-December 1716, to which she had recently arrived from Navestock, in the same county, by a carriage sent by the two Dowager Ladies Petre.<sup>14</sup>

She remained enveloped in the austere regime of Ingatestone Hall (discussed below), where ‘no convent can be more regular than this house’, until March 1717. This brick-built manor house near Chelmsford, Essex, built in the 1540s on the site of a dissolved monastic property, was then occupied by the two staunchly Catholic widows Petre and the infant son of Lady Catherine Petre (néé Walmesley), who had been born posthumously to the 7th Baron, Robert Petre (Plate 3). The wealthy Lady Catherine Petre managed her estates in Lancashire, Essex and Surrey, and was famed for continuing the traditional stream of charitable gifts and grants established by the Petre and Walmesley families.



## TOWN LODGINGS AND MAINTAINING VISITING PROTOCOLS

**A**LTHOUGH FRAGMENTED AND LACKING IN SUBSTANTIVE DETAIL, IT IS POSSIBLE TO map, from her correspondence with her nephew, the locations of Madame da Cunha's various residences in London for the period 1717 to 1730 (Plate 4). Of particular interest here are her comments on the choice of lodgings and their urban settings, and the inferences that may be drawn from those choices. A more significant aspect of the correspondence between aunt and nephew (discussed below) was the fact that Madame da Cunha increasingly relied on money issued to her by Valentine Browne from a small entitlement on her late father's estate. For this reason, she often felt obliged to account for her expenditure on her lodgings.

When Madame da Cunha had returned to London, her identity as an independent woman entailed the establishment of a position commensurate with the diplomatic credentials of her estranged husband, backed up by her aristocratic, albeit Irish, family connections. Several of her cousins in earlier generations had married into cadet branches of the Butler family, and in May 1717, drawing on one of these connections, she was formally presented to George I at the Hanoverian court of St James under the auspices of Henrietta, Lady Grantham (née Butler).<sup>15</sup> She reported to her nephew,

My Lord and Lady Grantham have taken all the care imaginable to have me take the rank of a Countess & have been so good and friendly as it is possible. The next



time I go to the drawing room I'm to go with the Duchess of Grafton ... though I don't own that Don Louis and I are fallen out.<sup>16</sup>

The contents of this letter immediately establish Madame da Cunha's social milieu, and it is clear that she relied on friends at court with Irish connections, such as Henry de Nassau, 1st Earl of Grantham, who, in 1717, was appointed Lord Chamberlain to Caroline, Princess of Wales. Indeed, Grantham's wife, Lady Henrietta (née Butler), was herself a Lady of the Bedchamber. Although the plan to adopt the honorific title due to her husband does not appear to have gained currency, Madame da Cunha continued to draw on his diplomatic status for some time. This was always going to be quite a fraught process, since Don Luis was rumoured to be due to return from Hanover with George I 'some time in the [Christmas] holidays ... I'm told that his things are packed up in order to come'.<sup>17</sup> In a following letter, she signed herself 'aunt Dona Cath d'Cunha', ordering proudly that he should address letters to her next residence to 'Madame l'Ambassadrice de Portugal'.<sup>18</sup> That she asserted herself as a member of the diplomatic coterie, at least when convenient, may be seen by her comment on the protocol of wearing mourning clothes for the death of Catherine of Braganza, widow of James II, an issue which had divided opinion at the court of George I: 'as to myself, I belong to the foreign Ministries so come to no resolution because I must do as the rest of the Brotherhood who hitherto have taken no notice of this mourning.'<sup>19</sup> These pretensions to diplomatic status were also demonstrated in June and July of 1717 when she had attended the trial for the impeachment of Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford. Describing how she was 'twice at the trial to take my place as ambassadrice in the ministers box', she had nevertheless not been present at his acquittal, when 'the Lords and all the Assembly showed their joy by loud acclamations'.<sup>20</sup>

By Easter 1717, despite her determination to cut a grand figure, Madame da Cunha reported to her nephew that she had found somewhere to live. The new lodgings were in Leicester Street, off the present-day Leicester Square, which had been developed about thirty years earlier. She proclaimed its suitability as a residence by reporting that Madame de Rosenkrantz, widow of the Danish envoy, Ivar Rosenkrantz, lived in the house opposite.<sup>21</sup> The development around Leicester Street had emerged as a residential area favoured by peers and diplomats because of its central location and easy access to the court of St James. The house occupied by the diplomat Rosenkrantz, and later the Duchess of Leeds, was the largest on the street. It was recorded as possessing several large rear yards, stables and coach houses, and an interior particularly well appointed, with running water and full plumbing.<sup>22</sup> Madame da Cunha appears to have felt that the ambient immunity afforded her as the future neighbour of diplomats supported her own claims to diplomatic status, and the ambiguous social space occupied by diplomats was clearly an advantage to one wishing to screen a problematic religious confession and family background. Moreover, having been resident with her husband in Utrecht in 1713 during the lengthy peace negotiations that concluded the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), she had

doubtless become accustomed to the excitement of the diplomatic social milieu.

Given the nature of her relationship with her nephew, Madame da Cunha was at pains to stress that her new lodgings had not been selected for extravagant reasons: 'It is two rooms & a dressing room of a floor; its clean and decent [and already contains] all sorts of necessaries both for kitchens and elsewhere ... all I shall want is linen and some bits of Plate.'<sup>23</sup> Assuming her nephew's speedy return from Ireland, she asked him to bring over some specific items, providing a rare glimpse of her immediate material concerns: 'two pair of sheets ... for one bed ... about 10 or 12 dozen of napkins and table clothes ... four dozen where fine and the rest tolerable, let them be washed and marked that you may save the custom [and] bring over some of the best usquebaugh [whisky] and some Lamb gloves for me ... better than the Irish kid'.<sup>24</sup> In the same letter, she advised him not to bother bringing 'the ordinary sort of linen', explaining that the expenses of moving would necessitate a greater outlay: 'what with liveries for a footman and two chairmen, knives forks and spoons, paying some little scores I owe in this neighbourhood and paying the half years rent down, I shan't have above threescore or four pounds to begin housekeeping.'<sup>25</sup>

It would appear that, at this point, Madame da Cunha had been maintaining a small retinue of male as well as female servants, whose clothing had to be provided, and her available funds were dwindling. Amid the uncertainty of her own or her nephew's future plans, she took the trouble to explain at length her motives for taking a house on a short lease: 'all the houses that are to be let of that size are seventy pounds a year besides taxes and most insist on a lease of seven years ... it was more prudent to pay a little more for one year than to bear the expense of furnishing a house.'<sup>26</sup>

In her early attempts at establishing herself in London, Catherine da Cunha had described the flattering attention paid her from political and aristocratic visitors – 'All England has been to see me & most of all the public ministers' – but admitted that she found the rigours of maintaining the protocol of return visits exhausting.<sup>27</sup> Again, in June 1718, she wrote: 'I go once a week to the Princess [of Wales] and was this morning at the Duchess of Munster's, who did me the honour to come to see me last week. They all show me an abundance of civility but it's a great plague to be every day visiting.'<sup>28</sup>

Of particular interest to the social historian is the conflict between maintaining protocol and the expense of presenting oneself in the appropriate manner. As we have seen, Madame da Cunha was determined to parlay the influence of the Earl of Grantham and his wife into a court appointment for herself. However, in 1718 she realised that in order to succeed she would need to maintain contact with the Princess of Wales after her enforced move from St James's Palace, an event precipitated by the eviction of her husband, the future George II, by his father. Indeed, although she occasionally makes light of her financial constraints – 'we scrubs that have no equipages won't be able to wait on her' – in June of 1718 she was grateful for a neighbour's frequent generosity: 'Her coach is the greatest convenience, for she spares me a great many shillings in chair hire.'<sup>29</sup> Thus, Catherine da Cunha was enabled to visit Lord and Lady Grantham, and the Princess of



Wales, at her summer lodgings in Richmond Park, several miles distant from town over open country.<sup>30</sup> Later, in 1724, she would comment, ‘as to standing on the form of visit for visit ... I’ve told them I can’t spend so much money on chair hire as formerly & indeed, they excuse me.’<sup>31</sup> This tenacious attempt to secure a position at court, through frequent visits out of town, was not without its perils. Casually describing an experience of being robbed at pistol-point at the corner of Buckingham House, returning from a visit to the Duchess of Ormond in Chelsea, she wrote that she did not ‘care for country jaunts’.<sup>32</sup> Barely one mile west of the palace of St James was a lawless area, separated from the elite suburban residences of Chelsea by several miles of open country.<sup>33</sup>

While safely ensconced in her own town lodgings, Catherine da Cunha claimed to enjoy a sociable, if modest, existence among the best company: ‘I live very much by my own fireside and I thank God that I’ve so many friends that I’m never alone if I please & were my egg shell big enough & that I liked it I’m almost sure I could have a decent assembly most nights.’<sup>34</sup> However, writing in June of 1718, she acknowledged the strain of keeping up appearances: ‘These 3 weeks that I’ve kept house I’ve almost had an assembly every night ... but the continual constraint I’m in to conceal the load I struggle under makes the burthen the heavier.’<sup>35</sup> A certain mystery surrounds these ‘assemblies’. However, while her letters remain largely reticent on the specific nature of these occasions and provide few details regarding those who attended, it is clear that she entertained members of both sexes: writing in 1723, she recounted that ‘Lord Kerry and I are very good friends, he played Ombre here last night with Lord Grandisson & we battle it sometimes at bagamon.’<sup>36</sup> Undoubtedly, these early gatherings were deemed a matter of necessity in order to place herself in the mainstream of sociability, and the numbers in attendance might well have been limited due to the restricted nature of her accommodation. In later years she was to claim that she spent a wholly constrained life, almost without company, although letters from a young gentleman in 1727 suggest otherwise. These letters shed further light on Madame da Cunha’s perceived social status.

The young man in question was Ralph Standish Howard from Lancashire, cousin to Thomas Howard, 8th Duke of Norfolk, under whose aegis he hoped to find a wife. The Standish and Walmesley families were neighbours in Lancashire, as well as fellow Catholics, so young Ralph Standish Howard was frequently to be found at Ingatestone, where he began a vain pursuit of the widowed heiress Lady Catherine Petre. The Duke of Norfolk took Ralph Standish to London on several occasions and encouraged him to court more appropriate young women. A letter of November 1727 from Ralph to his father in Lancashire records: ‘I have not yet been at Madame Dacunhas Assembly, young Andrews was to have introduced me but disappointed me, so when I go back to towne, I’ll get some body else to do me that favour.’<sup>37</sup> From his letters, however, it appears that ‘Young Andrews’, and the Duke himself, did indeed attend Madame da Cunha’s assemblies – ‘and hence to Madame d’hacuna’s’ – suggesting that her soirées held currency on the social stage of aristocratic Catholic London.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, no description of these occasions has survived.

In early 1719, Madame da Cunha, ever conscious of both fashion and domestic economy, was seeking new accommodation. By May of that year she had moved to a street off Hanover Square, to the south-west of Leicester Street. Writing to William Weldon, she described the area of her new lodging as being ‘not half built yet’, but remained confident that she would find a small house for ‘about forty pounds a year’.<sup>39</sup> The westward movement of fashionable London was noted by Daniel Defoe and Henry Fielding, who both refer to Hanover Square as a specific marker in the westward progression of elite residential development.<sup>40</sup> Responding to Valentine Browne’s apparent concern regarding the quality of her intended destination, Madame da Cunha explained that it was situated in a part of the town which had been built only since her nephew’s visit of two years earlier: ‘from the end of Bond street & Albemarle St to Tyburn Road is now a new town [and] ... my little house, which consists of two little rooms and a dressing room of a floor with a little garden, [is not m]uch bigger than a table.’<sup>41</sup> The rent and Parish duties amounted to £50 per annum, which, although cheaper than her house in Leicester Street, represented a house superior to those paying the mean rental value in central London.<sup>42</sup> She also readily admitted to the disadvantages of her new address in Hanover Street, ‘at the Green Door, near Hanover Square’: ‘It’s pretty enough, but for this winter it will be but a scurvy habitation, because it’s out of the way & the road to it being Swallow Street you know what that is, so I reckon I shall have very few visits.’<sup>43</sup> Swallow Street, now overbuilt by Regent Street, might well have enjoyed an unsavoury reputation as the site of a brew-house, but Hanover Square speedily became a very fashionable and desirable address. Moreover, Swallow Street gave easy access from Hanover Street to Golden Square, where Madame da Cunha may have attended the Portuguese chapel attached to the embassy there (which could be accessed through its garden or from Warwick Street). In fact, Browne’s concern with the quality of his aunt’s accommodation may also have been predicated on his intention to take up residence with her in London; with this prospect in mind, she was quick to persuade him of the advantages of the location: ‘with me you may be as retired as you please for Hanover Street is quite out of the world for it’s a quite (sic) new town.’<sup>44</sup>

In the summer of 1724, after living in Hanover Street for five years, Madame da Cunha acquired a new landlord. ‘I’m to leave the house I’m in at midsummer for a new landlord ... who is a country man of ours & a relation of yours, has taken it into his head I’ve too much company & thinks his house is in danger of being worn out.’<sup>45</sup> She recognised this as a ploy to raise her rent once the area had become the haunt of ‘People of Fascination’, such as Fielding described.<sup>46</sup> While there was little difficulty in acquiring new lodgings, finding the money to clear the debts she had run up during her years in Hanover Street, not to mention the logistics of the move itself, remained problems to be overcome. Eventually, her nephew duly remitted the required amount – she remarked to him that ‘your supply came in Pudding time’ – and she described her latest house as being in ‘Conduit Street, opposite to the Chapel’.<sup>47</sup> The chapel in question was the Trinity Chapel, originally a Catholic chapel but by that time a Protestant chapel of ease, and is clearly

visible on the map of London and Westminster prepared in 1764 by the celebrated cartographer John Rocque. (Interestingly, Madame da Cunha did not refer to the visually prominent, newly built St George's Church on St Georges Street which was almost equally adjacent to her lodgings.) Perhaps unsurprisingly, her choice of location was singularly well chosen: the Trinity Chapel almost immediately became the most fashionable in London as a site for society weddings, and was long associated with Handel, who played the organ there.<sup>48</sup>

## THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

AS NOTED ABOVE, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT MADAME DA CUNHA FULLY INTENDED TO move back to Ireland as soon as Valentine Browne could establish a suitable residence. However, her resolve weakened as she discovered the disadvantages offered by a retirement in Kerry. Having failed to achieve a court position or to maintain a town residence in an area appropriate to the wife of an ambassador, she nevertheless relished certain aspects of her life in London. In addition, having realised the necessity of a London presence when seeking redress at law (discussed below), she was prepared to eke out her small pensions, moving, as described above, to smaller accommodation at least twice. Moreover, what is also clear from her correspondence with her nephew is that she made various attempts to economise without wholly relinquishing the standard of living which she regarded as essential to her status.

Catherine da Cunha had arrived in London in 1716 with a small pot of money which was soon diminished, leaving her dependent on the interest due on the small portion from her late father Sir Valentine Browne's estate.<sup>49</sup> This small entitlement was issued to her annually by Valentine Browne, usually in arrears and in the form of Bills in Irish money whose exchange into sterling was an uncertain business reliant on brokers. With this in mind, it comes as no surprise that, despite her early decision to sever relations with her estranged husband – 'I've written to Dom Luis ... and taken my last leave of him, so there's an end to that affaire' – occasional letters were exchanged between the two in which he variously suggested a reconciliation to take place in Europe, or that maintenance payments might be made to her in London.<sup>50</sup> Late in 1719 she was informed that Don Luis was to be appointed to the 'Court of Madrid as Ambassador Extraordinary', and had written offering her 'three hundred and fifty pounds a year to maintain me'.<sup>51</sup> However, such apparent generosity appeared illusory, and few references are made to him after 1720. Alternative solutions – 'if he does not [provide] I must go & board somewhere in the country or go to a convent' – seemed less appealing after seeing other ladies escorted to their European retirement.<sup>52</sup> Catherine da Cunha evidently kept herself informed as to her estranged husband's whereabouts: having learned at one time that he was in poor health, she calculated that, 'notwithstanding the misunderstandings between us', she might expect to benefit from his will.<sup>53</sup>

Throughout the correspondence between aunt and nephew, money problems take precedence over other subjects in spite of Madame da Cunha's efforts not to make every letter a begging letter. On occasion, she admitted that her movements between London lodgings and country house visiting were dictated by financial motives. In August 1718 she noted that 'in order to live cheap [I] design to go ... to Lady Petre's where [I] propose staying at least 2 months'.<sup>54</sup> In spite of this, the following year she was evidently offended when Browne suggested that she might repeat this strategy: 'I suppose you imagine I save money by being at Lady Petre's ... but quite the contrary.' As she still had to maintain the cost of 'lodgings and the half of my family in town at board wages', she concluded that 'the expense was as much as in town', and admitted to 'Love being Mrs on my own Dunghill better than being an humble companion in a Palace'.<sup>55</sup>

As early as May 1718 Madame da Cunha had already decided to implement stringent economies, promising her nephew that 'when I go into my new house [in Leicester Street] ... I propose to have but one dish of meat a day [and] retrench wine and chair hire', but her intention to pursue a position in the Princess of Wales' court required transport as well as suitable clothing.<sup>56</sup> On the occasion of King George I's death in 1727, and unable to afford the appropriate mourning clothes for attending the new Queen, she was relieved to find herself in Essex, where 'not having money at present, I'm forced to stay contentedly here, for I've but just what will serve my wants.'<sup>57</sup> More generally, she defended her housekeeping expenses, writing in June 1724, for example, that 'I can't spend less than 50 shillings a week in eatables, besides wine, candles, chair, coals, servant's wages & house rent besides pocket money, so you may judge at how great an expense I am at.'<sup>58</sup>

In the same year, 1724, she reported that Mr LaRosse, her previous landlord at Leicester Street, now had 'a country as well as a town house and is to have a coach very soon'.<sup>59</sup> Landlords who were prospering in an era of booming development and financial setbacks were readily overcome by property owners who let houses. The Coronation of George II in 1727 gave all landlords in the West End of London an opportunity to profit. When Madame da Cunha was informed that her nephew and his wife were to visit London that summer, she hastened to secure lodgings for them. Writing to Browne in August of that year, she noted that such landlords could 'hold them up at such an extravagant price because of the Coronation, that I am afraid of venturing on any & the mischief is they won't make a bargain unless they are taken for six month's certain'.<sup>60</sup> Charges were five or six guineas a week, 'for a tolerable lodging, and sometimes more and this year they'll be dearer than ever because of the concourse of foreigners as well as others that will come to see the show.'<sup>61</sup> Evidently, Catherine da Cunha wanted Browne to lodge in the next-door house, a property of a similar size to hers: 'though the house be little and not good enough for you ... I fancy you [could] make a shift with it.'<sup>62</sup> When Lord and Lady Kenmare failed to appear she was irritated, writing 'I took as pretty a lodging as any in the neighbourhood and at a reasonable rate as lodgings go, but then I agreed for eight months certain & by that means had them the cheaper.'<sup>63</sup> As it transpired, the owners of the house were too scrupulous to re-let the property, thus losing a potential profit of more than 20

guineas and embarrassing Madame da Cunha. Although she acknowledged that ‘Their civility vexes me heartily’, there was no option but to continue paying three and a half guineas a week until the end of the year, since she was too honourable to back out of the bargain (despite not having signed a lease).<sup>64</sup>

## COUNTRY VISITING

**I**N THE EARLY YEARS OF THE PERIOD COVERED by her correspondence with Valentine Browne, Catherine da Cunha appeared to use Ingestone Hall’s well-run, if excessively austere, household as a trial run for convent life, to which she regularly threatened to retire (Plate 5). Lady Mary Petre was approximately thirty years her senior and Lady Catherine fifteen years her junior, but the Irishwoman was closer to the older widow, to whom she was much obliged and ‘is so fond of me that I believe she would like I should live with her for ever’. Despite their closeness, she eventually found Lady Mary’s need for permanent companionship suffocating.<sup>65</sup> As a very young widow, Lady Catherine Petre had not encouraged the gaiety which was later noted as a feature of Ingestone Hall’s hospitality.<sup>66</sup> However, they were kind and attentive hosts, embarrassing Madame da Cunha with their solicitude when she was attacked by the rheumatism which she attributed to the damp Essex air. Her fiercely independent spirit did not relish being ministered to by her hosts. Catherine da Cunha was, however, gratified to meet other houseguests who might further her circle of acquaintance. In Essex



5 – Anon., *INGESTONE HALL, ESSEX*  
 c.1750, india ink on paper, 119.4 x 76.2 cm  
 (© Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, TS Mp. 1. 97)





she made the acquaintance of the Dowager Duchess of Ormonde and Lady Waldegrave, both of whom extended further invitations to stay at the country houses of their respective children.<sup>67</sup> Several seasonal journeys to Bath were planned with the Duchess of Ormonde, for example, but these were ‘laid aside for the season for there are such rumours of War that her Grace thinks t’would be a rash action’, and the letters provide no confirmation that these trips were indeed undertaken.<sup>68</sup>

Valentine Browne’s succession to his title in 1720 lent urgency to Madame da Cunha’s concern for the new Viscount’s matrimonial prospects and the secure provision of assets for the future generation. It also had an immediate impact on the pattern of her



6 – Hans Hysing,  
*CHARLES BUTLER, EARL OF  
 ARRAN, (1671-1758)*  
*n.d. oil on canvas, 127 x 101 cm  
 (detail) (© National Monuments  
 Service, Dept of Arts, Heritage and  
 the Gaeltacht)*

country visits. By 1722 she had become a regular summer visitor to Bagshot Park, Surrey, a property owned by Charles Butler, Lord Arran (1671-1758), brother to the absconded James, Duke of Ormonde, and brother-in-law to Madame da Cunha's friend the Duchess of Ormonde (Plate 6). Outwardly conformed, although there is little doubt that he remained Catholic at heart, Lord Arran, 'certainly the best man in the world', was a particular favourite.<sup>69</sup> More importantly, he had proved himself adroit at straddling the religious divide, enabling him to recover much of his elder brother's forfeited property. Determined to follow suit and to recover the Kenmare estates in Ireland, Madame da Cunha now pursued influence to support the legal process, and consequently associated more with influential Protestants than in former years. The national and religious affiliation of those whose company she kept was more often the same as her own, although she was evidently quite capable of associating outside those boundaries.

The appeal of Ingatestone Hall waned as the advantages offered by Bagshot Park became more compelling. In June 1723 she wrote, 'I don't yet know where I'm to go, whether to Bagshot or Lady Petre's for both families are so very good that they equally press me & I don't know yet how I shall decide myself.'<sup>70</sup> In the event, she visited both. Writing from Bagshot Park in September, however, she announced that she would stay until Michaelmas, remarking on how much more she was learning about 'country affairs than formerly', and offering her nephew advice on his improvements in Killarney – advice clearly gleaned from her conversations with Lord Arran.<sup>71</sup> By 1725, as a married man

with a family, Valentine, now Lord Kenmare, had started to build himself a house just outside the town of Killarney. A straight road ran the two miles to Ross Castle, preserving an association with the property he regarded as his ancestral seat. In December 1726, replying to his description of his building and landscape improvements, his aunt responded, 'The description you make me of your house is charming & I don't at all doubt that it surpasses what you say ... the situation of the place ... must be more agreeable than either of the country seats I've had the honour to be at.'<sup>72</sup> Madame da Cunha must here be referring to Ingestone and Bagshot Park, so this is praise indeed. To Lord Kenmare she forwarded seeds and fruit trees and asked for marble and bogwood in return, representing one of the several tangible instances in their correspondence that reveals her pride in her native Ireland:

If you'd give me leave to pay the workman & that you'd give me some of your wood I should be very glad to have a chest made by him, for I should have a great vanity to let the world here see what genteel things our County Kerry produces & that was a reason for begging the marble.<sup>73</sup>

From this point onwards, she encouraged his progress of the Kenmare House gardens. In December 1726, she wrote 'I feel as much pleasure as if they were really my own ... I fancy if you planted some willows ... and a wilderness or plantation each side ... would make it exceedingly agreeable.'<sup>74</sup> A new pattern of summer visiting also emerged at this time – in June 1728 she noted that 'I ... shan't go to Lady Petre's this year and believe I shall go to Bagshot towards August according to custom' – with winters spent in town, attending to legal meetings on which the recovery of the Irish estates depended.<sup>75</sup> In spite of her many entreaties that she needed his presence in order to garner the influence required for the passing of an Act of Parliament, Lord Kenmare remained in Ireland, pre-occupied with his new house and improvements, while defending his rights to the resources of Lough Leane. Indeed, by 1725, a rental agreement from the Crown for Ross Castle had been achieved through strenuous appeals from both Kenmare and his aunt: 'I got a friend [*sic*] of mine to speak about the affair to Sir Robert Walpole who read Lord Carteret's letter in your favour, to the Lords of the Treasury.'<sup>76</sup> Madame da Cunha was quick to realise that this amounted to tacit admission of legal ownership, and pressed forward with further claims on his behalf. In 1727 she achieved, after many years of struggle, the passage of an Act of Parliament which helped put the estates back on an economic footing, and she continued to work towards the decommissioning of Ross Castle.<sup>77</sup>

By 1730, aged 48, she claimed to be 'an ould woman that sits by the fire side & knows no other people than those that come to visit me'.<sup>78</sup> Catherine da Cunha stoutly maintained an Irish and Catholic identity throughout her years in London while resisting a return to Ireland despite her nephew's many appeals. While Louisa Conolly later in the century would indicate a thoroughly conflicted attitude towards her identity, claiming it was impossible to 'love the Irish, though one may like them; but yet it is right for an Irish person to live among them', Madame da Cunha displayed the more nuanced uneasiness

of a long-term expatriate.<sup>79</sup> As early as 1719, musing on the idea of again taking up residence in county Kerry, she wrote,

Perhaps by repeating my acquaintance with some of my relations there, I might grow fond of [Ireland] again, which I neither desire nor wish, besides I've become so indifferent that the Irish Good nature, I can't return, neither in words nor in actions, so I am not at all fit for that country.<sup>80</sup>

Later, in 1730, the recently widowed Lord Kenmare came to lodge with her in Conduit Street and the correspondence ceased. In 1724 she had repeated that 'I love my own dunghill better than other people's palaces & though I don't eat so well at home, yet my higger-mugger way is more to my satisfaction than being at other people's tables and could I help it, I would never stir from home.'<sup>81</sup> With her nephew firmly installed within her orbit, this may well have become the case. Lord Kenmare died in 1736, having remarried the previous year and set up home in Grosvenor Square. Madame da Cunha continued to live in Conduit Street for many years.<sup>82</sup>

## CONCLUSION

**A**LTHOUGH MADAME DA CUNHA'S DECISIONS IN HER CHOICE OF LONDON LODGINGS were driven by economic necessity, the modest houses were carefully selected using criteria that related more to the calibre of her neighbours than to the size of the accommodation. Some scattered information is to be found in the correspondence concerning her servants and furnishings, while her comments on landlords, rent prices and housekeeping costs reveal her preoccupation with domestic economy.

If she suffered trepidation that her modest accommodation might limit her ability to host assemblies and card-playing evenings, she was soon reassured. An inability to participate in the visiting rituals of aristocratic ladies might have seriously impeded her need to garner their husbands' political patronage, but Madame da Cunha appeared to have overcome this handicap by abandoning the pretence of her marriage and openly admitting her financial difficulties. Indeed, this policy of transparency may have been made more acceptable by the collapse of the South Sea Company in 1720, which rendered a number of society ladies embarrassed.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, although Catherine da Cunha was proud to claim that her friends had not abandoned her despite not being in a position to return 'visit-for visit' in the accepted manner, her 'assemblies' were evidently both widely-known and well attended over more years than she admitted in her letters. In April 1728 Ralph Standish attended one of these assemblies with no less than Thomas Howard, 8th Duke of Norfolk (1638-1732): 'about 9 of the clock, at Madam D Hancuna's, where he bid me stay till he had done play [at cards]'.<sup>84</sup>

Participation in the protocols of hospitality and visiting were a necessary condition of town lodging, but country visits provided some respite from these commitments. On

occasion, she admitted to her nephew that it was extremely tiring to sustain the constructed persona essential to her new life in London, writing in March 1718 that ‘if the world knew how matters stand perhaps I should have few friends’.<sup>85</sup> Despite being a Catholic and an undeclared Jacobite, Madame da Cunha attempted for some time to obtain a position at the court of the Princess of Wales and, despite her situation as estranged wife, to appropriate her husband’s diplomatic credentials. Relaxing as a guest at Ingestone Hall among fellow Catholics and Jacobite supporters must have been a welcome relief from this contrived dissimulation. Once these pretences were shed, Catherine da Cunha discovered that the variety of company she found at Lord Arran’s house, Bagshot Park, was more conducive to her metropolitan sensibilities than the quietly austere Ingestone Hall with its damp Essex air and reclusive widows. Lord Arran and Madame da Cunha enjoyed a shared cultural background unhampered by the restrictions of religion, and she also evidently found his fashionable interest in landscaping refreshing. Another useful feature of her frequent visits to Bagshot Park was the opportunity of gathering political patronage from fellow guests, a prerequisite to the eventual success of Lord Kenmare’s legal procedures. As the recovery of the Irish estates had become Madame da Cunha’s prime motivation after 1720, country visits that promised an opportunity to garner such influence were clearly more alluring.

Madame da Cunha was fully aware that legislative success required influence from well-connected and, preferably, titled men. While her nephew postponed his return to England, she negotiated the influence, through their wives and secretaries, of men like Lords Carteret and Grafton, each of whom were later to be appointed lords lieutenant of Ireland. Titled men with wives who had Irish connections were thus tapped for information. Although she was never able to achieve her main objective, namely the restoration of Ross Castle to Valentine Browne in order that he could re-establish it as his principal seat for future generations, she was successful in providing documented proof that his claim to the property was acknowledged by the Crown. Further, she negotiated a Private Bill that granted the Viscount Kenmare full power to sell land or woods as required and the licence to manage his estates without hindrance from others. Without these legal assurances, he would not have been in a position to put the estates on a secure financial footing. That Madame da Cunha managed this without the presence of the man for whose benefit these feats were performed confirms her as a pioneer in garnering political patronage. Tracing the events of Catherine da Cunha’s life of active agency through these letters, which explicitly contradict the perception of eighteenth-century gentlewomen in London as idle consumers, the findings of Chalus, Vickery and others are found to apply as readily to an Irish woman of strong character as to her English counterparts in the latter part of the century.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to Dr Finola O’Kane Crimmins for encouraging me to look at this fascinating bundle of correspondence in the first place. I am further indebted to Dr O’Kane Crimmins and Professor Kathleen James Chakraborty for their helpful comments and criticism on earlier drafts of this paper. My research has been supported by a postgraduate scholarship from the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences. The Public Records Office of Northern Ireland facilitated the many hours I spent poring over Madame da Cunha’s letters, and Patricia O’Hare lent invaluable help sourcing images from Muckcross Research Library. Thanks are also due to the Hon. Dominic Petre, who was kind enough to provide me with an enlightening tour of his home, Ingatstone Hall, Essex.

## ENDNOTES

The following abbreviation is used:

PRONI Public Records Office, Northern Ireland, D.4151/F/2

- <sup>1</sup> The surviving correspondence of more than a hundred letters is held in the Public Records Office, Northern Ireland, D.4151/F/2 (hereafter PRONI, followed by location and date). All extracts quoted here may be assumed to be from Catherine da Cunha to Valentine Browne, later 3rd Viscount Kenmare, unless stated otherwise. Selected extracts from the letters were published within a wider study of the Kenmare papers by the conservator Edward MacLysaght, *The Kenmare Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1942). The syntax and spelling has mainly been adapted to modern usage and dates are represented in the revised system.
- <sup>2</sup> Clare Brant and Susan E. Whyman (eds), *Walking the Streets of Eighteenth-Century London: John Gay’s Trivia (1716)*, (Oxford, 2007).
- <sup>3</sup> The literature is voluminous, but for the particular relevance of the female role, see Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (2nd ed., London and New York, 1996); Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in late Stuart England: the cultural world of the Verneys* (Oxford, 1999); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: at home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009).
- <sup>4</sup> Elaine Chalus, ‘To serve my friends: women and political patronage in eighteenth-century England’, in John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds), *Women, Privilege and Power: British politics, 1750 to the present* (Stanford, 2001).
- <sup>5</sup> M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth and London (1925), 1966). A pioneer social historian, George focusses on the lower end of the social spectrum.
- <sup>6</sup> Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Kerry* (1756) 47-48. Smith explained the complexities of the forfeiture and encumbrances on the estate, responsibility of which were transferred from the Crown, through the lessees, such as John Asgill and others, until inherited by Valentine Browne in 1720. Madame da Cunha eventually overcame John Asgill’s obstructions to her entitlement; Anthony Hammond was less successful. MacLysaght, *Kenmare Manuscripts*, 315, 333-34, 395.
- <sup>7</sup> MacLysaght, *Kenmare Manuscripts*, 94, 327
- <sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 92.
- <sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, 295.
- <sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 315-18, 328. Anthony Hammond (1668-1738) was awarded the £400 p.a. pension towards his wards’ upkeep, drawn from the estate rents. His difficulty in extracting this from his sometime associate, John Asgill, resulted in a series of lawsuits.

- <sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 238. William Weldon, an Irish lawyer, married Catherine da Cunha's sister Elizabeth in 1711.
- <sup>12</sup> PRONI, London, 18th June 1717.
- <sup>13</sup> George Rudé, *Hanoverian London 1714-1808* (London, 1971) 9; George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 74.
- <sup>14</sup> PRONI, Ingatestone, 14th December 1716. The present author usually concurs with Edward MacLysaght's estimated dates on letters, as here, where the year was omitted. Navestock Hall was the ancestral seat of the Catholic Waldegrave family.
- <sup>15</sup> PRONI, 14th May 1717.
- <sup>16</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> PRONI, Ingatestone, 14th December [undated year but probably 1716]. This is the first letter from Catherine da Cunha in the collection, and is addressed to the 'Hon. Valentine Browne at the Sheafe and Anchor in Thomas Street, Dublin'.
- <sup>18</sup> PRONI, 4th May 1717.
- <sup>19</sup> PRONI, London, 24th May 1718.
- <sup>20</sup> PRONI, London, 18th June 1717, and the following letter of 2nd July 1717. The trial was a show trial which Lord Oxford hoped would clear his name. See also W.A. Speck, 'Harley, Robert, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661-1724)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12344](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12344), accessed 6 June 2011.
- <sup>21</sup> PRONI, 16th April 1717. For information on eighteenth-century residents, see F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, vols 33 and 34: *St Anne Soho* (London, 1966) 476-80. Envoy Ivar Rosenkrantz had lived at No. 10-11 Leicester Street, the largest house on the street, between 1710 and 1713.
- <sup>22</sup> Sheppard, *Survey of London*, identifies the street on which the Rosenkrantz residence stood as the street leading off the later Leicester Square rather than another of the same name off Warwick Street. For details of the interior appointments in these houses, Sheppard cites *The Calendar of Treasury Books* (1713) 481.
- <sup>23</sup> PRONI, London, 16th April 1717.
- <sup>24</sup> PRONI, London, Easter Thursday, 30th March 1717. Henry de Nassau (c.1672-1754), the British-born scion of a noble Orange family and cousin to William III, had been created Earl of Grantham in 1698 and appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Princess of Wales from 1717. His wife, Lady Henrietta, was a daughter of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory, and sister to James, 2nd Duke of Ormonde (1665-1745), and Charles Butler, 1st Earl of Arran (1671-1758).
- <sup>25</sup> PRONI, London, Easter Thursday, 30th March 1717.
- <sup>26</sup> PRONI, London, 16th April 1717.
- <sup>27</sup> PRONI, 14th May 1717. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in late Stuart England*, 89-102. Whyman is particularly insightful on differences between town and country visiting (pp.89-98), the power relationships expressed thereby (p.91), and the use of coaches (p.102).
- <sup>28</sup> PRONI, London, 18th June 1717. Ehrengard Melusine von der Schulenberg (1667-1743), who held the post of official mistress and possiblemorganatic wife of George I, had been given the titles of Duchess of Kendal and Duchess of Munster by the King in 1716.
- <sup>29</sup> PRONI, London, 16th June 1718. The generous neighbour, named as Mrs Brian, was supposed to have been a friend and neighbour of Valentine Browne in Kerry.
- <sup>30</sup> Courtiers Lord and Lady Grantham (see note 24) lived in Richmond. The liberal and cultivated atmosphere at the court of Caroline, Princess of Wales (1683-17370), was also known for the beauty and breeding of its Ladies of the Bedchamber.
- <sup>31</sup> PRONI, London, 9th June 1724.
- <sup>32</sup> PRONI, London, 10th August 1718.

- <sup>33</sup> John Rocque's *Plan of the cities of London and Westminster and the borough of Southwark* was published in 1746 but reflected the results of surveys conducted between 1737 and 1745. Ormond Lodge, in Richmond Park was one of the forfeited properties of James, Duke of Ormonde, bought at auction by the Prince of Wales.
- <sup>34</sup> PRONI, London, 6th December 1718. Ombre was a card game for three people, played with forty cards, popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- <sup>35</sup> PRONI, London, 10th August 1718.
- <sup>36</sup> PRONI, dated 'Last of May' 1723, addressed to Lord Kenmare at Kilcash, county Tipperary. Kilcash was the seat of his father-in-law, Colonel Thomas Butler (d.1738).
- <sup>37</sup> Wigan Records Office, Standish Papers, DD/St/CS/5/2, Ralph Standish Howard (1700-1735), letter to his father Ralph Standish at Standish Hall, near Wigan, Lancashire, 7th November 1727.
- <sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, 20th June [or July], 1727.
- <sup>39</sup> PRONI, London, 29th May 1719, a draft letter addressed to Mr Weldon.
- <sup>40</sup> Rudé, *Hanoverian London*, 9. Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (London (1724-27), 2004) 174.
- <sup>41</sup> PRONI, London, 7th June 1719, addressed to 'Hon Valentine Browne at Ardagh, Co Kerry'.
- <sup>42</sup> Peter Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London* (New Haven and London, 2004) 95.
- <sup>43</sup> PRONI, London, 29th June 1719.
- <sup>44</sup> PRONI, London, 12th May 1719.
- <sup>45</sup> PRONI, London, 3rd May 1724, addressed to Lord Kenmare at Kilcash. The landlord in question appears to be an unknown relation of Valentine Browne's, who Madame da Cunha seems reluctant to acknowledge as part of her family.
- <sup>46</sup> Rudé, *Hanoverian London*, 9. Henry Fielding (1707-54) satirised the ebb and flow of elite residence in London.
- <sup>47</sup> PRONI, London, 9th June 1724.
- <sup>48</sup> Designed by John James (c.1673-1746), St George's was built in 1721-24 as one of the 'Fifty Churches' projected by Queen Ann's Act of 1711.
- <sup>49</sup> MacLysaght, *Kenmare Manuscripts*, 326. Sir Valentine Browne's will, dated 7th June 1690, settled £8,000 in portions for his four daughters, to be administered by his son Nicholas and heirs from the estate income.
- <sup>50</sup> PRONI, 16th April 1717. On 16th June 1718, for example, Madame da Cunha reported that Don Luis was in Spain and was offering to send money.
- <sup>51</sup> PRONI, 9th December 1719.
- <sup>52</sup> PRONI, London, 10th January 1720. Catherine da Cunha had observed 'poor' Lady Rosse being escorted to her retirement at a Flemish convent.
- <sup>53</sup> PRONI, London, undated letter addressed to Killarney.
- <sup>54</sup> PRONI, London, 24th August 1718.
- <sup>55</sup> PRONI, London, 8th August 1719, addressed to 'the Hon. Valentine Browne Esq., at Stephen Gallway's house, in Cork'. Gallway [Gallwey] was a merchant.
- <sup>56</sup> PRONI, London, 8th May 1718.
- <sup>57</sup> PRONI, Ingatestone, written on 'Midsummer Day' 1727.
- <sup>58</sup> PRONI, London, 24th August 1718.
- <sup>59</sup> PRONI, London, 9th June 1724.
- <sup>60</sup> PRONI, London, 10th August 1727.
- <sup>61</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>62</sup> *ibid.*

- <sup>63</sup> PRONI, London, 17th October 1727.
- <sup>64</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>65</sup> PRONI, Ingatestone, 22th January 1718.
- <sup>66</sup> Wigan Records Office, Standish Papers, DD/St/CS/5/2, Ralph Standish referred to Lady Petre's gaiety.
- <sup>67</sup> PRONI, Ingatestone, 26th October 1717.
- <sup>68</sup> PRONI, London, 10th March 1719.
- <sup>69</sup> PRONI, Ingatestone Hall, 29th May 1725.
- <sup>70</sup> PRONI, London, 25th June 1723.
- <sup>71</sup> PRONI, Bagshot Park, 17th September 1723.
- <sup>72</sup> PRONI, Bagshot Park, 22nd August 1725.
- <sup>73</sup> PRONI, London, 24th December 1726.
- <sup>74</sup> PRONI, Bagshot Park, 22nd August 1725, addressed to Lord Kenmare at Killarney, county Kerry.
- <sup>75</sup> PRONI, London, 11th June 1728.
- <sup>76</sup> PRONI, London, 3rd and 17th May 1726, addressed to Lord Kenmare at Killarney. National Archives, Kew, TNA, T/I 258, 1722-1725. This folder of surveys also contains a petition from Valentine Browne, commonly known as Lord Kenmare. This appeal had been underway since 1720 but the first batch of paperwork had been lost. Journeys between Ireland and England and administrative changes had further delayed action.
- <sup>77</sup> MacLysaght, *Kenmare Manuscripts*, 305. A private statute (13, Geo. 1, c.28) was granted to 'Valentine Brown', Lord Kenmare's estate, giving him permission to sell part of the estate for payment of debts and encumbrances. This freed-up money for other improvements and further legal battles.
- <sup>78</sup> PRONI, London, 13th January 1730.
- <sup>79</sup> Brian FitzGerald (ed.), *The Correspondence of Emily, Duchess of Leinster, 1731-1814*, 3 vols (Dublin 1949-57) III, 321.
- <sup>80</sup> PRONI, London, 24th July 1719.
- <sup>81</sup> PRONI, London, 15th October 1724.
- <sup>82</sup> MacLysaght, *Kenmare Manuscripts*, 97.
- <sup>83</sup> P.G.M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: a study in the development of public credit 1688-1756* (London, 1967) 140.
- <sup>84</sup> Wigan Records Office, Standish Papers, DD/St/CS/5/2, letter from Ralph Standish to father, dated 10th April 1728.
- <sup>85</sup> PRONI, London, 10th March 1718.