

The Life and Networks of Pamela Fitzgerald, 1773-1831

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Abstract

This thesis assesses the life of Pamela Fitzgerald. Crucially, it will attempt to tell the story of Pamela Fitzgerald from her own perspective, rather than the viewpoint of her husband, which has dominated for so long. The structure of the thesis follows the chronology of Pamela's life from her birth, around 1773, to her death in 1831. Chapter one considers the period from 1773 to 1792. The main issue of this chapter is the debate about Pamela's birth. Moreover, the chapter places Pamela's early life within the networks of Madame de Genlis, the political backdrop of the early French Revolution and, particularly the Reign of Terror, the main factors in both Pamela's departure from France and her marriage to Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The second chapter focuses on Pamela's experiences in Ireland between 1793 and 1797. This chapter intertwines Pamela's domestic and political lives, assessing her relationship with the Fitzgerald family network, her life as wife and mother, and her involvement in radical politics. The third chapter covers the pivotal year in Pamela's life: 1798. This chapter analyses the build-up to the 1798 Rebellion, and Pamela's and Edward's involvement. It traces the manner in which Pamela coped with the Edward's death and the circumstances in which she found herself. The fourth chapter encompasses the final thirty two years of Pamela's life, covering her continuing relationship with the Fitzgeralds, her second marriage, to Joseph Pitcairn, her contacts with Madame de Genlis and, more generally, the challenges of her life in Hamburg, England, Austria and France in the early nineteenth century. Pamela died, in 1831, in the Hôtel Danube on the outskirts of Paris.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, by me or any other person, for the purpose of obtaining any other qualification.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------------|
| <u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u> | <u>iv</u> |
| <u>INTRODUCTION</u> | <u>1</u> |
| <u>CHAPTER 1: BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE, 1773-1792</u> | <u>11</u> |
| <u>CHAPTER 2: DOMESTICITY AND POLITICS IN IRELAND, 1793-1797</u> | <u>51</u> |
| <u>CHAPTER 3: REBELLION, 1798</u> | <u>103</u> |
| <u>CHAPTER 4: EXILE, FAMILY AND SURVIVAL, 1799-1831</u> | <u>159</u> |
| <u>CONCLUSION</u> | <u>214</u> |
| <u>BIBLIOGRPAHY</u> | <u>218</u> |

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Introduction

This thesis provides a comprehensive study of the life and networks of Pamela Fitzgerald, 1773-1831.¹ As the dissertation will explain, Pamela's birth has been the subject of controversy and debate. This work will argue that the subject was born in England, around 1773. In 1779, Nathaniel Parker Forth, former secretary to the British embassy, was commissioned by Louis Philippe, the duke of Orléans, to find a young English girl to assist in the education of his children. As a result, Pamela moved to France and was raised in the care of Madame de Genlis, who was responsible for the education of the Orléans children. In 1792, the midst of the French Revolution Pamela married Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the fifth son of James Fitzgerald, the duke of Leinster and his wife, Emily. The couple moved to Ireland in 1793, where Edward became increasingly involved in radical politics, culminating in his arrest as a United Irish leader in May 1798. Edward subsequently died in prison as a result of wounds sustained during his arrest. Pamela found herself widowed with three young children and exiled from Ireland and Britain. She found refuge in Hamburg, where she remarried in 1800, to Joseph Pitcairn, an American consul. However, the marriage did not last and although they were not legally separated, they parted ways in 1813. Pamela lived the remainder of her life in challenging financial difficulties and died in Paris on 7 November 1831. Pamela's eventful life provides the opportunity for a case study of the female experience of revolution and its aftermath in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Europe.

¹ The subject of this dissertation is best known to historians as Pamela Fitzgerald. According to one account, discussed below, her birth name was either Stephanie Caroline Anne Sims or Nancy Sims

The most significant primary sources for this study are the manuscript collections pertaining to the wider Fitzgerald family. The extensive Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell papers, held in the National Library of Ireland, provide a crucial basis for the dissertation. This collection includes significant material written by Pamela, as well as correspondence concerning Pamela between family members. These provide first-hand insights into Pamela's life and experiences. While these papers have only recently been made available to the public, they were utilised and referenced in two significant pieces of historical work relating to Pamela: Gerard Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald: being some account of their lives compiled from the letters of those who knew them* (London, 1904) and Lucy Ellis and Joseph Turquan, *La belle Paméla, 1773-1831. D'après des correspondances et mémoires inédits, des traditions et documents de famille* (New York, 1925). These authors were descendants of Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald, a connection which coloured their interpretations. Moreover, they are marked by early twentieth century approaches to the past, notably on the history of women. The focus of these studies was mainly the political activities of Edward Fitzgerald, with Pamela relegated to a secondary role. The original correspondence covers the pivotal moments in Pamela's life such as her arrival in Ireland in 1793, her pregnancies and her situation following Edward's death in 1798. The Lennox/Fitzgerald portion of the papers also contain extensive correspondence which details the development of Pamela's relationship with her wider family, her involvement in Edward's politics, her domestic life and the early part of her life following her husband's death. The Campbell portion of the papers, relating mainly to the family of Pamela Campbell (Pamela Fitzgerald's eldest daughter) contained very little material directly relating to her mother. The National Library of Ireland also holds the important Conolly-Napier papers and Leinster papers. The Conolly-Napier papers include some material relating to Pamela, particularly in relation to the events of 1798. The Leinster

papers contained material relating to the attainder against Edward Fitzgerald and the impact of this on Pamela.

The dissertation also draws on manuscript collections held in a range of other repositories. The Rebellion papers, held in the National Archives of Ireland, contain important sources concerning the extent of Pamela's involvement in the United Irishmen. In the Trinity College, Dublin, the Sirr and Madden papers were examined. While the Sirr papers contained sparse material relating to Pamela, they did hold extensive material on Edward and his political activities in the weeks preceding the 1798 Rebellion. The Madden papers contain the manuscripts compiled by R. R Madden as he composed his influential *The United Irishmen: their lives and times*.² Madden made one of the most comprehensive analyses of Pamela's parentage and early life. His papers contain accounts prepared by a number of French correspondents in the 1850s.

The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland also contains important material on Pamela and her networks. The most predominant collections are the Strutt papers and Leinster papers. The Strutt papers contain letters exchanged between Emily Fitzgerald, the duchess of Leinster (Edward's mother) and her daughter Lucy (Edward's sister), who developed a close relationship with Pamela in the mid-1790s. These letters, the majority written after 1800, reveal the often complex relationship that Pamela maintained with her husband's family after his death in 1798. Significantly, these letters were not drawn upon in the works of either Campbell, or Ellis and Turquan. The Leinster papers contain a range of material relating to Pamela, documenting her involvement in Edward's affairs, her parentage and her agreement with the Fitzgerald family in relation to financial aid after Edward's death. The A.P.W. Malcomson (depositor) papers include letters written between Pamela and

² Richard R. Madden, *The United Irishmen: their lives and times*, second series (2nd ser., 2nd ed., 7 vols, Dublin, 1857-1860), vol. 2, pp 475-551.

General George Harcourt, her fiancée momentarily in 1798, which have not been used by previous historians. The dissertation also draws on collections in P.R.O.N.I. with more modest documentation relating to Pamela: the Bunbury papers, the DeRos papers, the Granard papers, the McPeake (depositor) papers, the Normanton papers and the correspondence between Lady Louis Conolly and her sisters, Lady Sarah Napier and Emily, duchess of Leinster.

In England, several archives were consulted in order to widen the search for manuscript material relating to Pamela. In the British Library three significant sets of papers were analysed: the Dowager Duchess papers, the Holland House papers and the Napier papers. All three collections of papers concerned Pamela's extended family, and she often appeared in their correspondence. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, further Napier papers were also consulted. Several other manuscript collections that were examined, though they provided no material relating to Pamela. For example, the West Suffolk Record Office was consulted in order to view the Bunbury papers, however this collection contained nothing of direct relevance. Finally, at Kent County Record Office, the Pratt manuscripts were analysed in order to obtain information on Pamela's relationship with the Irish and British governments. An intended visit the Essex Record Office to consult Strutt papers proved impossible; these papers had been removed by the depositor.

French archives were also consulted in order to collect material on the French aspects of Pamela's life and networks, both prior to 1793 and after Edward's death in 1798. Correspondence pertaining to the Orléans family and Madame de Genlis provided the most significant archival connection. In the Archives Nationales of France, the papers of Anatole Montesquiou Fezensac, an acquaintance of Madame de Genlis, were analysed due to his relationship with both Madame de Genlis and Pamela in the 1820s. Also certain manuscripts in the Affaires politiques of the Ministère de l'Intérieur collection provided insight into

Pamela's reputation in France from 1808 and the manner in which her prior political connections made her a watched woman in France. Restrictions on the Orléans papers meant that access was granted only to specific manuscripts in the collection. In the Bibliothèque nationale de France several collections relating to Madame de Genlis were consulted, but they proved to have no evidence relating to Pamela. In the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, an extension of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, a moderate size of material on Madame de Genlis provided further evidence on her relationship with Pamela.

The thesis also draws on a range of printed primary source material. Pamela's political activity is highlighted in *The life of Thomas Reynolds esq.* written by his son, Thomas Reynolds, who argued that Pamela was more actively involved in the United Irishmen than previously suggested.³ Further memoirs and correspondences of Irish and British aristocrats gave insight into the perceptions of Pamela and the political turmoil that surrounded her, such as the writings of Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh and John Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare.⁴ Madame de Genlis' memoirs, published in ten volumes, are essential to understanding both Pamela and de Genlis.⁵ However, as previous historians such as Gabriel de Broglie have argued, de Genlis was susceptible to altering the truth in her favour, so as a result her memoirs have been used with caution. Letters written between the duke of Chartres and Nathaniel Forth, which deal in part with Pamela's origins, were published by Amédée Britsch in *Madame Lafarge et Louis-Philippe, la légende et l'histoire, avec des lettres inédites de L. P. J. d'Orléans et de Madame de Genlis*, in 1913. Although it is claimed that the original letters were also published in Leroux's 'Lettres de L. P. J. d'Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)' in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, this

³ Thomas Reynolds, *The life of Thomas Reynolds, esq* (2 vols, London, 1839).

⁴ D. A. Fleming and A.P.W Malcomson (eds), *'A volley of execrations': the letters and papers of John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare (1772-1802)* (Dublin, 2005); Charles Vane (ed.), *Memoirs and correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh* (2 vols, London, 1848).

⁵ Madame de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits de Madame de la comtesse de Genlis sur le dix-huitième siècle et la révolution française, depuis 1756 jusqu'à nos jours* (10 vols, Paris, 1825).

article no longer exists and as a result their authenticity is questionable.⁶ In relation to the Fitzgerald family, Brian Fitzgerald's *Correspondence of Emily, duchess of Leinster (1731-1814)*, provide editions of important letters exchanged amongst the Fitzgerald family.⁷

The two most significant published works on Pamela are Campbell's *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, and Ellis and Turquan's *La Belle Pamela*, which both appeared in the early twentieth century.⁸ The two books quoted extensively from family papers, in private collections, but the authors of both books had significant family connections to Pamela. As a result, their work must be approached with caution. Indeed, Campbell admitted his tendency to omit certain letters and to summarise rather than cite evidence.⁹ Campbell asserted that he wanted to clear Pamela's name of 'ill-natured comment on account of supposed irregularities in her conduct'.¹⁰ Ellis and Turquan also drew heavily on papers then in private hands. They claimed, however, that 'the life of Pamela pertains more to the romance of history than to history itself'.¹¹ While both books provide detailed accounts of Pamela's life, they failed to attempt to develop the historical importance of Pamela and their approach sits uncomfortably alongside modern approaches to women's history. Pamela's relationship throughout her life with Madame de Genlis make it essential to analyse the most up to date biography of de Genlis. the most accurate biographies of Madame de Genlis, Gabriel de Broglie's *Madame de Genlis*.¹²

⁶ Leroux (ed.), 'Lettres de L. P. J. d'Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)' in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1926), pp 111-69.

⁷ Brian Fitzgerald (ed.), *Correspondence of Emily, Duchess of Leinster, (1731-1814)* (3 vols, Dublin, 1949).

⁸ Gerard Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald: being some account of their lives compiled from the letters of those who knew them* (London, 1904); Lucy Ellis and Joseph Turquan, *La Belle Pamela: Lady Edward Fitzgerald* (New York, 1924).

⁹ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. vi.

¹⁰ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. viii.

¹¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 8.

¹² Gabriel de Broglie, *Madame de Genlis* (Paris, 1985).

Works concerning Edward Fitzgerald also indicates the manner in which Pamela was remembered. Thomas Moore's *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* created a distinctively romantic version of Edward, with little information regarding Pamela other than the question of her parentage and her dire situation after Edward's death.¹³ Richard R. Madden's account of both Edward and Pamela in *The United Irishmen: their lives and times*, published in two editions between 1842 and 1860, included a significant investigation into Pamela's parentage.¹⁴ The remainder of Madden's analysis of Pamela essentially involves a summary of her role in the rebellion and her life after Edward's death. The most recent account of Edward is Stella Tillyard's *Citizen Lord: Edward Fitzgerald, 1763-1798*. This highlighted the significance of Pamela's marriage to Edward and on her reputation both during and after Edward's life.¹⁵ Tillyard compared Edward and Pamela's marriage to an almost revolutionary act: 'Pamela was the revolution, marrying her bound Lord Edward to what she represented and that was in itself, a kind of treasonable activity.'¹⁶

The dissertation draws on the vast historiography dealing with Ireland in the 1790s. Marianne Elliott's *Partners in Revolution: the United Irishmen and France* was a ground breaking account of the period and, given the focus of the French connection, was especially important for this research project.¹⁷ Elliott's book was a focal point for the debate on the influence of the French Revolution on Irish politics during the 1790s over the past three decades.¹⁸ The historiography of the United Irishmen was essential to understanding the

¹³ Thomas Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* (Dublin, 1831).

¹⁴ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, pp 475-551.

¹⁵ Stella Tillyard, *Citizen Lord: Edward Fitzgerald, 1763-1798* (London, 1997).

¹⁶ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 153.

¹⁷ Marianne Elliott, *Partners in revolution: the United Irishmen and France* (New Haven, 1982).

¹⁸ Hugh Gough and David Dickson (eds), *Ireland and the French Revolution* (Dublin, 1990); David Keogh, *The French disease: the catholic church and the radicalism in Ireland, 1790-1800* (Dublin, 1993).

political context of Pamela's time in Ireland. The work of Jim Smyth, Nancy J. Curtin, David Dickson, Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan were especially useful.¹⁹

The recent increase in research on Irish gender history has created an interest in forgotten and under-examined women. Catriona Kennedy's Ph.D. thesis "What can women give but tears": gender politics and Irish national identity in the 1790s' provided an important assessment of gender in 1790s Ireland.²⁰ Kennedy's work provided an important context and stimulus to the present analysis of Pamela, assessing her place in both the domestic and public spheres. Kennedy's research on the 'gendering of national memory' has also encouraged this study's consideration of Pamela's historical reputations and her neglect by earlier historians.²¹ As a large part of Pamela's biography concerns her roles as a wife and mother, several historical sources were consulted in order to comprehend the role of women in eighteenth-century Europe.²² Furthermore, the dissertation utilises the scholarship of leading historians of women in Ireland. The work of Mary O' Dowd, Margaret MacCurtain, Maria Luddy, Marilyn Cohen and Nancy J. Curtin were essential to the gender aspect of this thesis.²³ Regarding female participation in the 1798 Rebellion, Helena Walsh Concannon's *Women of 'Ninety-Eight*, romanticised female activity and their 'pious duty' during the rebellion and reinforced the prevailing idea that their role was to 'guard the memory of the

¹⁹ David Dickson, Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds), *The United Irishmen: republicanism, radicalism and rebellion* (Dublin, 1993); Nancy J. Curtin, *The United Irishmen: popular politics in Ulster and Dublin, 1791-1798* (New York, 1994); Jim Smyth, *The men of no property: Irish radicals and popular politics in the late eighteenth century* (London, 1998).

²⁰ Catriona A. Kennedy, "What can women give but tears": gender politics and Irish national identity in the 1790s' (Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2004).

²¹ Kennedy, 'What can women give but tears', p. 315.

²² Elaine Farrell (ed.), *'She said she was in the family way' pregnancy and infancy in modern Ireland* (London, 2012); Owen Hufton, *The prospect before her: a history of women in western Europe, 1500-1800* (New York, 1996); A.P.W. Malcomson, *The pursuit of the heiress: aristocratic marriage in Ireland 1740-1840* (Belfast, 2006).

²³ Marilyn Cohen and Nancy J. Curtin (eds), *Reclaiming gender: transgressive identities in modern Ireland* (New York, 1999); Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *Women in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1991); Mary O'Dowd, *A history of women in Ireland: 1500-1800* (Harlow, 2005).

fallen and to keep bright their names'.²⁴ This view has been challenged in recent decades. For example, the essays in Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong's *The Women of 1798* argued against the portrayal of woman involved in the 1798 Rebellion as no more than mourners and emblems of memory.²⁵

While they are not discussed in this dissertation, it should be noted here that Pamela was the subject of a number of portraits in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some of her earliest portraits were commissioned by Madame de Genlis: a group painting of Adélaïde d'Orléans, Henriette de Sercey and Pamela playing ball, painted in 1789, Pamela as a Grey sister, painted in the same year and, perhaps the best known, an oil sketch of Pamela in 1792 by Romney. Following her departure from Ireland in 1798, Pamela was painted on a number of occasions: a portrait dated 1799 has been attributed to Henriette de Sercey, while Mallery painted Pamela and her eldest daughter in 1800. Stella Tillyard has commented that the latter depicted Pamela's 'resplendent pulchritude soon faded, destroyed by misery, alcohol and poverty.'²⁶

This thesis is the first attempt made in almost one hundred years to assess Pamela's life. Crucially, it tells Pamela's story from her own perspective, rather than from the viewpoint of her husband which has dominated for so long. The structure of this thesis follows the chronology of Pamela's life from her birth, around 1773, to her death in 1831. Chapter one considers the period from 1773 to 1792. The main issue of this chapter is the debate about Pamela's birth. The chapter assesses the main viewpoints in relation to Pamela's birth, drawing on the full range of evidence. Moreover, the chapter places Pamela's early life within the networks of Madame de Genlis, which are essential to understanding Pamela's

²⁴ Helena Walsh Concannon, *Women of 'ninety eight* (Dublin, 1919), p. xvi.

²⁵ Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong (eds), *The women of 1798* (Dublin, 1998).

²⁶ A list of likenesses may be found in Liam Chambers, 'Fitzgerald, Pamela (1776-1831)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Some of the portraits are reproduced in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela* and Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*.

education and upbringing. The political backdrop to Pamela's early years is also examined, with the French Revolution and, particularly the Reign of Terror, the main factors in both Pamela's departure from France and her marriage to Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The second chapter focuses on Pamela's experiences in Ireland between 1793 and 1797. This chapter intertwines Pamela's domestic and political lives. The manner in which Pamela was perceived after 1792, as she attracted negative commentary for supposed revolutionary links, had a major impact on her life from the 1790s onwards. Pamela's relationship with the wider Fitzgerald family network is also examined and the complexity of this relationship is analysed. Pamela's role as both a wife and mother is assessed, alongside her own increasing involvement in radical politics. The formation of the United Irishmen and Edward's involvement in radicalism were aspects of Pamela's life that previously she was deemed to be involved in only passively. This chapter will look at these political activities in relation to Pamela and how they affected her, rather than Edward.

The third chapter covers the pivotal year in Pamela's life: 1798. This chapter analyses the build-up to the 1798 Rebellion, and Pamela's and Edward's involvement. It traces the manner in which Pamela coped with the Edward's death and the circumstances in which she found herself. The development of Pamela's relationship with her children and the Fitzgerald family after Edward's death will also be important issues for discussion as relatively little information has been analysed in relation to Pamela's relationship with her children. On Pamela's departure for Hamburg, as a political refugee, her new role as a widow in society and her reputation after her involvement with the rebellion were just as significant as her reputation prior to the rebellion. This year is essential to the argument that has previously been glossed over, that of Pamela's role in radical politics. This chapter will assess whether there was enough evidence to suggest that Pamela was actively involved in the United Irishmen's society. The fourth chapter encompasses the final thirty two years of

Pamela's life. Many historians have assumed that, after Edward's death, the Fitzgerald family quickly abandoned Pamela, however a full analysis of the surviving correspondence indicates otherwise. Pamela's prospects of remarriage are crucial to this chapter also; at first it was clear she intended to marry General George Harcourt, in late 1799, however she ultimately married Joseph Pitcairn in 1800. Financial and political problems would come to be the two major themes in the final years of Pamela's life. She was often stigmatised for her connection to radicalism and her final separation from Pitcairn in 1809 meant that Pamela was left to provide for herself again. Pamela eventually found refuge in France and her relationship with Madame de Genlis between 1809 and 1830 became complex and often hostile. Ultimately Pamela died in 1831 in the Hôtel Danube on the outskirts of Paris.

Chapter 1: Birth and Early Life, 1773-1792

This chapter will discuss Pamela Fitzgerald's birth and early life. One of the most perplexing aspects of Pamela's biography concerns her birth. Contemporaries and later biographers offered two main theories. The first was that Pamela was an English child brought to France by Phillippe, duke of Orléans, and Madame de Genlis, to facilitate the education of the duke's children. The second was that Pamela was the illegitimate daughter of Orléans and de Genlis. These two competing views have endured, in part, because of an absence of clear primary source material. Many contemporaries clearly believed that Pamela was a natural daughter of Madame de Genlis. This chapter will attempt to assess both theories by presenting the surviving evidence and offering a considered viewpoint. In order to fully understand Pamela, it is important to analyse Madame de Genlis and the environment in which she raised Pamela. De Genlis' publication record and her role as an educator made her an extremely influential figure in pre-revolutionary France. De Genlis' memoirs are an essential source for this study, but it should be emphasised that historians have questioned their credibility and accuracy. As Richard R. Madden commented in the nineteenth century: 'the peculiar turn of mind, and the ruling passion of Madame de Genlis' life, was an intense love of fabrication, and imposing on the world the fictions of her lively imagination'.¹ Indeed, Madame de Genlis acknowledged her tendency to romanticise and invent: 'Dominée par mon imagination et dès mon enfance, j'ai toujours mieux aimé m'occuper de ce que je crois que de ce qui étoit. / Dominated by my imagination and from my childhood I have always preferred to occupy myself with what I create than with what was.'² This chapter also addresses the impact of the French Revolution on Pamela and her network in France. The chapter begins by assessing Madame de Genlis. It then turns to the problematic issue of Pamela's origins, the evidence for her childhood and education, before turning to the impact of the French Revolution on her life.

¹ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 488.

² Madame de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 1, p. 186.

Caroline-Stéphanie-Félicité Ducrest, more commonly known as Félicité Ducrest, was born on 25 April 1746 to Pierre César Ducrest and Marie-Françoise Ducrest at Champcery, near Autun.³ Raised along with her only brother, Charles-Louis, the early years of her life were her happiest, especially after her father had obtained the title of marquis de Saint-Aubin in the Loire region.⁴ She received little formal or structured education, but was effectively self-educated and self-motivated ‘acquiring prominence due to the knowledge and talent she carefully cultivated’.⁵ Félicité’s own governess, Mademoiselle Mars, focused her education on theatre and music, from which her love for the arts developed.⁶ Pierre César Ducrest’s mishandling of money resulted in Félicité and her mother moving from their childhood home at Saint-Aubin, which they had to sell, on 15 October 1757.⁷ Subsequently, both Félicité and her mother moved residence frequently. Madame de Genlis’ success in her musical education, especially with the harp, aided her attempts to enter elite French social circles.⁸ Her father, Pierre César, was captured by the English after returning from Santo Domingo in 1760.⁹ As a result both Félicité and her mother were left to provide for themselves. It was through her father that Félicité met Charles-Alexis Bruslart, comte de Genlis; the two men had been imprisoned together.¹⁰ Félicité was married on the 8 November 1763 to Charles-Alexis Bruslart, comte de Genlis.¹¹ The marriage took place in secret, however, because her husband’s family would not have approved of a wife from a much lower social background.¹² Madame de Genlis, the title she now acquired had married into aristocracy despite her own family’s difficulties.

³ Madame de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 1, p. 6.

⁴ Gabriel de Broglie, *Madame de Genlis* (Paris, 1985), p. 15.

⁵ Bonnie Arden Robb, *Félicité de Genlis : motherhood in the margins* (Cranbury, 2008), p. 13.

⁶ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 1, p. 104.

⁷ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 23.

⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 29.

⁹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 27.

¹⁰ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 35.

¹¹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 1, p. 6.

¹² Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 1, p. 6.

Initially, there was much outrage in aristocratic circles over the comte de Genlis' choice of a wife.¹³ Madame de Genlis left Paris to live with her in-laws soon after their marriage. Her first child, Caroline, was born on 4 September 1765 and less than a year later she gave birth to her second daughter, Pulchérie.¹⁴ Her first son, Casimir, was born in spring 1768.¹⁵ With the help of her aunt, Madame de Montesson, who had recently married Louis Philippe Joseph, the duke of Orléans, Madame de Genlis made her way into the social circles of the Palais Royal. Although de Genlis later claimed to have arrived at the court of the then duke of Orléans, Louis Philippe, in 1773, one month before his marriage to her aunt, Gabriel de Broglie and Jean Harmand have illustrated that she was almost certainly present in court before then.¹⁶ In her memoirs, Madame de Genlis stressed that the move to the court was not of her own making: 'Madame de Montesson, par un motif particulier qui ne se rapportoit qu'à elle, désiroit extrêmement alors que j'entrasse au Palais-Royal. / By a particular motive that only concerned her, Madame de Montesson was extremely desirous that I enter the Palais Royal.'¹⁷ At the Palais Royal, Madame de Genlis became a lady in waiting to Louise Marie Adélaïde, duchesse de Chartres.¹⁸ The duke of Chartres, Louis-Philippe, was the eldest son of the duke of Orléans and would succeed his father as the duke of Orléans in 1785.¹⁹ While a lady in waiting to the duchess of Chartres, it is clear that Madame de Genlis began a relationship with the duke de Chartres. It started as early as July 1772, while they were staying in Forges with the duchess.²⁰ Madame de Genlis recalled the trip in her memoirs, but in an understated manner: 'J'ai oublié de parler d'un voyage aux eaux de Forges. / I forgot to

¹³ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 38.

¹⁴ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, pp 43-4.

¹⁵ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 53.

¹⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 23; Jean Harmand, *A keeper of royal secrets being the private and political life of Madame de Genlis* (London, 1913) p. 73.

¹⁷ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 2, p. 158.

¹⁸ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 2, p. 158.

¹⁹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 147.

²⁰ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 66.

talk of a trip to Forges aux Eaux.²¹ The love letters exchanged between Madame de Genlis and the duke were published by Gaston Maugras as *L'idylle d'un gouverneur* in 1904. The first letter was written by Madame de Genlis on 19 July 1772.²² De Genlis would eventually assume the responsibility of the education of all the Orleans children, including the males in 1782, despite the fact that this role was generally fulfilled by a male educator.²³

In relation to Pamela's birth, as noted already, two main theories have been advanced by contemporaries and biographers: one that Pamela was a child of English birth; the other that Pamela was the illegitimate daughter of Madame de Genlis and the duke of Orléans. While the evidence simply does not permit a categorical answer to the question of Pamela's birth, the evidence suggests strongly that Pamela was, in fact, of English birth. The discussion presented here draws on the primary source material assessed by earlier historians, notably in the work of Gabriel de Broglie, Gerard Campbell, and Lucy Ellis and Joseph Turquan. In relation to the accounts of Pamela's life by Campbell, and Ellis and Turquan, their work has been analysed carefully given their family connections to Pamela and Fitzgerald family.

Much of the speculation that Pamela was Madame de Genlis' daughter resulted from de Genlis' inaccuracy when describing Pamela's origins. Even Pamela's precise date of birth is a matter of debate, though Gabriel de Broglie, in his biography, *Madame de Genlis*, has argued that Pamela was indeed born in 1773, based on letters exchanged between Nathaniel Forth and the duke of Chartres.²⁴ A number of historians and biographers have fixated on 1773 because they believed that de Genlis travelled to Spa during the year in order to give birth, in secret. In fact, the initial rumour was that Madame de Genlis had Pamela when she

²¹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 68.

²² Gaston Maugras, *L'idylle d'un gouverneur* (Paris, 1904), p. 10.

²³ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 141.

²⁴ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 100.

visited Spa in 1775. Madame de Genlis' only son Casimir died at the age of five from the measles in 1773, although de Genlis claimed in her memoirs that he had died in 1775.²⁵ Madame de Genlis herself suffered from measles in 1775 and took advice to convalesce at Spa.²⁶ It was soon after this trip to Spa that rumours began to circulate that Madame de Genlis had, in fact, travelled to Spa to give birth to an illegitimate child of the duke of Chartres. As her biographer puts it: 'personne ne put dire si Mme de Genlis avait été réellement à la mort, ou bien si elle n'était pas enceinte et n'avait pas accouché à Spa à a fin de juillet 1775. / Nobody could say if Madame de Genlis had been really near death, or well if she was not pregnant and did not give birth at Spa at the end of July 1775.'²⁷ Given the popularity of Spa amongst elite circles in Europe, it seems unlikely that Madame de Genlis would choose such a public location to secretly give birth to an illegitimate child. Spa was also a popular destination for French aristocrats; indeed, de Genlis revisited Spa in 1787 with the Orléans family.²⁸ Moreover, she appeared in the published records of visitors to Spa for 1775, which rules out the suggestion that she falsified the date of her trip in order to distract attention from a secret trip to give birth, possibly in 1773.²⁹ Immediately after her trip to Spa in 1775, de Genlis travelled to Switzerland before returning home to Paris.³⁰ Again, there is no evidence of a birth during the trip to Switzerland.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Marie de L'Épinay, a friend of both Pamela and Madame de Genlis, provided an important account of Pamela to the historian R.R. Madden.

²⁵ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 74; Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 2. p. 293.

²⁶ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 199.

²⁷ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 81. Ellis and Turquan date the trip to Spa to 1776 (Lucy Ellis and Joseph Turquan, *La Belle Pamela: Lady Edward Fitzgerald* (New York, 1924), p. 50).

²⁸ Isabelle Havelange, 'Madame de Genlis ou la pédagogie aux bains' in Daniel Droixhe and Muriel Collart (eds), *Spa Carrefour de l'Europe des lumières*, (Paris, 2013), p.163.

²⁹ *Liste des seigneurs et dames, venus aux eaux minérales de spa, l'an 1775* (Spa, 1775), 12 juin 1775 (<http://www.swedhs.org/visiteurs/spa1775.pdf>).

³⁰ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 83.

De l'Épinay claimed that Pamela was born in 1777, not 1773.³¹ Some historians, like R. R. Madden, have concluded from this confusion about Pamela's date of birth that it should be attributed to a secret biological connection between Pamela and de Genlis.³² Spa records, however, clearly place Madame de Genlis at Spa in 1775. While there is no evidence that Pamela was born in France, she arrived in the Palais Royal on the 17 April 1780 at the age of seven.³³ In fact, Pamela recalled her trip from England to France, and her eventual arrival in the Palais Royal, to Marie de L'Épinay (an event which, Madame de Genlis failed to mention in her memoirs):

She perfectly well remembered being brought from England to France by the confidential man who went every year to England to purchase horses for the Duc d'Orléans, and being conducted to the Palais Royal by that man, who took her through a small private side-door, and delivered her up to the prince who was then waiting for her and who embraced her several times. The prince then carried her in his arms through some dark passage into the apartments of Madame de Genlis and said as he entered 'Voilà notre petit bijou!'³⁴

Of course, this account of Pamela's arrival in France does not entirely rule out the possibility that Madame de Genlis was Pamela's natural mother and while it derives from a family friend, its veracity is difficult to ascertain.

The case of a second girl, Hermine, who (like Pamela) was educated alongside the Orléans children sheds some light on Pamela's origins. Pamela and Hermine lived at

³¹ Recollections of Pamela by Madame la baronne d'Épinay given to R.R. Madden in Paris, Feb. 1858, (T.C.D., Madden papers, MSS 873/353).

³² *Liste des seigneurs et dames, venus aux eaux minérales de spa, l'an 1775* (Spa, 1775), 12 juin 1775 (<http://www.swedhs.org/visiteurs/spa1775.pdf>).

³³ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 100.

³⁴ Recollections of Pamela by Madame la baronne d'Épinay given to R.R. Madden in Paris, Feb 1858, (TCD, Madden Papers, MSS 873/353). Campbell recounted the same story, presumably drawing on Madden: Gerard Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald: being some account of their lives compiled from the letters of those who knew them* (London, 1904), p. 224.

Bellechasse, constructed on the orders of the duke of Chartres to house his children and Madame de Genlis, for educational purposes.³⁵ Hermine was also suspected to be a natural daughter of Madame de Genlis. In fact, as with Pamela, the duke of Orléans supposedly commissioned Nathaniel Forth, former secretary to the British embassy in France, to acquire a suitable English girl. On the 26 July 1782 a letter was exchanged between the two:

Vous devez vous ressouvenir que, quand vous êtes venu à Paris, je vous ai prié de m'envoyer encore une petite fille. Je ne me flatte pas qu'elle sera aussi gentille que Pamela. Mais, choisie par vous, elle sera surement bien.³⁶

You must remember that when you came to Paris, I asked you to send me another little girl. I do not flatter myself that she will be equally as kind as Pamela. But, chosen by you, she will surely be fine.

The duke of Orléans requested a girl of six to seven years old with no French at all. It was believed that since Hermine was seven on her arrival in 1782 that she had been born in 1775, the same year that Madame de Genlis had taken her trip to Spa.³⁷ Hermine was intended to assist with the education of Madame de Genlis' daughter, Pulchérie.³⁸

The likelihood that Pamela and Hermine were transported from England by Forth has led to the view that the girls lived with the Forth's from their birth until their arrival in France.³⁹ This assumption is based on a letter to Forth from Madame de Genlis' daughter, Pulchérie de Valence (who had married Jean-Baptiste Cyrus de Valence in 1784), who

³⁵ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 98.

³⁶ The duke of Orléans to Nathaniel Parker Forth, 26 July 1782, cited in Leroux (ed.), 'Lettres de L. P. J. d'Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)' in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1926), pp 132-4; The original copies of the letters between the duke of Orléans and Nathaniel Forth have not been located and, therefore, they have been used with caution here..

³⁷ *Liste des seigneurs et dames, venus aux eaux minérales de spa, l'an 1775* (Spa, 1775), 12 juin 1775 (<http://www.swedhs.org/visiteurs/spa1775.pdf>).

³⁸ Madame de Genlis to Nathaniel Forth, 4 Jan. 1783, cited in Leroux (ed.), 'Lettres de L. P. J. d'Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)', pp 142-3.

³⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 88.

adopted Hermine in 1785.⁴⁰ She wrote on 20 December 1796, after Hermine had given birth to a daughter of her own: ‘Hermine embrasse sa chère Madame Forth, elle est toujours pénétrée de reconnaissance et de tendresses pour vous deux. / Hermine embraces her dear Mrs. Forth, she is always filled with gratitude and tenderness for you both.’⁴¹ This suggests that Hermine had spent a significant amount of time at the Forths’ home.

In 1782, Madame de Genlis and Nathaniel Forth exchanged a letter which suggests that Pamela was also attached to the Forths: ‘Pamela me prie d’avoir l’honneur de dire à Madame Forth, que she loves her with all her heart and kisses her thousand times. / Pamela begged me to have the honour to tell Mrs. Forth, that she loves her with all her heart and kisses her thousand times.’⁴² There is no doubt that these relationships were unorthodox given that Nathaniel Forth was simply transporting the two young girls from one country to the other. Ellis and Turquan suggest that the two girls were Madame de Genlis’s daughters and that Pamela and Hermine were raised by Mrs. Forth until Madame de Genlis wished to have them returned to France.⁴³ There is, however, no clear evidence for this supposition.

Madame de Genlis certainly treated Pamela like her daughter throughout her childhood and into adulthood. In her memoirs, Madame de Genlis praised Pamela’s character and beauty:

Pamela avoit une figure ravissante ; la candeur et la sensibilité formoient son caractère ; elle n’a jamais fait un seul mensonge, ni employé le moindre détour

⁴⁰ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 51.

⁴¹ Pulchérie de Valence to Nathaniel Forth, 20 December 1796, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 51.

⁴² Madame de Genlis to Nathaniel Forth, 10 Nov. 1782, cited in Leroux (ed.), ‘Lettres de L. P. J. d’Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)’, p. 141.

⁴³ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 90.

durant tout le cours de son éducation ; elle étoit spirituelle de sentiment ; elle disoit des mots charmans, et qui toujours venoient du cœur.⁴⁴

Pamela had a ravishing face, her character was built on innocence and sensibility; she had never lied in her life or been distracted from her education; she was spiritual in sentiment; she said charming things which always came straight from the heart.

Hermine's arrival in Bellechasse was not mentioned at all by Madame de Genlis in her memoirs; indeed, she did not mention Hermine's existence. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Hermine did not receive as much attention as Pamela, on the question of her birth. Also, Madame de Genlis showed a particular favouritism towards Pamela and as a result of her lack of interest it was believed of Hermine 'qu'elle ne pouvait être la fille de Madame de Genlis, encore moins celle du duc de Chartres. / that she could not be the daughter of Madame de Genlis, even less that of the duke of Chartres.'⁴⁵ De Genlis acknowledged her sentimental attachment to Pamela, who was supposedly an educational instrument and playmate: 'Je m'étois attaché à elle avec passion, et cette passion a été malheureuse, à quelques égards. / I became passionately attached to her, yet this passion was unhappy in some respects.'⁴⁶ However, de Genlis' love for Pamela did not prevent her from criticising her: 'Cette enfant si charmante étoit la plus inappliquée que j'ai vue. / This child, so charming was the most unapplied that I had seen.'⁴⁷

With the publication of Madame de Genlis' book *Les mères rivales*, in 1800, the topic of Pamela's parentage once again resurfaced. In de Genlis's novel a mother writes a letter to a daughter, Léocadie, that she had not acknowledged as her own: 'elle sait seulement

⁴⁴ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 168.

⁴⁵ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 127.

⁴⁶ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, pp 168-9.

⁴⁷ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 169.

que je suis ta mère./ Only she knows that I am your mother.⁴⁸ Readers could not ignore the similarities between the story and the relationship between Pamela and Madame de Genlis. With Pamela presumably represented by the character Léocadie in the novel, one view was that Madame de Genlis used this novel as a way of expunging her guilt at not claiming Pamela as her own child.⁴⁹ This is, however, debateable and it is more probable that Madame de Genlis may have played on the rumours that already existed to write a story that would benefit her literary career. The main character in this story made a public announcement recognising her daughter:

Je sentis toute la justesse de cette décision, je m’y soumis, et dès-lors je me promis de faire un aveu public, et de reconnaître authentiquement Léocadie pour ma fille.⁵⁰

I felt that this decision is the right one, I submitted myself to it, and since then I promised myself to make a public confession and to truly recognise Léocadie as my daughter.

Madame de Genlis, in contrast, did quite the opposite.

Pamela herself believed that she was part of the Orléans family. In a later to Lucy Fitzgerald, her sister-in-law, written in January 1797, she signed off with a string of abbreviations: ‘tous mes noms your tender P.O.C.S.N.F.G.’⁵¹ This is probably an abbreviation of Pamela Orléans Caroline Stephanie Nancy Fitzgerald. Although no official adoption by de Genlis was recorded, Pamela assumed that she was a part of the Orléans family, and perhaps she even presumed she that was the illegitimate daughter of the duke. Irish acquaintances also believed that Pamela was de Genlis’ daughter. For example,

⁴⁸ Madame de Genlis, *Les Mères Rivaies* (4 vols, Berlin, 1801), vol. 4, p. 35.

⁴⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 377.

⁵⁰ Madame de Genlis, *Les Mères Rivaies*, vol. 4, p. 317.

⁵¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 13 Jan. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,003(5)).

Elizabeth Rawdon, Lady Moira, who sheltered Pamela in 1798 and with whom she developed a close relationship, commented in 1801: ‘I had heard ... vague reports to prove that Pamela was not the duke of Orléans’ daughter, that Madame de Genlis (whose child she undoubtedly is) endeavoured to bring about a match between the present Duke and Pamela.’⁵² Pamela had, apparently, described the duke as ‘the most inconstant, unsteady and capricious of men.’⁵³

In an inventory of Pamela’s goods, compiled in 1834, Adélaïde Orléans was referred to as ‘sa soeur/her sister’ despite the fact that the inventory referred to Pamela as ‘Madame Anne Caroline Stephanie Syms’.⁵⁴ By this stage, however, the Orléans family officially denied a biological connection to Pamela. While Thomas Moore indicated a biological link in the first two editions of his *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, he retracted this in the third edition:

Since the first edition of this work, however I have been honoured with a communication from a source worthy of all credence, in which it is positively denied that any such relationship, between Lady Edward and the late Duke of Orléans, existed. The Duke himself, it appears confirmed the account which Madame de Genlis invariably gave both of the parentage of the young Pamela and her own adoption of her.⁵⁵

Moore’s informant was Louis-Philippe, one of Madame de Genlis’s students and Pamela’s childhood companions, at this stage King of the French following the revolution of July 1830. In Moore’s own memoirs, he made a diary entry between the dates 15 and 25 December 1831

⁵² Elizabeth Rawdon to Selina Frances Forbes, 27 Nov. 1801 (P.R.O.N.I., Granard Papers, T3765/J/9/2/25).

⁵³ Elizabeth Rawdon to Selina Frances Forbes, 27 Nov. 1801 (P.R.O.N.I., Granard Papers, T3765/J/9/2/25).

⁵⁴ Inventaire après le décès de Madame Veuve Pitcairn, 2 Aug. 1834 (Archives Nationales, MC/RE/XCIII/11).

⁵⁵ Thomas Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* (2 vols, 3rd ed., London, 1832), vol. 1, p. 178.

in which he claimed that Louis-Philippe and his sister Adélaïde denied that Pamela was their sister and wished for him to correct his statement in a revised edition of his biography of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.⁵⁶ Similarly, Louis-Philippe claimed in his memoirs that Pamela was not his illegitimate sister: ‘J’ai l’autorité de mon père pour affirmer qu’elle n’est pas sa fille ... Je sais ce qu’elle n’est pas, mais je ne sais pas ce qu’elle est. / I have from the authority of my father that she is not his daughter ... I know what she is not, but not what she is.’⁵⁷ Madden argued that Moore was obliged to agree with the opinion of Louis-Philippe as he depended on Louis-Philippe for a French army commission for his son, which called into question the nature of his reaction.⁵⁸

The evidence that Pamela was of English birth is much more plentiful than that which suggests that she was a daughter of the duke of Orléans and Madame de Genlis. De Genlis provided an account of Pamela’s origins in the fourth volume of her memoirs, when writing about Pamela’s marriage to Lord Edward Fitzgerald:

Elle était fille d’un homme nommé Seymours, qui avait de la naissance, et qui épousa, malgré sa famille, une personne de la classe la plus inférieure, qui s’appelait Mary Syms, et l’emmena en Amérique, à Terre-Neuve, dans un lieu appelé Fogo.⁵⁹

She was the daughter of a man named Seymours, who was of good birth and who married, despite his family, a person of a much inferior class, who was called Mary Syms and took her to America, to Newfoundland, in a place called Fogo.

Following the supposed death of her husband, Mary Syms moved back to England with her eighteen month old child and found herself in a life of poverty in the town of Christchurch.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Lord John Russell, *Memoirs, journals and correspondence of Thomas Moore* (8 vols, London, 1854), vol. 6, pp 239-40.

⁵⁷ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 104.

⁵⁸ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, p. 514.

⁵⁹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 139.

At this point, apparently, Nathaniel Forth saw the child and obtained her from the mother for a price.⁶¹

The view that Pamela was brought from England to France to facilitate the education of the Orléans children is supported by a substantial correspondence. In her role as governess and educationalist, Madame de Genlis proposed adopting children of different nationalities to encourage the children of the duke and duchess of Chartres to learn foreign languages more easily. The couple had married in 1769 and had five children: Louis-Philippe (b.1773); Louis Antoine Philippe (b. 1775); Louise Marie Adélaïde Eugénie and Françoise (twins, b. 1777); Louis Charles (b. 1779). De Genlis already had English and Italian chambermaids installed in Bellechasse.⁶² From this experience, she conceived the idea that children of similar ages to the two young princesses, who spoke English, could be raised alongside them for the benefit of their education: ‘Il est vrai que, pour perfectionner en elles cette habitude, j’avois imaginé de mettre une petite Anglaise à peu près de leur âge auprès d’elles. / It is true that, to perfect in them this habit, I had imagined to put a little English girl about their age near them.’⁶³ De Genlis outlined her plan to the duke of Chartres as early as 1774.⁶⁴ The duke of Chartres wrote to Nathaniel Forth to find a suitable English child for Madame de Genlis.⁶⁵ On the 3 October 1779 he asked Forth to find: ‘une petite fille brune, jolie, âgée de six ans seulement, qui n’ait surtout pas le nez trop long et ne sache pas un mot de français / a small brown haired girl, pretty, aged only six years old, who especially does not have a very long nose and doesn’t know a word of French.’⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 139.

⁶¹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 139.

⁶² Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 99.

⁶³ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 133.

⁶⁴ Carnet inédit de Madame de Genlis, Archives Valence, cited in Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 100.

⁶⁵ Liam Chambers, ‘Fitzgerald, Pamela (1776-1831)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁶⁶ The duke of Orléans to Nathaniel Parker Forth, 3 Oct. 1779, cited in Leroux (ed.), ‘Lettres de L. P. J. d’Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)’, pp 125-6.

In her own memoirs Madame de Genlis makes no mention of her involvement in obtaining Pamela other than her arrival at the palace and she supplies no exact date for her arrival either:

Cette enfant étoit en effet ravissante par sa grâce, ses manières, sa douceur et sa figure. Son visage ressembloit beaucoup, mais en beau, à la duchesse de Polignac ; elle a eu de mieux qu'elle une jolie taille, un joli front et une expression plus angélique encore.⁶⁷

The grace, manners, gentleness and appearance of the child made her simply ravishing. Her face resembled the Duchess de Polignac a lot, but in fine fashion; better than her with a lovely figure, a pretty forehead and a more angelic expression.

The letters written between the duke of Chartres and Nathaniel Forth were published by Amédée Britsch in *Madame Lafarge et Louis-Philippe, la légende et l'histoire, avec des lettres inédits de L. P. J. d'Orléans et de Madame de Genlis*, in 1913. While there is some debate about the authenticity of these letters, the theory that the duke of Chartres wrote letters as part of an elaborate cover up, as Ellis and Turquan suggested, seems quite improbable.⁶⁸ Madame de Genlis explained also that she changed Pamela's name: 'elle s'appeloit Nancy Syms, je la nommai Pamela. / She was called Nancy Syms, I named her Pamela.'⁶⁹ After her arrival in France, de Genlis was worried that Pamela's mother would attempt to reclaim the child and to obtain more money. As a result, she wished to have the appropriate documents signed by her mother. 'C'était de faire signer à sa mère un acte de cession de sa fille pour apprentissage, moyennant vingt-cinq guinées. / It was to make her mother sign an act of

⁶⁷ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 134.

⁶⁸ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 64.

⁶⁹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 134.

cession of her daughter for her apprenticeship, by means of 25 guineas.’⁷⁰ The duke of Orléans expressed Madame de Genlis’ wish to Forth:

Je crains que quand elle aura été élevée avec soin, ses parents ne désirent la reprendre ou qu’il ne faille faire quelque chose pour sa famille qui me paraît bien nombreuses.⁷¹

I fear that while she was carefully brought up, her parents do not wish to have her back, or that something must be done for her large family.

While the resulting document is not extant, de Genlis claimed that it was signed by her friend William Murray, Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice on the King’s bench.⁷² In later life, De Genlis maintained that this story accounted for Pamela’s origins, although many contemporaries doubted its veracity. The disbelief is evident, for instance, in the Fitzgerald family who refused to believe Pamela was not of high birth.⁷³ Both descendants of Pamela and Hermine, the second adopted child, continued to claim that they were of high birth. Marie Capelle, granddaughter of Hermine stated:

Madame de Genlis-Sillery, qui déjà avait une fille (depuis Madame de Valence), en eut deux autres du duc d’Orléans : Pamela qui épousa lord Fitzgerald ; Hermine qui épousa mon grand-père, Mr J. Collard.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 140.

⁷¹ The duke of Orléans to Nathaniel Parker Forth, 12 Feb. 1780, cited in Leroux (ed.), ‘Lettres de L. P. J. d’Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)’, in *Revue d’histoire diplomatique*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1926), p. 127.

⁷² Arden Robb, *Félicité de Genlis*, p. 261.

⁷³ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 19 Feb. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁷⁴ Marie Capelle to Madame la Maréchale Gérard, n.d., cited in Jean Auguste Boyer d’Agen, *Correspondance de Madame Lafarge* (Paris, 1913), p. 131.

Madame de Genlis-Sillery, who already had a daughter (since Madame de Valence), had two more from the duke of Orléans: Pamela who married Lord Fitzgerald; Hermine who married my grandfather, Mr. J. Collard.

De Genlis's account of Pamela's origins raises as many questions as it answers, leading later biographers and historians to investigate further. In their book *La Belle Pamela*, Lucy Ellis and Joseph Turquan, who concluded that Madame de Genlis was indeed Pamela's mother, also presented evidence tending in the other direction. They claimed that Mary Syms was the daughter of an Englishman who moved to Newfoundland and it was there that she met Pamela's father, William Brixey, captain of a merchant vessel.⁷⁵ It was believed that she gave birth to a girl on 28 February 1774 at Gander Bay, near Fogo.⁷⁶ According to Ellis and Turquan, Syms followed Brixey back to England and arrived at Christchurch where she discovered that he had been married for twenty years, a fact recorded in the parish register of the Christchurch priory.⁷⁷ One claim made by Ellis and Turquan was that the duke of Chartres requested Forth to obtain a child from a widow who was willing to let it be raised as theirs.⁷⁸ However, there is no evidence for this - even more complicated - story. Ellis and Turquan further argued that Thomas Jeans, who was chaplain to the British Embassy in Paris, brought Pamela from England to France.⁷⁹ Robert Southey, in his *Commonplace book*, recalled enquiring about Pamela's parentage in 1797, when the story would still have been known to the people of Christchurch. He confirmed that Forth had commissioned Bishop Jeans to find a suitable child for the duke of Chartres.⁸⁰ He also acknowledged that a woman called Syms had given up her daughter of about four or five years old in exchange for

⁷⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 45.

⁷⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 46.

⁷⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 46.

⁷⁸ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 49.

⁷⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 47-8.

⁸⁰ Robert Southey, *Southey's commonplace book* (18 vols, London, 1876), vol.4, p. 516.

money.⁸¹ However, this version of events makes no mention of the father or the possibility that Pamela was born in Fogo. Another account, in this case by the Marquise de La Tour du Pin, stated that her aunt, Lady Jerningham, knew of a clergyman in Shropshire who was charged with finding a child for Madame de Genlis.⁸² Whether any of these stories are true is not known but it is most likely that they were attempts to account for Pamela's birth in the absence of hard evidence. In the mid-nineteenth century Madden investigated Pamela's possible north American connections. He received a letter from Bernard Duffy of St John's, Newfoundland:

I have learned that there lived in town and still lives a family of the name Simms of every respectable character and that there is a tradition amongst the people there, that one of that family became Lady Fitzgerald. However, you are to take this merely for what it is worth as I cannot myself place much confidence in the rather unconnected statements which I have received from those people.⁸³

Madden's enquiries, however, yielded no further evidence. Later researches conducted by Lord George Fitzgerald, in 1888, added little that was new.⁸⁴

The confusion about Pamela's origins was evident from an early date. Indeed, it appears that Madame de Genlis' attempted to obtain proof of Pamela's true parentage and verification of her English birth almost as soon as she arrived at the Palais Royal in 1780. In 1780, the duke of Chartres apparently wrote to Forth on the subject: 'Je vous prie de m'envoyer, s'il vous est possible, l'extrait baptistaire ou de baptême de la petite fille que vous m'avez envoyée. / I beg of you to send me, as soon as possible, the baptismal certificate

⁸¹ Southey, *Southey's commonplace book*, vol. 4, p. 516.

⁸² Marquise de La Tour du Pin, *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans, 1778-1815* (2 vols, Paris, 1913), vol. 1, pp 174-5.

⁸³ Bernard Duffy to Richard R. Madden, 20 Jan. 1858, (TCD, Madden papers, MSS 873/374).

⁸⁴ J. R. Revett to Lord George Fitzgerald, 12 Jan. 1888 (P.R.O.N.I., Leinster Papers, D3078/3/8/11).

of the little girl whom you sent me.’⁸⁵ While no baptismal certificate for Pamela is extant, *La Belle Pamela* cites a document signed by Mary Syms which agreed that Pamela would be placed under the protection of Nathaniel Forth until the age of twenty-two in order to be an apprentice.⁸⁶ The authors noted that Pamela’s eldest daughter, Pamela Campbell, claimed to have seen the document among her mother’s papers.⁸⁷ The document was signed by both Mary Syms and Nathaniel Forth. Pierre Alexandre Pieyre, a French author and secretary to Louis-Phillipe, allegedly obtained the document for Pamela in 1815.⁸⁸ He subsequently signed the document: ‘Lady Edward Fitzgerald m’a demandé la présente attestation que je signe après examen. A Paris le 9 janvier 1815. A[lexan]dre Pieyre. / Lady Edward Fitzgerald asked me for the present certificate which I sign after examination. Paris the 9 January 1815. Alexandre Pieyre.’⁸⁹ The most interesting aspect of this document is Pamela’s own acknowledgement of it:

Moi, Pamela Nancy Syms (Lady Edward Fitzgerald), je reconnois avoir reçue de Madame la Comtesse de Genlis l’originale de cet acte. Paris, le 8 janvier 1815.⁹⁰

I, Pamela Nancy Syms (Lady Edward Fitzgerald), I recognise having received from Madame Comtesse de Genlis the original of this act. Paris, the 8 January 1815.

Although this document may no longer exist, it suggests that, by 1815, Pamela believed she was the daughter of Mary Syms. This contrasted with her earlier view that she was the illegitimate daughter of Madame de Genlis and the duke of Orléans.

⁸⁵ The duke of Orléans to Nathaniel Forth, 15 Nov. 1780, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 75.

⁸⁶ Traité entre Mrs. Syms et N. P. Forth Esq, 20 Jan 1784, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 97.

⁸⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 97.

⁸⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 176.

⁸⁹ Traité entre Mrs. Syms et N. P. Forth Esq, 20 Jan 1784, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 99.

⁹⁰ Traité entre Mrs. Syms et N. P. Forth Esq, 20 Jan 1784, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 99.

This document was clearly controversial. Ellis and Turquan cited it, but believed that the document was manufactured on behalf of de Genlis to prove that Pamela was not her daughter. It is, however, questionable that Madame de Genlis would go to such extreme lengths. According to de Broglie, Madame de Genlis obtained the document in order to make Pamela a naturalised French citizen, though there was no further mention of her naturalisation in the sources.⁹¹ In a letter to Forth in spring 1784, de Genlis indicated that she wanted Pamela's mother to know of her whereabouts:

Je désirerais, si cela se peut, que la mère de Pamela soit instruite du lieu où est sa fille, savoir au juste quelle est sa naissance, avoir des lumières sur ses parents, sur un de ses oncles que Madame Forth m'a dit qui habitait Londres.⁹²

I would like, if possible, for Pamela's mother to be informed of the whereabouts of her daughter, to know exactly how she was born, to shed light on her parents, about one of her uncles that Madame Forth told me lived in London.

If Madame de Genlis was so afraid of Pamela's mother attempting to reclaim her, why did she ask Forth to inform her of Pamela's whereabouts?

An account provided by Madame de Neuilly to her daughter on 1 August 1800 recalled that Madame de Genlis claimed to a circle of friends, in 1800, that Pamela was not her daughter:

Madame de Genlis, après avoir fait la momerie de se confesser, et avoir communie à la chapelle d'Espagne, a assemble tous ses amis, parents et connaissances chez Madame Mattiesen. Là, elle leur a dit qu'après l'acte religieux qu'elle venoit de faire,

⁹¹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, pp 128-9.

⁹² Madame de Genlis to Nathaniel Forth, spring 1784, cited in Leroux (ed.) 'Lettres de L. P. J. d'Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)', in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1926), p. 150.

elle se devoit à elle-même at au public, de rendre hommage à la vérité en déclarant que Pamela n'etoit sa fille et celle de M. le duc d'Orléans ; mais la fille d'une pauvre blanchisseuse.⁹³

Having carried out the hypocritical ceremony to confess, and having communicated at the Spanish Chapel, Madame de Genlis assembled all of her friends, relatives and acquaintances at Mrs. Mattiesen's house. There, she told them that after the religious act that she had just done, she owed it to herself and the public, to pay tribute to the truth in declaring that Pamela was not her daughter and that of the duke of Orléans; but the daughter of a poor laundrywoman.

Pamela, who was present, was apparently distraught at this declaration and it was believed that she fainted at the scene.⁹⁴ It is not known whether Pamela believed Madame de Genlis' declaration but it seems that it did not affect their relationship as she accompanied her as far as Hamburg on her trip back to Paris and departed from her with a certain degree of emotion.⁹⁵ Pamela's acknowledgment of Madame de Genlis' declaration would explain why she signed the document in 1815 agreeing that she was the daughter of Mary Syms. It seems plausible, therefore, that Pamela believed she was Madame de Genlis's daughter up until her public declaration. However, Pamela's eldest daughter, Pamela Campbell, in a letter to her mother written around the time of Madame de Genlis' death stated: 'Chère Maman, j'ai souffert avec toi, j'étois sure combien la perte de Madame de Genlis te seroit sensible ta mère enfin car c'étoit la le lien? / Dear mother, I suffered with you, I was sure how much the loss of Madame de Genlis would make you appreciate your mother finally, because that was the

⁹³ Madame de Neuilly to her daughter, 1 Aug. 1800 cited in Ange Achille Charles, Comte de Neuilly, *Dix années d'émigration. Souvenirs et correspondance du comte de Neuilly* (Paris, 1865), p.140.

⁹⁴ Madame de Neuilly to her daughter, 1 Aug. 1800 cited in Comte de Neuilly, *Dix années d'émigration*, p. 140.

⁹⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 379; Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 5, p. 66.

bond?’⁹⁶ Pamela Campbell, writing to Gerard Campbell, author of a memoir on Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald, affirmed that Pamela only knew of her origins from what Madame de Genlis told her and that Madame de Genlis gave her no indication that Pamela was her daughter.⁹⁷

On the 25 June 1785, Madame de Genlis travelled to England with Pamela.⁹⁸ They stayed in the duke of Orléans’ house at Portland Place.⁹⁹ It was here that ‘elle [Madame de Genlis] suscita partout discussions et admiration, et obtint un grand succès de société auquel Pamela prit sa part. / Everywhere she sparked discussion and admiration, and obtained a great success from society in which Pamela took part.’¹⁰⁰ They had returned to France by the 27 July of the same year.¹⁰¹ When her husband acquired the title of Marquis de Sillery and a large inheritance, he asked Madame de Genlis to quit her position at Bellechasse and return to ‘la vie commune/ ordinary life’.¹⁰² She refused, claiming to be too attached to her students and her duty as their governor.¹⁰³ It was believed that Madame de Genlis’ trip to England was made under the pretence of finding a suitable husband for Pamela, who was just twelve years old at the time. As a result of this she wrote to Nathaniel Forth, requesting the certificate that verified Pamela’s English birth:

Il est intéressant pour le sort à venir de Pamela, que je la fasse naturaliser dans six semaines et j’ai besoin, pour cela, de quelques titres qui puissent prouver qu’elle est née Anglaise. Le seul qu’on désire et qui me tiendrait lieu de tous les autres, ce serait un certificat de milord Mansfield, qui assurerait que Pamela est née Anglaise, fille

⁹⁶ Pamela Campbell to Pamela Fitzgerald, 3 Feb. 1831 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell papers, MSS 35,009(2)).

⁹⁷ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, pp 241-2.

⁹⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 145.

⁹⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 110.

¹⁰⁰ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 145.

¹⁰¹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 145.

¹⁰² Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 146.

¹⁰³ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 146.

de la nommée Mary Seems, et cette espèce de certificat aurait telle forme qu'il plairait à milord, pourvu qu'il soit signé de lui : ce serait une preuve suffisante, car, dans tous les pays du monde, l'attestation d'un grand homme est un titre authentique.¹⁰⁴

It will be interesting to see what befalls Pamela, I will have her naturalised in the next six weeks and I need for this some security that can prove that she was born English. The only one required and which could do in place of any other, would be a certificate from Lord Mansfield, that assured that Pamela was born English, daughter of the named Mary Seems and this type of certificate would have any form that it would please the Lord, provided it be signed by him: this would be sufficient proof, because in every country of the world the certificate of a great man is an authentic title.

While Forth's reply is not known, a second letter written by Madame de Genlis on 1 December thanked him for organising a meeting between Pamela's maternal mother and Lord Mansfield.¹⁰⁵ However, Madame de Genlis expressed her fear that Pamela's mother would attempt to reclaim her:

Car j'ai toujours des peurs mortelles de voir arriver un beau matin cette femme pour me faire quelques scènes qui me glaceraient le sang.¹⁰⁶

Because I am always in mortal fear to see arrive one beautiful morning this woman to lay into me which would chill my blood.'

¹⁰⁴ Madame de Genlis to Nathaniel Forth, 12 Oct. 1785, cited in Leroux (ed.) 'Lettres de L. P. J. d'Orléans duc de Chartres à Nathaniel Parker Forth (1778-1785)', in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1926), pp 164-5.

¹⁰⁵ Madame de Genlis to Nathaniel Forth, 1 Dec. 1785, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ Madame de Genlis to Nathaniel Forth, 1 Dec. 1785, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 126.

From a letter written on 22 February 1786, it appears that Madame de Genlis received the certificates that proved that Pamela was Mary Syms' daughter, however they do not seem to have survived.¹⁰⁷ Despite obtaining the documents she required, Pamela was not naturalised. De Genlis's concern about Pamela, and especially her status, re-emerged after the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789. On the 11 July 1790, de Genlis wrote to Camille Desmoulins, a key figure in the Revolution, requesting that a new law relating to the adoption of children be passed:

C'est de plaider vivement par votre éloquence et votre excellente logique ma motion relative à l'adoption, avec cette considération que l'on puisse, avec d'autres enfants, adopter une fille de plus.¹⁰⁸

I ask that in your eloquence and excellent logic you will consider my suggestion of adoption and that when one already has children, another girl could be adopted in addition.

Hermine was under the care of Pulchérie at this point, so the de Genlis reference was almost certainly to Pamela.

Biographers and historians have reached contrasting conclusions in relation to Pamela's origins. Moore (at least initially), Campbell, and Ellis and Turquan all concluded that Pamela was the child of de Genlis and the duke of Orléans, despite citing evidence tending against this conclusion. Ellis and Turquan argued that the letters between Forth and the duke of Orléans were 'written with the intention of deceiving'.¹⁰⁹ Amédée Britsch in his book *La jeunesse de Philippe-Égalité, (1747-1785)* took a very different view:

¹⁰⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 128.

¹⁰⁸ Madame de Genlis to Camille Desmoulins, 11 July 1790 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Lettres à Camille Desmoulins, MSS 13719)

¹⁰⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 64.

Toute une suite de lettres authentiques, extraites d'une abondante correspondance originale, dément la fable forgée par la malignité mondaine, rafraîchie par les mensonges de Pamela et la vanité de ses descendants qui, par une singulière inconséquence, maltraitent la mémoire de cette Genlis, dont ils se réclament à tout prix.¹¹⁰

A whole series of authentic letters, extracted from an abundant of original correspondence, denies the fable forged by worldly wickedness, refreshed by the lies of Pamela and the vanity of her descendants who, by a singular inconsistency, critique the memory of this Genlis, which they claim at all costs.

De Genlis' biographer, Gabriel de Broglie, concluded that:

Après tant de supputations la conviction qui se dégage en fin de compte, non pas étayée par des preuves, mais fondée sur des intuitions et des faisceaux d'indications, est donc que Pamela était d'une haute naissance, connue de Madame de Genlis et de Philippe d'Orléans, probablement anglaise, et donc probablement pas leur fille.¹¹¹

After so much calculation the conviction that emerges at the end, not supported by evidence, but found upon intuitions and certain information, is that Pamela was of high birth, known by Madame de Genlis and Philippe d'Orléans, probably English and therefore not their daughter.

The evidence considered here inclines towards the opinion that Pamela was not Madame de Genlis' daughter. While the sources do not permit a categorical conclusion, this dissertation takes the view that Pamela was of English birth was and not the illegitimate daughter of

¹¹⁰ Britsch, *La jeunesse de Philippe-Égalité*, p. 378.

¹¹¹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 104.

Madame de Genlis and the duke of Orléans. It is clear, however, that contemporaries were frequently inclined to believe the more controversial story concerning Pamela's origins.

Even if we accept that Pamela was born in England, her precise origins will remain uncertain. Fortunately, we have much more evidence concerning her upbringing within the networks maintained by de Genlis and the Orléans family. On 25 August 1777, the duchess of Chartres had given birth to twins, Louise Marie Adélaïde Eugénie and Françoise.¹¹² Madame de Genlis noted their birth in her memoirs and her appointment as their governess: 'J'étois décidée, d'avance aussi, à ne point élever la princesse au Palais-Royal; mais à me mettre dans un couvent avec elle. / I was determined, in advance also, not to raise the Princess in the Palais Royal, but to put myself in a convent with her.'¹¹³ Madame de Genlis' suggestion was unorthodox but nonetheless approved by the duke. Eventually the pavilion Bellechasse was built in 1778 for the purpose of educating the duke of Chartres' children and Madame de Genlis lived there from 1778.¹¹⁴ From 1777 onwards Madame de Genlis also established herself as an important writer and educationalist with a European reputation. Among her most notable pieces are early works, including *Adèle et Théodore ou Lettres sur l'éducation*, *Les Veillées du château* and *Mademoiselle de Clermont*. Her work was highly praised throughout Europe and would be translated into several languages.¹¹⁵ Some of her work, written on education, such as *Discours sur l'éducation publique du peuple* and *Leçons d'une gouvernante à ses élèves* were used for the development of pedagogy studies. By 1782 Madame de Genlis was firmly positioned as one of the most influential women in French elite society.

Pamela's early childhood was dominated by the unorthodox educational structure of Madame de Genlis at Bellechasse. One theory in relation to Pamela's name is that her

¹¹² Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 93.

¹¹³ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 81.

¹¹⁴ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 98.

¹¹⁵ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 107.

apparent birth name, Nancy Syms, was considered too common and was therefore changed to reflect Madame de Genlis' admiration for Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela, or virtue rewarded*.¹¹⁶ Madame de Genlis also gave her the second name, Seymour, 'le nom d'une grande famille / the name of a great family'.¹¹⁷ In her memoirs, the Duchesse de Gontaut recalled the moment Pamela's new name was chosen:

Nous lui demandâmes son nom, il parut trop commun, elle fut appelée Pamela. Mais ce ne fut assez, nous cherchâmes un nom de famille, et celui de Seymour fut choisi et proclamé. L'ambitieuse petite fille demanda d'y ajouter le titre de lady. Cette fierté dans une enfant de huit ans amusa tout le monde, et en jouant nous l'appelâmes milady.¹¹⁸

We asked her, her name, it seemed so common, she was called Pamela. But it was not enough, we looked for a family name, and that of Seymour was chosen and proclaimed. The ambitious young girl asked to add the title of lady. This pride in a child of eight years amused everyone, and in play we called her milday.

Pamela lived and was educated at Bellechasse along with the Orléans twins, Madame de Genlis' daughter Pulchérie, and her mother Madame d'Andlau.¹¹⁹ While at Bellechasse the eldest of the Orléans twins, Françoise, died from the measles, in early January 1782.¹²⁰ This left Princess Adélaïde in the care of Madame de Genlis. However, de Genlis aspired to be much more than the governess of the princess, she had hoped to become the governess of the young princes also, a role normally reserved to men.

¹¹⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 72.

¹¹⁷ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 102.

¹¹⁸ Marie Joséphine Louise Gontaut-Biron, *Mémoires de madame la duchesse de Gontaut: gouvernante des enfants de France pendant la restauration, 1773-1836* (Paris, 1909), p. 11.

¹¹⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 77; Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 125.

¹²⁰ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 115; Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 78.

When the eldest son, Louis Philippe, the duke of Valois, turned nine, in 1782, it was anticipated that the duke of Chartres would seek a new governor.¹²¹ De Genlis recounted in her memoirs that the duke asked her opinion.¹²² After naming a number of candidates that the duke found unsuitable, Madame de Genlis said: ‘Alors je me mis à rire, et je lui dis « Eh bien, moi! » - « Pourquoi pas ? » reprit-il sérieusement. / Then I laughed and I said "well, me!" – “Why not?” he replied seriously.’¹²³ As a result, Madame de Genlis became one of the most influential women at the French court. After receiving approval for the appointment from King Louis XVI, de Genlis refused the vast sum of twenty thousand francs and agreed only to accept the more modest sum of six thousand francs that she received as a lady in waiting.¹²⁴ There was much resentment towards Madame de Genlis’ appointment as the governor to the princes, not only because of her gender but also because many believed she acquired the job due to her intimate relationship with the duke of Chartres.¹²⁵ The nomination was announced publically by the duke on 6 January 1782. In the same year Madame de Genlis published her famous novel *Adèle et Théodore* which would become one of her most significant pieces of work. She also ‘gagnait de l’autorité dans le domaine de la morale et de la pédagogie. / gained authority in the field of morals and pedagogy.’¹²⁶ Madame de Genlis grounded her educational methods in the arts particularly the theatre.¹²⁷ She conducted mini-dramas at Bellechasse with her pupils such as the play *Psyché persécutée par Vénus*.¹²⁸ It was here that Pamela developed her love for drama and theatre.

Pamela’s life under the care of Madame de Genlis and her place amongst the Orléans family were reaffirmed by her relationship with the Orléans children. She received

¹²¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 78.

¹²² Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 141.

¹²³ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 141.

¹²⁴ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 116; Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 143.

¹²⁵ Arden Robb, *Félicité de Genlis*, p. 16.

¹²⁶ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 118.

¹²⁷ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 128, Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 3, p. 156.

¹²⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 128.

the same education as the princess, Adélaïde, and the princes often joined them at Bellechasse for lessons.¹²⁹ The presence of Pamela amongst the Orléans children brought inevitable questions, as Madame Victorine de Chastenay noted in her memoirs: ‘Paméla, belle comme le jour, dont l’existence était un point de curiosité, mais à qui sa figure pouvait tenir lieu de rang. / Pamela, beautiful as the day, whose existence was a point of curiosity, but to whom her face could hold a place in rank.’¹³⁰ Despite Pamela’s inferior status, she received an excellent education, but like Adélaïde a very female education in comparison to the princes, at the hands of Madame de Genlis at Bellechasse. She successfully learned to play the harp and the guitar.¹³¹ Madame de Genlis’ niece, Henriette de Sercey, was also present at Bellechasse at the same time as Pamela and they would become lifelong friends.¹³² Accounts of Madame de Genlis’ teaching methods were published in *Leçons d’une gouvernante à ses élevés ou fragment d’un journal fait pour l’éducation des enfants de M. d’Orléans* and also in many memoirs, such as those of Louis-Philippe (b. 1773).¹³³ She placed a strong emphasis on languages and that ‘ses élevés aient des connaissances dans toutes les branches du savoir et surtout dans les plus modernes. / her students have an understanding in all branches of knowledge and especially in the most modern’.¹³⁴ This was true for Pamela just as much as it was for the Orléans children. However, when recalling his youth under Madame de Genlis, Louis-Philippe stated to Victor Hugo: ‘Elle nous avait élevés avec férocité, ma sœur et moi. / She had raised us with ferocity, my sister and I.’¹³⁵ Despite the strict regime he experienced, he was grateful for the knowledge she bestowed on him on a multitude of subjects.¹³⁶ The Marquise de Rochejaquelin later remembered an encounter with

¹²⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 82.

¹³⁰ Alphonse Roserot, *Mémoires de Madame de Chastenay: 1771-1815* (2 vols, Paris, 1896), vol. 1, p. 53.

¹³¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 110.

¹³² Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 129.

¹³³ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 131.

¹³⁴ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 132.

¹³⁵ Victor Hugo, *Choses Vues* (2 vols, Paris, 1913), vol. 1, pp 212-13.

¹³⁶ Hugo, *Choses Vues*, vol. 1, p. 213.

Madame de Genlis and her students at the Louvre.¹³⁷ La Rochejaquelein's grandmother spoke to Madame de Genlis, which La Rochejaquelein's recounted despite her young age at the time of the meeting:

Ma grand-mère vit à côté d'elle une charmante petite fille de sept ans. Elle lui dit « Vous n'avez que deux filles (l'ainée, madame de Lawoestine, était déjà mariée) : quelle est donc cette ravissante créature ? » « Oh ! répondit madame de Genlis à demi-voix, mais je l'entendis, c'est une histoire bien touchante, bien intéressante, que celle de cette petite ; je ne puis vous la raconter en ce moment. »¹³⁸

My grandmother saw next to her a charming young little girl of seven years. She said to her "You have only two daughters (the eldest, Madame de Lawoestine, was already married); who is this ravishing creature?" "Oh! Replied Madame de Genlis in a low voice, but I hear her, it's a very touching story, very interesting, that of this little girl; I cannot tell you at the moment.

While La Rochejaquelein did not reveal any significant details of Pamela's birth, other than that Madame de Genlis was inclined to gossip on the subject, she did recall Pamela's next act instructed by Madame de Genlis:

« Pamela, faites Héloïse! » Aussitôt Pamela ôte son peigne; ses beaux cheveux sans poudre tombent en longues boucles; elle se précipite un genou en terre, lève les yeux au ciel, ainsi qu'un de ses bras, et sa figure exprime une extase passionnée.¹³⁹

"Pamela, do Héloïse!" Immediately Pamela removed her comb, her beautiful hair, without powder fell into long curls; she throws one knee to the ground, raises her eyes to the sky, as well as on of her arms, and her face expressed a passionate ecstasy.

¹³⁷ Marie-Louise-Victoire, marquise de La Rochejaquelein, *Mémoires de Madame la marquise de la Rochejaquelein*, (Paris, 1848), p. 16.

¹³⁸ Marquise de La Rochejaquelein, *Mémoires de Madame la marquise de la Rochejaquelein*, p. 17.

¹³⁹ Marquise de La Rochejaquelein, *Mémoires de Madame la marquise de la Rochejaquelein*, p. 17.

On the 19 December 1786 Madame de Genlis' daughter, Caroline de Lawoestine, died while giving birth and as a result she was advised to take the waters at Spa the following summer.¹⁴⁰ She arrived at Spa on 17 July 1787 and resided at hôtel Bellevue.¹⁴¹ She was unwilling to be separated from her students, so it was decided that they would accompany her, along with the duke and duchess of Orléans.¹⁴² They had returned to Bellechasse by 15 September 1787.¹⁴³ As a result of the growing political crisis in France and the pressure on the monarchy, the duke of Orléans was exiled to Villers-Cotterêts on 19 November 1787.¹⁴⁴ This came as a result of the duke's opposition to King Louis XVI's financial policies.¹⁴⁵ Pamela was just fifteen when the French Revolution broke out.¹⁴⁶ The year 1789 began with a sense of 'political excitement and a more general apprehension.'¹⁴⁷ The duke of Orléans, strongly influenced by Enlightenment thought and especially by Rousseau, adopted a leading role in the Revolution and his Parisian base at the Palais Royal became the 'empire of liberty.'¹⁴⁸ The Palais Royal was open to the public and the cafes that surrounded the palace attracted leading figures.¹⁴⁹ Orléans' pro-revolutionary attitude ensured that he was viewed as 'the extreme avant garde, the most willing to move in a new direction.'¹⁵⁰ Indeed there was some support for idea of replacing Louis XIV with a 'self-proclaimed constitutional monarchist Louis-Philippe d'Orléans'.¹⁵¹

A number of accounts of Pamela, dated to the late 1780s and early 1790s, exist.

Madame de La Tour du Pin commented on her around 1788:

¹⁴⁰ Havelange, 'Madame de Genlis ou la pédagogie aux bains', p. 166.

¹⁴¹ Havelange, 'Madame de Genlis ou la pédagogie aux bains', p. 168; *Liste des seigneurs et dames, venues aux eaux minérales de spa, l'an 1787* (Spa, 1787), 17 juin 1787

(<http://www.swedhs.org/visiteurs/spa1787.pdf>).

¹⁴² Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 131.

¹⁴³ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 151.

¹⁴⁴ William Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution*, (3rd ed., New York, 2010), p. 103.

¹⁴⁵ Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 103.

¹⁴⁶ Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution*, p. 107.

¹⁴⁷ Noah Shusterman, *The French Revolution: faith, desire and politics*, (New York, 2014), p. 23.

¹⁴⁸ Simon Schama, *Citizens : a chronicle of the French Revolution*, (London, 1989), p. 371.

¹⁴⁹ James Maxwell Anderson, *Daily life during the French Revolution* (London, 2007), p. 92.

¹⁵⁰ Shusterman, *The French Revolution*, p. 27.

¹⁵¹ Israel, *Revolutionary ideas*, p. 176.

On ne pouvait rien voir de plus délicieux que sa figure, à quinze ans qu'elle avait lorsque je la connus. Son visage n'avait pas un défaut ou même une imperfection ... tous ses mouvements étaient gracieux, son sourire angélique, ses dents d'un blanc perlé.¹⁵²

One could see nothing more delightful than her face, when she was fifteen years old when I knew her. Her face has no default or even an imperfection all her movements were gracious, her smile angelic, her teeth of a pearl white.

Pamela had developed a strong attachment to Madame de Genlis. One manifestation of this was her willingness to perform, as Madame de la Tour du Pin recounted:

Madame de Genlis était coquette pour cette jeune personne, dont elle cherchait à faire valoir les charmes. Je me rappelle qu'elle lui faisait prendre différentes attitudes, lever les yeux au ciel, donner à son beau visage diverses expressions.¹⁵³

Madame de Genlis was coquette for this young person, whose charms she looked to make look good. I remember that she made her take different attitudes, raise her eyes to the sky, give her beautiful face diverse expressions.

Other accounts present Pamela at the heart of the Revolutionary action. In her memoirs, Madame Vigée-Lebrun claimed to have seen Pamela amidst a riot at the Palais Royal.¹⁵⁴

Je reconnus aussitôt cette belle Pamela que Madame de Genlis avait amenée chez moi. Elle était alors dans toute sa fraîcheur et vraiment ravissante ; aussi entendions-nous toute la horde crier : « Voilà, voilà celle qu'il nous faudrait pour reine ! » Pamela allait et revenait sans cesse au milieu de cette dégoûtante populace, ce qui me donna bien tristement à penser.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Madame de La Tour du Pin, *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans* (2 vols, Paris, 1920), vol. 1, p. 175.

¹⁵³ Madame Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs de Madame Louise Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun* (3 vols, Paris, 1909), vol. 1, p. 112.

¹⁵⁴ Madame Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, vol. 1, p. 97.

¹⁵⁵ Madame Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, vol. 1, p. 99.

I recognized at once that beautiful Pamela that Madame de Genlis had brought to my home. She was then in all her freshness and truly ravishing; also we could hear all the pack cry: “Here, here is what we must have for a queen!” Pamela went and came back continuously in the middle of the revolting populace, which gave me very sad thoughts.

Despite the romanticism of the story, it is more probable that Pamela was safely at chateau Saint-Leu with Madame de Genlis and the other children.¹⁵⁶ The residence of Saint-Leu was used by de Genlis for the education of the children when she wished to stay closer to Paris.

Louis XVI sent the duke of Orléans to England on a mission on 14 October 1789, in reality a form of exile.¹⁵⁷ He did not return again to France until 14 July 1790.¹⁵⁸ Madame de Genlis chose to retire to Bellechasse on 12 October with the Orléans children.¹⁵⁹ As the Revolution progressed Madame de Genlis began to consider leaving France. In April 1790, while travelling outside Paris in Colombes, Madame de Genlis with Adélaïde, her younger brother Louis Charles, Henriette and Pamela found themselves surrounded by a violent crowd.¹⁶⁰ They were taken to the house of the local National Guard where Madame de Genlis proclaimed to the crowd that her husband was a representative of the people.¹⁶¹ An old gamekeeper from Sillery who recognised her obtained a pass from Paris for her and the children and from there they returned to Saint-Leu.¹⁶²

Financial security became a significant issue for Madame de Genlis and the Orléans family in the early 1790s. With their future becoming increasingly more unpredictable Madame de Genlis went about securing a yearly annuity for Pamela on top of a 6,000 francs

¹⁵⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 176.

¹⁵⁷ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 188.

¹⁵⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 195.

¹⁵⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 190.

¹⁶⁰ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 6.

¹⁶² Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, pp 7-8.

sum that was already promised to her.¹⁶³ The pension was organised in 1791 but was not made payable to Pamela until 1793: ‘Ces pensions sont dues depuis le 1er juin 1793. / These pensions are due since the 1 June 1793.’¹⁶⁴ Why the annuity was not due to be paid until 1793 rather than 1791 when the first documents for the pension were drafted is unknown. Potentially, this may be due to the fact that Pamela had just recently married and with no dowry to present to the Fitzgerald family as she was essentially an orphan, Madame de Genlis may have acquired the pension in order to provide some financial security for Pamela. The agreement for Pamela’s pension was finalised by 6 February 1791 and it was decided that Pamela being a minor, the appointment of a guardian was necessary.¹⁶⁵ Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac, a member of the National Convention, was ultimately chosen.¹⁶⁶ The pension provided for Pamela again raised questions as to why Madame de Genlis was so attached to this particular child. However, Madame de Genlis was aware of the uncertainty of their future in France and by providing Pamela with a pension she at least secured her the possibility of an advantageous marriage.

Along with the political tensions, difficulties emerged between Madame de Genlis and the duchess of Orleans. The duke and duchess of Orléans separated, officially, on 5 April 1791 and, in consequence, Madame de Genlis subsequently agreed to leave Bellechasse, much to the dismay of Adélaïde who was extremely attached to her.¹⁶⁷ On 26 April, Madame de Genlis set off for the Auvergne region accompanied by Pamela.¹⁶⁸ However, she stated in her memoirs that she had always intended to return to Adélaïde.¹⁶⁹ As soon as Madame de

¹⁶³ Rectifications des réclamations faites par Madame de Genlis, n.d. (Archives Nationales, Lettres, AB/XIX/5350, dossier 9, notes pour le marquis de Montesquiou-Fezensac et divers correspondants).

¹⁶⁴ Rectifications des réclamations faites par Madame de Genlis, n.d. (Archives Nationales, Lettres, AB/XIX/5350, dossier 9, notes pour le marquis de Montesquiou-Fezensac et divers correspondants).

¹⁶⁵ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 202; MM. Hippolyte Carnot and David d’Angers, *Mémoires de B. Barère* (4 vols, Brussels, 1842), vol. 2, pp 73-4.

¹⁶⁶ Carnot and d’Angers, *Mémoires de B. Barère*, vol. 2, pp 73-4.

¹⁶⁷ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 202.

¹⁶⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 210.

¹⁶⁹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 70.

Genlis left Bellechasse, Adélaïde became increasingly depressed, and de Genlis acceded to a request from the duke of Orléans that she return, in the interest of Adelaide's health.¹⁷⁰ It was at this point that Madame de Genlis put into action her plan to travel to England. Attitudes toward the royal family began to worsen after the flight to Varennes, in which the king and queen attempted to flee France on 21 June 1791.¹⁷¹ As a result, members of the royal family began to fear for their own safety, and Madame de Genlis was no different. She travelled to England under the pretence that doctors had advised that Adélaïde take the waters at Bath for the sake of her health.¹⁷² Madame de Genlis left for England on the 11 October 1791 with Adélaïde, Pamela, Henriette and her grandchild, Eglantine de Lawoestine.¹⁷³ However, the trip proved to be extremely expensive and the dukes of Orléans' funds were already limited. It was implied that they had left for England with no more than 100 Louis d'or.¹⁷⁴ Louis-Philippe recalled how Pamela was treated favourably in the reduced circumstances: 'On ne dînait pas tous les jours. Les bons morceaux étaient pour Pamela. / One did not eat every day. The best pieces were for Pamela.'¹⁷⁵ In order to save money they shared the same room with two beds and only one blanket. Madame de Genlis supposedly proclaimed to Adélaïde, according to Louis-Philippe: 'Vous êtes robuste et de bonne santé, Pamela a bien froid, j'ai mis la couverture à son lit. / You are robust and in good health, Pamela is very cold, I put the blanket on her bed.'¹⁷⁶ Madame de Genlis and her entourage of pupils travelled from Bath to Bury Saint Edmunds where she rented a house.¹⁷⁷ While visiting the British radical, John Hurford Stone, Pamela encountered Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the playwright and

¹⁷⁰ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, pp 71-5.

¹⁷¹ Shusterman, *The French Revolution*, p. 88.

¹⁷² Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 223; Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 102.

¹⁷³ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 196.

¹⁷⁴ Hugo, *Choses Vues*, vol. 1, p. 213.

¹⁷⁵ Hugo, *Choses Vues*, vol. 1, p. 213.

¹⁷⁶ Hugo, *Choses Vues*, vol. 1, p. 213.

¹⁷⁷ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 109.

politician.¹⁷⁸ Pamela's resemblance to Sheridan's late wife was, apparently, uncanny. On the 3 September 1792, almost a year after her arrival in England, the duke of Orléans demanded that Madame de Genlis return with his daughter to France.¹⁷⁹ At first Madame de Genlis refused but following threats from Orléans and advice received from Sheridan, she finally agreed to return to France.¹⁸⁰ On their departure, Sheridan allegedly declared his love for Pamela and stated that 'il l'épouserait à notre retour de France / he would marry her on her return from France.'¹⁸¹ Pamela accepted and with Madame de Genlis' approval, their engagement was agreed upon.¹⁸² Finally, Madame de Genlis and Pamela set off for France on 20 November 1792.¹⁸³

In September 1792, France was officially declared a Republic, with a new legislative assembly known as the Convention.¹⁸⁴ Paris continued to attract radicals from around Europe, including the Irish aristocrat Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the twelfth son of James, first duke of Leinster, and his wife Emily, who arrived in Paris on 22 December 1792.¹⁸⁵ Edward had been increasingly frustrated by lack of progress in his military career in England and was radicalised by events in France. On 30 October 1792, he attended a meeting of Irish, Scots and English radicals at White's hotel, where he denounced his title and declared himself: 'le citoyen Edward Fitzgerald.'¹⁸⁶ Almost immediately after arriving in France, Madame de Genlis and those in her care, including Pamela, attended a performance of *Lodoiska*, the

¹⁷⁸ Michael Rapport, 'Stone, John Hurford (1763–1818)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; A. Norman Jeffares, 'Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁷⁹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 227, Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 117.

¹⁸⁰ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, pp 227-8, Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 123.

¹⁸¹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 123.

¹⁸² Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 502.

¹⁸³ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 229.

¹⁸⁴ Jeremy Jennings, *Revolution and the republic: a history of political thought in France since the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 2011), p. 39.

¹⁸⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 249.

¹⁸⁶ Mathieu Ferradou, 'Histoire d'un « festin patriotique » à l'hôtel white (18 novembre 1792): les Irlandais patriotes à Paris, 1789-1795' in *Annales historiques de la Révolution Française*, vol. 11, no. 1, (2015), p. 1.

opera by Cherubini.¹⁸⁷ Edward encountered Pamela at the performance and was apparently struck by her similarity to Elizabeth Sheridan, the late wife of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, with whom Edward had an affair with in 1792.¹⁸⁸ Stella Tillyard puts it rather dramatically: ‘He was startled to see staring out, a face like Elizabeth Sheridan’s with white skin, dark eyes, high forehead and the same black-brown curls.’¹⁸⁹ During his short visit to Paris, Edward dined with Madame de Genlis at Bellechasse, for he mentioned in a letter to his mother Emily, duchess of Leinster, written on 21 November: ‘I dine today with Madame Sillery.’¹⁹⁰ However, as a relationship between Edward and Pamela began to form, Madame de Genlis, princess Adélaïde, Henriette and Pamela were all ordered to leave Paris.

Following their trip to England, Adélaïde’s name was placed on a list of émigrés who were no longer allowed to enter French territory.¹⁹¹ The duke of Orléans attempted to reverse the decision, arguing in the Convention:

Ma fille âgée de quinze ans est passée en Angleterre au mois d’octobre 1791 avec Madame Brulart-Sillery, dont l’une est Henriette Sercey, sa nièce, orpheline, et l’autre Pamela Seymour, naturalisée française depuis plusieurs années.¹⁹²

My daughter aged 15 years old spent the month of October 1791 in England with Madame Brulart-Sillery, one of which is Henriette Sercey, her niece, orphan and the other Pamela Seymour, naturalised French for several years.

Madame de Genlis made no mention of Pamela’s naturalisation and no records indicate that this had happened, though contemporary newspapers also claimed that she had been naturalised. Prior to the Revolution, naturalisation was a means of acquiring legal status in

¹⁸⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 257.

¹⁸⁸ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, pp 132-3.

¹⁸⁹ Stella Tillyard, *Citizen Lord: Edward Fitzgerald, 1763-1798* (London, 1997), p. 141.

¹⁹⁰ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 21 Nov. 1792 (N.L.I, Lennox/Fitzgerald/Conolly Papers, MSS 35,011).

¹⁹¹ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 506.

¹⁹² M. Turnois, *Histoire de Louis-Philippe-Joseph, duc d’Orléans*, (Paris, 1842), p. 297.

France and was ultimately granted by the King.¹⁹³ In theory, foreign subjects who were not naturalised could have ‘suffered a number of restrictions and liabilities’.¹⁹⁴ However, after the Revolution the process of obtaining naturalisation had altered. In fact, Pamela’s case was also considered by the National Convention:

La Convention nationale, après avoir entendu le rapport de son comité de législation sur la réclamation du citoyen Egalité, relative aux citoyennes Egalité, Sillery, Pamela Seymour et Henriette Sercey; considérant que ceux qui sont sortis du territoire de la République, pour commencer ou perfectionner leur éducation.¹⁹⁵

The National Convention, after having heard the report of its legislation committee on the claim of citizen Egalité, relating to the citizens Egalité, Sillery, Pamela Seymour and Henriette de Sercey; considering that these all left the territory of the Republic to begin or perfect their education.

Despite the duke’s argument, on 5 December the Convention agreed that his daughter had two days to leave France.¹⁹⁶

De Genlis, Pamela, Henriette de Sercey and Adélaïde Orléans travelled to Tournai, in Austrian Netherlands, with Edward Fitzgerald following. Upon arriving there ‘il me demanda Pamela en mariage. / He asked to marry Pamela.’¹⁹⁷ In her memoirs Madame de Genlis claimed that: ‘je lui montrai les papiers qui constataient sa naissance / I showed him the papers that certify her birth.’¹⁹⁸ Madame de Genlis informed Edward of her retirement from her position as governor to the children and that as a result she was due 6,000 francs in a pension, which she wished to pass on to Pamela.¹⁹⁹ Madame de Genlis gave her consent to the marriage on the understanding that Edward would receive permission from his mother.

¹⁹³ Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: foreign citizens in the old regime and after* (London, 2004), p. 7.

¹⁹⁴ Sahlins, *Unnaturally French*, p. 5.

¹⁹⁵ *Archives Parlementaires*, vol. 53, 22 Nov. 1792, p. 545.

¹⁹⁶ Turnois, *Histoire de Louis-Philippe-Joseph*, p. 297.

¹⁹⁷ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 139.

¹⁹⁸ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 139.

¹⁹⁹ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, pp 140-41

Edward travelled back to England to obtain his mother's consent, a journey noted by several newspapers.²⁰⁰ After receiving his mother's approval, Pamela and Edward were married at Tournai on the 27 December 1792. Pamela was nineteen years old. In the original marriage certificate it was stated that Pamela's natural father was 'Guillaume Berkley', not Brixley, as Madame de Genlis claimed.²⁰¹ De Genlis recalled her separation from Pamela with sadness:

Cette séparation me fit verser beaucoup de larmes; cependant j'éprouvai la joie la plus vive de voir assurer, d'une manière si honorable, le sort d'une enfant qui m'était si chère.²⁰²

This separation made me shed a lot of tears; however I felt the liveliest joy in seeing assured, in so honourably a manner, the fate of a child that was so dear to me.

Although Pamela would not see Madame de Genlis again until 1796, subsequent chapters prove that they maintained a correspondence almost consistently following their separation in 1792.

This chapter has traced Pamela's origins and early life. Drawing on a range of conflicting evidence, it has argued that most sources point to the view that Pamela was of English birth. Despite this, the story that Pamela was the natural daughter of Madame de Genlis and the duke of Orléans exerted a significant influence on Pamela's life in the 1790s and beyond. The pro-Revolutionary role of the duke of Orléans (who took the name Philippe Égalité in 1792) and, above all, his vote in favour of Louis XVI's execution, influenced attitudes to Pamela on her arrival in Ireland. Marianne Elliott described effectively why the 'myth' of Pamela's Orleanist origins survived so long: 'the myth played such a part in creating the reputation of Lord Edward as an advanced democrat that it has survived two

²⁰⁰ *Kentish Gazette*, 21 Dec. 1792.

²⁰¹ Copy of the official registration entry of the marriage of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Pamela alias Stephanie Caroline Anne Sims, 27 Dec. 1792 (TCD, Madden Papers, MSS 873/356).

²⁰² Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 141.

centuries of scholarly research.’²⁰³ Also the myth was a much more interesting story to historians, especially to relatives of the Fitzgerald family who assessed Pamela’s life. Evidently, Pamela’s early years – in reality and in imagined terms – would have a major influence on the rest of her life.

²⁰³ Marianne Elliott, *Partners in Revolution: the United Irishmen and France* (New Haven, 1982), pp 25-6.

Chapter 2
Domesticity and Politics in Ireland, 1793-
1797

This chapter focuses on Pamela's life in Ireland between 1793 and 1797, considering, especially, her overlapping domestic and political experiences. The chapter will begin by assessing Pamela's complex relationship with the Fitzgerald family network, one which would endure for the remainder of her life. Much of Pamela's correspondence survives for this period and it provides rich insights into her life. As a result, this chapter offers a perspective on both the domestic and political spheres which Pamela occupied, as wife and mother, but also as a figure in the radicalisation of Irish politics in the 1790s. The formation of the United Irishmen and Edward's involvement with the society had a major impact on both Pamela and the manner in which elite Irish society perceived her. The extent to which Pamela engaged with radical politics in the 1790s will be examined in this chapter. The chapter suggests that there is significant evidence to indicate that Pamela was more actively involved in the United Irishmen than previously perceived by historians. In keeping with the dissertation as whole, the chapter focuses on Pamela, to assess a particularly well documented female experience of life in 1790s Ireland.

The first reports of Pamela and Edward's marriage appeared in English newspapers on 2 January 1793: 'lately was married at Tournay in Flanders, the right Hon. Lord Edward Fitzgerald to the celebrated Miss Pamela natural daughter of the ci-devant Duc d'Orléans'.¹ It is significant that, on hearsay alone, the British press identified Pamela as the natural daughter of the duke of Orléans. Elite English and Irish social circles quickly accepted that she was the daughter of the duke of Orléans, based apparently on these early notices of her marriage. The newly wedded couple arrived in London on 2 January with the intention of introducing Pamela to Edward's mother on 4 January.² Despite the fears and apprehensions that may have troubled the nineteen-year-old wife, they were quickly assuaged by a letter

¹ *Bury and Norwich Post*, 2 Jan. 1793.

² Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 2 Jan. 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

from her mother-in-law which the couple received on their arrival. Edward wrote on 2 January:

Dearest mother, thank you a thousand times for your letter, you never obliged me so much or made me so happy. I cannot tell you how strongly my little wife feels it, she has sent your letter to Mme. de Sillery, who I know it will delight, she is to be pitied for she doats [*sic*] on Pamela, who returns it most sincerely. What she feels is the only drawback on my happiness. You must love her for she wants to be loved. We shall dine with you the day after tomorrow; we shall not be able to get from the Custom House time enough to see you tomorrow. Love to all, tell Mr. O[gilvie] how much I am obliged to him. E. F.³

From Edward's perspective at least, Pamela was welcomed into the Fitzgerald family. While this period was dominated for most English and Irish aristocrats by fear and apprehension concerning radicalism, Edward's family overlooked Pamela's link to revolutionary France.

The positive tone towards Pamela's arrival was reflected in the correspondence of a range of family members. The duchess, Emily, wrote to her daughter Lady Lucy Fitzgerald in February of the same year: 'it is very lucky for us to have the dear Edwards for they are charming and keep us constantly merry and alive, to me you know what it is to see my Eddy morning, noon and night!'⁴ Similarly, in her diary, Lady Sophia Fitzgerald, an elder sister of Edward, emphasised that her mother, the duchess, approved of Pamela:

She thought she was just the girl in the world to suit Edward and the only draw back to it was her having so small a fortune as Dear Edward is naturally of a very

³ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 2 Jan. 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁴ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 13 Jan. 1793 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/12).

expensive town and has with all his good and perfectly amiable qualities no idea of economy.⁵

His aunt, Sarah Napier, writing to her friend Susan O'Brien, gave an account of her first meeting Pamela:

I never saw such a sweet, little, engaging bewitching creature as Ly. Edward is and childish to a degree with the greatest sense. The upper part of her face is like poor Mrs. Sheridan the lower part like my beloved child Louisa, of course I am disposed to doat upon her. I am sure she is not vile Egalités child, it's impossible.⁶

For the most part Pamela's arrival into the Fitzgerald family was warmly approved.

After a short period of nine days spent introducing Pamela to the family, the couple arrived in Ireland on 12 January as noted by various newspapers: 'Lord Edward Fitzgerald and his lady (the late Miss Pamela Égalité) arrived here this morning from the continent and set off for the capital about noon.'⁷ Ogilvie's concerns for Edward's political involvement and the attendant danger for the wider family network meant that it was probable that Edward was advised to leave England as soon as possible. Edward had strong connections with the political circles of his cousin, Charles James Fox, as well as more radical and democratic circles in London before his visit to Revolutionary France in 1792.⁸ His rejection of his aristocratic title in Paris not too long before his marriage to the supposed daughter of the duke

⁵ Sophia Fitzgerald diary entry, 16 Feb. 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,012).

⁶ Comtess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, *The life and letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745-1826* (London, 1901), pp 91-92.

⁷ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 12 Jan. 1793.

⁸ Nancy J. Curtin, *The United Irishmen: popular politics in Ulster and Dublin 1701-1798* (Oxford, 1994), p. 214.

of Orléans created a certain image of Edward.⁹ Newspapers commented on Edward's discharge from the army, highlighting its revolutionary links: 'Saturday two noblemen [Lord Semple and Lord Edward Fitzgerald] were, by order of the Secretary at War, discharged from his Majesty's service in the military department, they having signed their names to the Revolution Society.'¹⁰ As the prospect of war loomed, Pamela and Edward's first place of Irish residence, although not permanent, was in Leinster House, to stay with Edward's brother, William Robert Fitzgerald, the duke of Leinster.¹¹

Although Pamela was almost immediately welcomed into the Fitzgerald family, there is evidence to suggest that there was some apprehension from the start. William Ogilvie, Emily Fitzgerald's second husband and previously the tutor of the Fitzgerald children, was certainly anxious. Writing to William Robert, Ogilvie expressed his desire that Pamela had stronger financial prospects and also feared the effects of their marriage on Edward's already growing radical image:

I acknowledge that I dread Edward and I think it will require all your temper and moderation to keep him quiet for I fear he has taken up strong notion of Republicanism, which I totally differ from him in; but tho I cannot bring him to think as I do, I hope we shall prevail on him to be quiet. We expect him in about a week with his woman as he calls her [Pamela]. Many people here who know her talk of her as a prodigy for accomplishments and uncommonly beautiful. I wish she had a little more money. She has an annuity of 7,000 livres, near £300 a year. I suppose they will not stay long in London.¹²

⁹ *Belfast Newsletter*, 30 Nov. 1792.

¹⁰ *Reading Mercury*, 10 Dec. 1792.

¹¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 273.

¹² William Ogilvie to the duke of Leinster, 2 Jan. 1793 (N.L.I., Leinster Papers, MSS 41,552/35).

However, Ogilvie was eager for the prospect of marriage to ease Edward's radicalism, as he explained in a letter to the duke of Leinster when he learned that Edward had not participated in a meeting of the radicalised Volunteers: 'I am glad to find by your Grace's letter that Edward did not take any part in the proceedings at Dungannon and am quite happy to hear from others that he is very quiet.'¹³

The situation of Irish radical groups upon Edward's arrival in Ireland are important to note. In early 1793, a Volunteer convention was organised for Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, in order to revamp the group and press the case for radical political change.¹⁴ It attracted figures sympathetic to the French Revolution and this was enough to capture the attention of the Irish and English governments.¹⁵ As a result, Ogilvie continued to express his concerns for Edward's political involvement, so much so that he asked the duke of Leinster to caution Edward: 'I do entreat your grace to beg of him to avoid talking as a republican to anybody it can do no good and is doing a great deed of harm by exciting great violence against him here – where every vile lie is spread and believed to his disadvantage.'¹⁶ Edward's radicalism coupled with Pamela's reputation quickly encouraged rumours about the couple. Although Edward had not committed himself to any particular Irish group at this point, Ogilvie highlighted in his letter to the duke of Leinster how Edward was already being closely watched: 'I have it from undoubted authority that poor dear unsuspecting Edward is closely watched and that if he were to give them the slightest opening the blood hounds are ready to be let slip to hunt him down.'¹⁷ While there is no indication that Pamela's own political beliefs were known at this time, her Orléanist links and her husband's involvement may have already made her a target of the government.

¹³ William Ogilvie to the duke of Leinster, 5 March 1793 (N.L.I., Leinster Papers, MSS 41,552/35).

¹⁴ Elliott, *Partners in Revolution*, p.47; *Belfast Newsletter*, 10 Feb. 1792.

¹⁵ Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p.58.

¹⁶ William Ogilvie to the duke of Leinster, 5 March 1793 (N.L.I., Leinster Papers, MSS 41,552/35).

¹⁷ William Ogilvie to the duke of Leinster, 5 March 1793 (N.L.I., Leinster Papers, MSS 41,552/35).

Ogilvie was not alone in his concern about the income Pamela brought to her marriage to Edward. It was not just her radical links that concerned others. Anne Lynch, the maid at the Fitzgerald family's Frescati house in County Dublin, also highlighted Pamela's lack of money, though she chose to ignore it in favour of Edward's happiness: 'I shall not one bit regret that his Lady has not millions as was talk'd of for her.'¹⁸ As A.P.W. Malcomson argues, money was a significant factor in eighteenth century marriage, especially in relation to advantageous matches.¹⁹ The fact that six of Emily Fitzgerald's ten surviving children were male eased the burden somewhat, given that 'male children did not absolutely require cash portions; more important they could earn their own living in one of the approved professions.'²⁰ Therefore, Edward's family were willing to overlook Pamela's financial contribution to the marriage despite the fact that the Fitzgerald family themselves were in considerable financial difficulty in the 1790s.²¹ It appears that the pension that Madame de Genlis had obtained for Pamela had not been paid, presumably as a result of the disruption of the Revolution, particularly from 1792 and issues within the Orléans family.²² Madame de Genlis wrote to the duke of Orléan's son, Louis Philippe, in June 1793, in order to obtain the pension she had tried to acquire for Pamela.²³ Edward's own career prospects were of serious concern to the Fitzgerald family after he was removed from the army in 1792.²⁴

As chapter one illustrated, the subject of Pamela's parentage was a perennial issue in her life. Her arrival in Britain and Ireland was attended by newspaper speculation concerning

¹⁸ Anne Lynch to Lucy Fitzgerald, 11 Jan. 1793 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/4/16).

¹⁹ A.P.W. Malcomson, *The pursuit of the heiress: aristocratic marriage in Ireland, 1740-1840* (Belfast, 2006), p. 2.

²⁰ Malcomson, *The pursuit of the heiress*, p. 31.

²¹ Emily Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 17 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(2)).

²² Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, pp 140-141.

²³ Madame de Genlis to the duke of Chartres, June 1793 (Archives Nationales, AB/XIX/5350, Dossier 9, lettres, notes pour le marquis de Montesquiou-Fezensac et divers correspondants).

²⁴ *Reading Mercury*, 10 Dec. 1792.

her links to the duke of Orléans. It is evident that the mystery of Pamela's birth and upbringing followed her from France to Ireland. From Sarah Napier's previously mentioned letter to Susan O'Brien, it appears that many in the Fitzgerald family did not press the question about Pamela's true parentage. The majority of the family network chose simply to deny the possibility that she could be an illegitimate daughter of a radical relation of the French monarchy. However, her origins intrigued members of elite social circles of Dublin and London. While Madame de Genlis still maintained that Mary Syms was Pamela's birth mother, it was widely believed that she and the duke of Orléans were Pamela's natural parents. There is no written evidence to suggest that Pamela made any enquiries into her true parentage. However she was in contact with Nathaniel Forth, the English spy responsible for her adoption from England. In a letter written 1 April 1793, Edward noted contact between Pamela and Forth:

Thank you for the message about the wine my wife will write to Mr. Forth; but as that is not so certain I wish you would accept this offer of giving the directions of having it sent here, that is half of it only for we insist on your taking half to drink our health half will be quite enough for us while we stay here and I hope to help you to drink your half with you wherever you are if you do not drink it before the summer is over.²⁵

However, the letter was more concerned about wine than Pamela's parentage. Whether or not she questioned Forth about her supposed birth mother, Mary Syms, is unknown. If she did, neither she nor her husband gave any indication in their letters that an answer was provided. While the Fitzgeralds may not have been specifically troubled by Pamela's background, it is reasonable to assume that they would still have desired the truth.

²⁵ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 1 April 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

Indeed, the question of Pamela's parentage often surfaced in the correspondence of Edward's family. In February 1794, Emily Ogilvie wrote to Sophia Fitzgerald on this subject:²⁶

I am sure a letter will direct you very much which we send Edward by this days post. It must be some continuance of that cunning Mme. de Si[llery] for I am sure Pamela never was Miss Brixley. We hope Edward will not show it [to] her for it will only worry the dear love.²⁷

Emily Ogilvie had possibly received some information regarding Pamela's birth parents and as a result was directing this letter, with the information, to both Sophia and Edward. It was not just the female members of the Fitzgerald family who were concerned as to the truth surrounding Pamela's birth. Having received a letter directed to him by Emily Ogilvie, Edward recounted his reaction in a letter to his mother. Edward himself seemed to be perplexed by the issue, in writing in February 1794, 'I don't understand Brixey it is some joke of somebody's Pam does not intend to answer it. I think it is best to take no notice of it.'²⁸ The name of Pamela's birth mother had always been presumed to be Mary Syms.²⁹ Stories concerning the identity of her birth father were more fluid. One version named an English sailor called William Brixey.³⁰ Evidently some member of the Fitzgerald family had received information that claimed Pamela was indeed the daughter of Mary Syms and William Brixey. When this information was presented to Edward and Pamela, they refused to

²⁶ Emily Ogilvie was the half-sister of Edward Fitzgerald, the daughter of his mother, Emily Fitzgerald and her second husband William Ogilvie.

²⁷ Emily Ogilvie to Sophia Fitzgerald, 8 Feb. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (10)).

²⁸ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 19 Feb. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

²⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La belle Pamela*, p. 45.

³⁰ Ellis and Turquan, *La belle Pamela*, p. 45.

believe it. Anne Lynch, in a letter to Lucy Fitzgerald, indicated that stories concerning Pamela's parentage were commonly known, even amongst the lower ranks of society:

I shall say as you dearest to be sure but everyone here has it that he has married a daughter of the duke of Orléans tho not a natural daughter but as you say tis no matter for that if she does but make him happy she must be amiable. I think brought up by Madame de Genlis.³¹

Pamela and Edward initially settled at Frescati, Blackrock. From Edward's letters to his mother, it can be presumed that both Edward and Pamela were established there by 6 May 1793. Anne Lynch described her first encounter with Pamela to Lucy Fitzgerald: 'I am indeed delighted with Lady Edward she is a charming little creature and doats [*sic*] entirely on dear Eddy.'³² She continued by describing her positive impression of Pamela and the kindness she expressed towards her: 'You dear creature I am sure you told Lady Edward she was to love me a great deal for the caresses and is as free with me as tho she has known me half her life.'³³ The young couple lived the early months of their marriage contentedly, as Edward informed his mother on 1 April 1793:

Dearest mother I have been very idle and so has my dear little wife but I hope you will forgive us she is afraid you are angry with her, the truth is, the sitting up so late has made us late in the morning and we are so agreeable and chatter so much in the morning that the day is over before we know where we are. Dublin has been very gay a great number of Balls of which the Lady misses none, dancing is a great passion. I wish you could see her dance you would delight in it she dances

³¹ Anne Lynch to Lucy Fitzgerald, 11 Jan. 1793 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/4/16).

³² Anne Lynch to Lucy Fitzgerald, 4 March 1793 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers T3092/4/13).

³³ Anne Lynch to Lucy Fitzgerald, 4 March 1793 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers T3092/4/13).

so with all her heart and soul, ever body seems to like her and behave very civilly to her.³⁴

As Edward attested, Pamela was eager to immerse herself in Dublin social circles despite the rumours that circulated about her. Sophia Fitzgerald described in her diary how she heard from a family friend, Henrietta Pakenham, of one rumour about Pamela:

Mentioned stories about Ly Edward in Ireland which I am sorry to find, as by that I find she is not very popular, however as the stories are of a nature too horrid for people really to believe I look upon it, as of no real consequence, for no person that has the common feelings of a Christian can believe for a moment such vile reports ... that a Lady had seen her walking the streets of Dublin with a handkerchief on her neck spotted with Louis the 16th blood, that some of her friends had sent her, from Paris. I suppose it is some of those amiable Ladies that are envious.³⁵

Whether true or not, clearly the effects of the Revolution had followed Pamela to Ireland. This story would influence the early perception of the young wife of Edward and have repercussions for how Pamela was both perceived and treated in her later life. Sophia was quick to acknowledge Pamela's tendency to refuse to tolerate members of Dublin's social circle. As a result, many negative comments were made against her:

Ly Edward is very quick sighted and has great discernment in knowing people's characters immediately and I dare say she puts on one of dignified proud looks

³⁴ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 1 April 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

³⁵ Sophia Fitzgerald diary entry, n.d. (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,012).

which she can do when she wants to keep people at a distance and that has been the cause of their saying such shameful things of her.³⁶

Tillyard rather enthusiastically explained that: ‘instead of insinuating herself quietly into the heart of Ascendancy society, she went to balls flamboyantly dressed in the latest revolutionary fashions; and instead of receiving guests herself, she cheerfully accompanied Lord Edward on his demotic rambles through Dublin streets.’³⁷ Though Tillyard may have exaggerated, Pamela quickly attracted newspaper comment. As early as February 1793, an English newspaper reported that: ‘Mademoiselle Pamela who lately was married to a turbulent commoner of noble family in Ireland, drives her phaeton about Dublin, with a cap of Liberty!’³⁸ At least one Irish newspaper, *Finn’s Leinster Journal*, was more circumspect: ‘We have to contradict the opinion generally believed in England and France that this lady is already related to the ci-devant Duke of Orléans.’³⁹ Whether readers believed the rumours about Pamela’s parentage, her Orléanist links undoubtedly impacted on her social standing and acceptance into elite Irish society. As Stella Tillyard highlights:

To ascendancy society Pamela seemed to be every bit as much of a symbol of the revolution as she was to Lord Edward himself. Her poor English was regarded as a sign of commitment to France, her disdain for the niceties of dress was taken as deliberate subversion and she had an irremediable defect in ascendancy eyes which was unmentioned but universally noted: she was a Catholic.⁴⁰

Pamela’s public image was, of course, also shaped by Edward’s growing radicalism. In Paris, in November 1792, he had rejected his title and proclaimed himself ‘le Citoyen

³⁶ Sophia Fitzgerald diary entry, n.d. (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,012).

³⁷ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 159.

³⁸ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 14 Feb. 1793.

³⁹ *Finn’s Leinster Journal*, 6 Feb. 1793.

⁴⁰ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 157.

Edouard Fitzgerald'.⁴¹ This radicalism was not, however, new. A tour of America, in 1788, had exposed Edward to what he considered to be a democratic way of life in the newly liberated republic. As he wrote: 'the equality of everybody and their manner of life I like very much, there are no gentlemen, everybody is on a footing, provided he works and wants nothing. Every man is exactly what he makes himself or has made himself by Industry.'⁴² Scholars have debated the influence of Fitzgerald's American journey on his politics, with Kevin Whelan laying more emphasis on Fitzgerald's experience than Daniel Gahan.⁴³ The French Revolution certainly had a profound impact on Edward.⁴⁴ In letters to his mother written while in Paris in 1792 Edward's move towards more radical politics is clearly conveyed in his desire to witness the French Revolution: 'I know you will be surprised to hear from me here, do not be uneasy, this town is as quiet as possible and for me a most interesting scene. I would not have missed seeing it at this period for anything.'⁴⁵

After Edward's trip to France he did not waste time in expressing his desire to further his radicalised political opinions. Not long after his marriage to Pamela and their return from Paris in early 1793, Edward made a controversial contribution in the Irish parliament during a discussion on the government proclamation banning the assembly of the Volunteers.⁴⁶ With the formation of a new and radical iteration of the Volunteers, the Dublin

⁴¹ Mathieu Ferradou, 'Histoire d'un « festin patriotique » à l'hôtel white (18 novembre 1792) : les Irlandais patriotes à Paris, 1789-1795' in *Annales historiques de la Révolution Française*, No. 1, (2015), p. 11.

⁴² Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 18 July 1788 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁴³ Daniel Gahan, "'Journey after my own heart": Lord Edward Fitzgerald in America, 1788-1790' in *New Hibernia Review*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2004), pp 85-105; Kevin Whelan, 'Lord Edward Fitzgerald' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

⁴⁴ Liam Chambers, 'Family politics and revolutionary convictions: the career of Edward Fitzgerald (1763-98)' in Cosgrove, Patrick, Dooley, Terence and Mullaney-Dignam, Karol (eds), *Aspects of Irish Aristocratic Life: Essays on the Fitzgeralds and Carton House* (Dublin, 2003), pp 148-57.

⁴⁵ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 30 Oct. 1792, (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁴⁶ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 155.

government became increasingly worried about the potential danger they could pose.⁴⁷ As a result, a proclamation was issued on 8 December 1792, which essentially banned all assemblies of the Volunteers.⁴⁸ In parliament, on 31 January, Edward expressed outright opposition to the attempted suppression of the Volunteers. In the process he pronounced: ‘for I think the worst subjects in this kingdom are my Lord Lieutenant and the majority of this parliament.’⁴⁹ As Sophia noted in her journal, this outburst would gain Edward and his new French wife unwanted attention:

Edward was in a great hurry to go over to attend the Irish parliament and not a great while after he was there an unpleasant piece of business happened to him. In the course of one of the debates he got up and spoke rather in too warm a manner; saying that he looked upon the Lord Lieutenant and the majority of the House of Commons as Enemies to Ireland, and they were the cause of the present situation of the country.⁵⁰

Already in the early months of 1793, Edward had created a radical image of himself in Irish society, inextricably involving Pamela in the gossip and slander that encircled him. This incident would also have significant consequences for his reputation in parliament, as Elliott puts it: ‘the incident alienated him from the Irish establishment and endeared him to the Irish radicals in equal measure.’⁵¹

As Edward’s role in radical politics became more evident, it was linked to the already prevailing idea that Pamela was the source of this radicalism. Pamela had, of course, left France as the Terror was taking hold. The duke of Orléans himself was seen as a

⁴⁷ Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p. 52.

⁴⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 13 Dec. 1792.

⁴⁹ *Finn’s Leinster Journal*, 6 Feb. 1793.

⁵⁰ Sophia Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 22 Jan. 1793 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 81.

⁵¹ Elliott, *Partners in Revolution*, p. 25.

dangerous radical outside France for his role in the condemnation of his cousin, King Louis XVI.⁵² In this context, animosity towards Pamela is unsurprising given the general antipathy in Irish elite circles to the Revolution. It could be argued that this was magnified by a traditional distrust of France. Gerard O'Brien has argued that 'the peculiar nature of the Revolution and therefore of the war to which it gave rise were bound to affect the form and content of traditional francophobia in both kingdoms.'⁵³ The execution of King Louis XVI of France on 21 January 1793 and Queen Marie Antoinette on 16 October 1793 heightened aristocratic fears of revolutions in other countries.⁵⁴ Both the executions and the commencement of the reign of Terror which preceded them were, of course, widely reported across Europe.⁵⁵ On 1 April 1793 Edward admitted 'all my prudence does not hinder all sorts of stories being made about both my wife and me some of which I am afraid have frightened you dearest mother.'⁵⁶ The political stigma attached to Pamela in this period would ultimately endure for the rest of her life. An account in a letter between two of Edward's sisters, Lucy and Sophia, summed up the attitude of the general public towards Pamela, even from the early stages of her residence in Ireland:

Lady Henry in high spirits and very comical she gave us an account of Ly. Edward going to a Ball not in mourning but for fancy all in black with black stockings with pink upon her head you may imagine the surprise of the Doblin Lidies ... they stared her out of countenance for she came home to Edward, who was in bed, quite in a rage, pulled open his curtains and told him 'Edward je ne

⁵² Schama, *Citizens*, p. 662.

⁵³ Gerard O'Brien, 'Francophobia in Irish history' in *Ireland and the French Revolution* (Dublin, 1990), p. 47.

⁵⁴ Simon Schama, *Citizens: a chronicle of the French Revolution* (London, 1989), p. 668; 799.

⁵⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 26 Jan. 1793; *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 2 Nov. 1793.

⁵⁶ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 1 April 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

veux aller au Bal, des gens d'une impolitesse,' Dear little thing don't you think you see her, I hope however that it will cure her of dressing herself so odly [*sic*].⁵⁷

Even her sisters-in-law were not exempt from criticising Pamela. Her nationality and personality were the subject of particular criticism as a result of international events in early 1793.

Although Pamela was viewed with suspicion in Ireland, she had escaped the effects of the Terror herself. On 27 April, the *Oxford Journal* published a short note claiming that Pamela was subject to arrest: 'lady Edward Fitzgerald is in Ireland and beyond the reach of the sanguinary tyrants who have ordered her to be arrested with Mademoiselle d'Orléans and her suite.'⁵⁸ This was linked back to list of émigrés that Pamela was placed on in 1792, alongside Adélaïde, for travelling to England with Madame de Genlis in 1791.⁵⁹ This warrant underlined the potential danger for Pamela if she remained in France during the Revolution. However, the family Pamela left behind were still subject to the danger of the Revolution. The duke of Orléans was arrested on 7 April 1793 by the Convention and by July 1793 rumours circulated in English newspapers that the duke of Orléans had been murdered.⁶⁰ While this proved to not be true, it is not known whether Pamela was made aware of the rumours of the duke's death. The fate of her family and friends in France was a constant worry to Pamela. By October 1793 Dublin newspapers reported that the entire Orléans family had been imprisoned: 'Égalité, the ci-devant Duke of Orléans still continues a prisoner at

⁵⁷ Sophia Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 18 April 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (9)).

⁵⁸ *Oxford Journal*, 27 April 1793.

⁵⁹ *Archives Parlementaires*, vol. 53, 22 Nov. 1792, p. 545.

⁶⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 2 July 1793; Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 251.

Marseilles with the rest of the Bourbon family, but no particulars transpire with regard to his treatment.⁶¹

Pamela's domestic life was just as significant as her social and political life. In early 1793, she was busy establishing a home life in Frescati with her husband. In a letter from early May, Edward described an idyllic home life: 'wife and I come to settle here. We came last night, got up to a delightful spring day and are now enjoying the little bookroom with the windows open, hearing the birds sing and the place looking beautiful.'⁶² On 6 May, Edward also wrote to his mother of an illness that would often trouble Pamela for the rest of her life, rheumatism:

I was stopped in my letter by my d[ea]r wife being taken very ill, she is now much better and is going as well a possible, she has not kept her bed by the doctors advice but lies on the couch in the bookroom. I was frightened a good deal the first day at her great weakness but she is much stronger today and I feel quite comfortable about her.⁶³

Further on in the same letter, Edward offered evidence of Pamela's writing habits which account for why there is a lapse in the correspondence between Pamela and her in-laws in the early years of her marriage:

Pamela is as bad about writing as me. I will make one excuse she has of late no time for I kept her out all day and took up her time to dissipate her and prevent

⁶¹ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 12 Oct. 1793

⁶² Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 6 May 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁶³ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 6 May 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

her thinking on and vexing herself about them French affairs which have distressed her very much.⁶⁴

As the latter comment makes clear, Pamela was concerned about events in France and the effects on her family. Finally, her fears were realised on 6 November 1793 when the duke of Orléans was guillotined.⁶⁵ It seemed that in order to protect his wife from this news, Edward attempted to hide the information from her. News of the trial and death of the duke of Orléans had reached Irish newspapers by 15 November 1793.⁶⁶ It would not be until the end of January 1794 that Pamela would learn of the death of the duke of Orléans.⁶⁷ It would appear that even Pamela's adopted mother, Madame de Genlis, partook in the charade of keeping this information from Pamela, since they remained in contact with each other following Pamela's departure from Tournay in 1792.⁶⁸ While still a refugee from revolutionary France, Madame de Genlis' location was often unknown however rumours circulating in the newspapers suggested that she had sought refuge in Switzerland. The *Belfast Newsletter* reported in November 1793 that: 'M.M. Dumourier, Baptiste, Montesquiou, Lameth, the new Duke of Orléans and Madame Genlis are now in one society at a village near Zurich in Switzerland.'⁶⁹ She had travelled from Tournay on 3 April 1793 to arrive in Switzerland with Adélaïde and Henriette.⁷⁰

Pamela's relationship with Madame de Genlis continued after 1792. The correspondence which commenced between the Fitzgeralds and Madame de Genlis at the

⁶⁴ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 6 May 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁶⁵ *Belfast Newsletter*, 15 Nov. 1793.

⁶⁶ *Belfast Newsletter*, 15 Nov. 1793.

⁶⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 280.

⁶⁸ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1 Jan. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (2)).

⁶⁹ *Belfast Newsletter*, 11 March 1794.

⁷⁰ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 247.

time of Pamela's marriage continued after Pamela moved to Ireland.⁷¹ Sophia noted in her diary that the duchess, Emily Fitzgerald, received letters from Madame de Genlis: 'Lucy gave me an account of a letter from Madame de Sillery mentioning their having guillotined Miranda and another man at Paris.'⁷² Also from a letter between Emily and her daughter Sophia on 1 January 1794, we gain an insight into the frequency of the correspondence between Pamela and Madame de Genlis: 'give a thousand loves to Dearest Pamela, I have sent some letters from her mother but keep all the extrait not to ruin her in postage (as they do me) entres nous and will send them by some opportunity from London. I will take great care of them.'⁷³ In an undated letter between Lucy and her sister Sophia, which can be assumed to have been written in late 1793, Lucy discussed the correspondence between Madame de Genlis and Emily.

Mama had a letter from Mme. de Sillery yesterday; she don't say where she is, but that they are dans un Azile sûr [in a safe refuge]; she talks no Politicks to Mama, but she desires her to read one enclosed to Lady Edward in which she mentioned their having guillote'd Miranda and another man at Paris.⁷⁴

On 23 January 1794 Edward mentioned having written to his 'mother-in-law': 'My dear little wife has upon the whole been cheerful and amused which of course pleases me. I never have received an answer from her mother (what an odd woman) so that Pamela is still ignorant of what happened.'⁷⁵ Edward's plan to keep the duke's death secret from his wife came to an end on 31 January 1794. This is evident from a letter from Emily Ogilive, Edward's half-

⁷¹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 259

⁷² Sophia Fitzgerald diary entry, 17 April 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,012).

⁷³ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1 Jan. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (2)).

⁷⁴ Lucy Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1793, cited in Lucy Ellis and Joseph Turquan, *La Belle Pamela* (Paris, 1924), pp 277-8.

⁷⁵ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 23 Jan. 1793 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

sister, to Lady Sophia: ‘Then all has been told to poor dear Pamela? I cannot but think that she knew it already. A thousand loves to her; I wrote to her a week ago.’⁷⁶ The Fitzgerald family expressed their deepest concerns for Pamela at the death of the duke. Emily Fitzgerald reiterated this in a letter written to Sophia on 5 February 1794:

By all you and Emily tell me of Dear Pam I see she has been much affected, poor thing, and one cannot wonder at it but I hope when she and dear Edward have spent a little quiet time together at Frescati she will be better and get spirits enough to enjoy Dublin amusements when they begin.⁷⁷

In a letter to his mother on the 6 February 1794, Edward recounted the impact of the death of the duke of Orléans on Pamela:

Dear Pamela is better she was very nervous at first after hearing these events, but I think she is coming round. She sat down twice to write to you but it affects her so much I begged her not to write for a little while and then set to talk on the subject.⁷⁸

A year into her marriage to Edward, Pamela had found herself generally accepted and welcomed into the Fitzgerald family. Despite the rumours, the Fitzgerald family correspondence suggested that they had come to consider her as part of their family.

Pamela and Edward wasted no time in starting a family of their own. This was not unusual. As Clodagh Tait notes, for an earlier period: ‘we find that many couples got the

⁷⁶ Emily Ogilvie to Sophia Fitzgerald, 31 Jan. 1794, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 280.

⁷⁷ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 5 Feb. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (2)).

⁷⁸ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 6 Feb. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

production of children underway immediately.⁷⁹ This was due to the social conception that ‘if the bride was not already pregnant, it was expected that she would be within weeks or a few months.’⁸⁰ The first signs of pregnancy were hinted at in Edward’s letter on 4 March, of what can be assumed 1794, ‘Pam is grown fat and well.’⁸¹ To meet social expectations, the desire to become pregnant was almost always the primary aim of the wife, as motherhood was an important part of female identity.⁸² Pamela had successfully fulfilled her role as a wife by becoming pregnant and giving birth to a son, the gender every parent desired for their firstborn.⁸³ The news of Pamela’s pregnancy spread quickly, as we can see from Emily Fitzgerald’s letter on 10 April 1794, ‘Pray, pray don’t let pretty Pam miscarry.’⁸⁴ It was not just the obstacle of surviving an uncomplicated pregnancy that would worry the expectant mother: ‘the survival of birth was the first obstacle. If the child could get through the next few months it stood a good chance of surviving infancy.’⁸⁵

As politics radicalised in 1794, Edward’s letters to his mother were dominated by news of Pamela’s pregnancy. He wrote on 23 June 1794:

She is busy in her little American jacket planting sweet peas and mignonet. Her table and work box with the little ones Caps are on the table ... Pam is as well as possible

⁷⁹ Clodagh Tait ‘Some sources for the study of infant and maternal mortality in later seventeenth century Ireland’ in Elaine Farrell (ed.), *‘She said she was in the family way’ pregnancy and infancy in modern Ireland* (London, 2012), p. 64.

⁸⁰ Owen Hufton, *The prospect before her: a history of women in western Europe, 1500-1800* (New York, 1996), p. 179.

⁸¹ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 68.

⁸² Elaine Farrell (ed.), *‘She said she was in the family way’ pregnancy and infancy in modern Ireland* (London, 2012), p. 1.

⁸³ Hufton, *The prospect before her*, p. 198.

⁸⁴ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 10 April 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (2)).

⁸⁵ Hufton, *The prospect before her*, p. 195.

better than ever, the only inconvenience she finds is great fullness for which she was bled this morning and it has done her a great deal of good.⁸⁶

While waiting for the arrival of her first child, Pamela had established a family life with Edward in Frescati. However, the couple were forced to leave due to William Ogilvie's desire to sell the property and the Fitzgeralds moved to Leinster Lodge, a property which belonged to the duke of Leinster, near Kildare Town.⁸⁷ In Edward's letter to his mother on 23 June 1794, he described the family at Leinster Lodge.⁸⁸ From Edward's portrayal of his family life in Kildare, it is evident that Pamela found herself in a quiet, picturesque, country house:

After going up a little lane and in at a close gate, you come on a little white house with a small gravel court before it. You see but three small windows, the court surrounded by large old elms; one side of the house covered with shrubs, on the other side a tolerable large ash; upon the stairs going up to the house, two wicker cages, in which there are at this moment two thrushes.⁸⁹

On 5 August 1794 Pamela provided the first insight into her life at Kildare Lodge while pregnant:

J'avais de si violants maux de tête qui je ne pouvais même voir pour travailler a la layette de mon cher petit enfant mais une saigne m'a absolument guérie et je me porte aussi bien qu'il est possible. Le chère petite créature remue quelque fois si fort qu'il me faut mal. Je vous prie de dire aux *dear Girls* que je suis tout à fait affronté qu'elles appellent mon petit St. Far ou Ducrest, j'ai peur que cela ne lui porte

⁸⁶ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 23 June 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁸⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 285.

⁸⁸ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 23 June 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁸⁹ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 23 June 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

malheur, mais elles seront bien attrapées lorsque je leur présenterai un cher petit Eddy avec de grands yeux bleus. Oh ! Sophie quel Doux moment pour moi lorsque je présenterai à la Chère adorable grande Maman. L'enfant de son Cher Edward les larmes m'en viennent aux yeux d'avance et mes chères sœurs, comme je les embrasserai. Pauvre Pamela oubliera pour un temps les malheurs!⁹⁰

I had such violent headaches that I could not even see to work on the layette for my dear little child but one bleeding absolutely healed me and I am carrying on as well as possible. The dear little creature moves so hard sometimes it hurts me. Please tell the *dear Girls* that I am quite affronted that they call my little one St. Far or Ducrest, I fear that this could do him harm, but they will be well caught out when I present them with a dear little Eddy with big blue eyes. Oh! Sophie, what a wonderful moment it will be for me when I present the baby to dear, lovely Grandma. The child of her dear Edward; tears come to my eyes already: and my dear sisters, how I embrace them. Poor Pamela will forget her misfortunes for a time!

It seems plausible that the decision to name the child Edward (if a boy), was already pre-determined. This might have been due to Pamela's desire to please her mother-in-law with a child who resembled her favourite son. Pamela's letter reveals her awareness that the birth of a grandson for Emily Fitzgerald would solidify her place in the family. However, an unusual element of this French extract from her letter is that it seems her sisters-in-law teased Pamela about her royal French lineage. They suggested the French names of St. Far, presumably after one of the illegitimate sons of the duke of Orléans, the Abbé de Saint-Farre and also the name Ducrest, which derived from Madame de Genlis's full name: Caroline

⁹⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 5 August 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS. 35,004 (13)).

Stéphanie Félicité Ducrest de Saint-Aubin.⁹¹ Despite bearing this harmless taunting from her dear sisters-in-law, Pamela believed that any name linked back to the Orléans family would bring her child ‘malheur’. It is an indication that Pamela remained apprehensive concerning her French connections.

As the birth approached, Sarah Napier wrote to Sophia Fitzgerald on 30 September 1794, noting that the young couple appeared calm. Sarah also wrote on Pamela’s intentions regarding the upbringing of the child. Pamela chose to care for her children herself rather than employ a nurse, which was common practice in aristocratic families.⁹² Sarah found this a much more suitable hobby than the choice of most mothers in aristocratic circles:

Pamela is like a ball and she wears an Indian bed gown Eddy calls it which is no more than a maid’s night bed gown and makes her look so large, so loose, so odd that I think a man could laugh at the immense size - a cloak would not be amiss - but her looks are excellent. She has made with her own fingers the most perfect pretty set of children’s linen you ever saw, so my sister must never accuse her of not finishing work for it is perfect. She intends to have no maid to attend the child, in short the passion with which she becomes a mother and nurse is an excellent passion for a young wife to take and if carried to extremes can never do harm. Its better than a gaming table or diving or hunting.⁹³

Whether it was the influence of Madame de Genlis’ as an educationalist or Edward’s lack of income to provide for a nurse for their child, Pamela’s dedication to her children solidified her relationship both with Edward and the Fitzgerald family. Days before the birth of his first child, Edward wrote to his mother in October 1794, on Pamela’s condition, stating:

⁹¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 61.

⁹² Hufton, *The prospect before her*, p. 197.

⁹³ Sarah Napier to Sophia Fitzgerald, 30 Sep. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (6)).

Pam is going on as well as possible, strong, healthy and in good spirits. We drive and walk everyday, she never thinks of what is to come I believe or if she does it is with great courage in short I never saw her I think in such good spirits, seeing her so makes me so.⁹⁴

This comment suggests Pamela's naivety, as well as her evident excitement at impending motherhood. The happiness of the Fitzgeralds was inextricably intertwined with the prospects of a family, with Edward's content attitude dependent on the good spirits and humour of his heavily pregnant wife. Within days the young couple welcomed their first child and on 20 October 1794 Edward wrote to his mother on the joyous experience of his new born son: 'The dear wife and baby go on as well as possible. I think I need not tell you how happy I am. It is a dear little thing and very pretty now but at first was quite the contrary.'⁹⁵ Both Pamela and her son, Edward Fox Fitzgerald, survived the birth without any complications. Ultimately Pamela had fulfilled her primary role as a wife; to provide her husband with a child.

Pamela remained in contact while Madame de Genlis was in Switzerland, with Edward continuing her correspondence during the latter stages of her pregnancy.⁹⁶ It can be assumed therefore that de Genlis and Pamela still had a close connection. Pamela now commenced her lying-in period after the birth of her son, the duration of which varied according to social position.⁹⁷ Soon after the birth, the child was baptised at Carton House, with Emily Fitzgerald being godmother and Charles Fox, first cousin of Edward, and the

⁹⁴ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, Oct.1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁹⁵ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 20 Oct.1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁹⁶ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 20 Oct.1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

⁹⁷ Rosemary Raughter, 'A time of trial being near at hand': pregnancy, childbirth and parenting in the spiritual journal of Elizabeth Bennis, 1749-79' in Elaine Farrell (ed.), *'She said she was in the family way' pregnancy and infancy in modern Ireland* (London, 2012), p. 79.

duke of Leinster being godfathers.⁹⁸ Edward's letters provided constant updates on the well-being of both the child and his wife, having written on 4 November 1794: 'I am sure it will be some comfort to you to hear that my dear wife goes on charmingly, a most excellent nurse and the little boy thriving.'⁹⁹ A further letter, less than two weeks later, accounts for Edward having sent his wife and child home to Frescati ahead of him on 17 November 1794:

I have sent off dear Pam and the baby today and follow tomorrow. They are both well, have been both out walking. Pam gets strong and the little fellow fit and saucy. He has taken such a passion for the candle that it is almost impossible to make him sleep at night. A cradle he don't like and wants always to have his cheek on his mamas breast.¹⁰⁰

From Edward's accounts, motherhood suited Pamela, who was fit enough to travel little over a month after his birth.

Edward's letter to his mother were detailed on the domestic life he had set up with Pamela, however this detail had an ulterior motive. On 25 November 1794 Edward wrote to his mother on his urge to quickly set up family life in Kildare for the winter:

I think when I am down there with Pam and child, of a blustery evening, with a good turf fire and a pleasant book, coming in, after seeing my poultry put up, my garden settled, flower-beds and plants covered for fear of frost, the place looking comfortable, and taken care of, I shall be as happy as possible; and sure I am I shall

⁹⁸ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 288.

⁹⁹ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 4 Nov. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

¹⁰⁰ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 17 Nov. 1794 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,001(2)).

regret nothing but not being nearer my dearest mother, and her not being of our party.

101

Edward's letters, which once contained detailed accounts of his political thoughts and involvement, soon came to recite idyllic images of his family life and its peacefulness. This suggests that Edward deliberately romanticised his family life to subsidise for the lack of information given to his mother about his political engagements. In reality, political radicalisation in Ireland would impact strongly on Edward and Pamela.

Pamela's life can only be understood in the context of the radicalisation of Irish politics in the 1790s, under the influence of the French Revolution and the formation and development of the Society of United Irishmen.¹⁰² Jim Smyth argues that a melting pot of numerous influences shaped the ideology of the United Irishmen: 'Presbyterian doctrine and experience, the secular cult of freemasonry, Volunteering, the American Revolution, Enlightenment cosmopolitanism and the British Whig-radical and "classical republican" traditions'.¹⁰³ The catalyst, however, for the formation of the Belfast Society of United Irishmen in October 1791 was the French Revolution. In a sense, events in France permitted Protestant radicals and Catholic campaigners to join forces in Ireland in a unified campaign for parliamentary reform and Catholic relief. The United Irishmen were the most significant

¹⁰¹ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 25 Nov. 1794 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 77.

¹⁰² Key works on the subject include: Marianne Elliot, *Partners in revolution: the United Irishmen and France* (New Haven, 1982); Hugh Gough and David Dickson (eds), *Ireland and the French Revolution* (Dublin, 1990); Jim Smyth, *The men of no property: Irish radicals and popular politics in the late eighteenth-century* (Basingstoke, 1992); David Dickson, Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds), *The United Irishmen: republicanism, radicalism and rebellion* (Dublin, 1993); Nancy J. Curtin, *The United Irishmen: popular politics in Ulster and Dublin 1701-1798* (Oxford, 1994); Kevin Whelan, *The tree of liberty: radicalism, Catholicism and the construction of Irish identity 1760-1830* (Cork, 1996); Jim Smyth (ed.), *Revolution, counter-revolution and union: Ireland in the 1790s* (Cambridge, 2000); Thomas Bartlett, David Dickson, Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds), *1798: a bicentenary perspective* (Dublin, 2003); Stephen Small, *Political thought in Ireland, 1776-1798: republicanism, patriotism and radicalism* (Oxford, 2003).

¹⁰³ Jim Smyth, *The men of no property: Irish radical and popular politics in the late eighteenth century* (London, 1998), p. 91.

group in this respect. As Elliott puts it: ‘it was the situation created by the French Revolution which eventually brought about an alliance between the extreme protestant reformers and the Catholics, giving the latter the leadership which alone could have turned their passive discontent to revolutionary ends.’¹⁰⁴ In a country marked by deep religious divisions, one of the main political aims of the United Irishmen was to bring about the ‘complete abolition of political distinctions based on religion’.¹⁰⁵ Following the society’s suppression in 1794, it developed into a larger organisation, committed to republican separatism and actively seeking the support of France for a revolution in Ireland.¹⁰⁶ From 1796 the United Irishmen expanded across Ireland, from Ulster and through much of Leinster.¹⁰⁷ Thomas Reynolds later explained that the United Irishmen’s aims were ‘most decidedly that of overturning the present government, of dethroning the King and of assisting the French in any invasion they may make upon this kingdom.’¹⁰⁸

Edward Fitzgerald joined the United Irishmen in 1796 and played an important role in the development of the organisation as a militant, revolutionary force. Given her background, this inevitably drew Pamela into radical political circles. Edward’s public role in Irish politics commenced earlier, in 1790, when he was elected M.P. for County Kildare, on his brother, the duke’s, interest. Despite his very public outburst in early 1793, he played a little role in parliament, though he was clearly identified as a political radical. It is not clear to what extent Pamela was drawn into Irish politics in the early years of the couple’s marriage. However, Pamela’s own letters reveal something of her political engagement (discussed below), which supports Kennedy’s opinion that the genre of letter writing had become

¹⁰⁴ Elliott, *Partners in Revolution*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ S. J. Connolly, *Divided kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2008), p. 442.

¹⁰⁶ Nancy J. Curtin, ‘The transformation of the society of United Irishmen into a mass-based revolutionary organisation: 1794-6’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 96, (1985), p. 468.

¹⁰⁷ Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁸ Information of Thomas Reynolds before the Privy Council, 1798 (N.A.I., Rebellion Papers, 620/3/32/23).

increasingly politicised in the 1790s, especially the letters of radical female writers.¹⁰⁹ Evidence of Edward's political views or activities in 1794 and 1795 is not plentiful. As Tillyard notes, Edward's letters conveyed his support for the United Irishmen and their cause, but: 'he had stopped writing about politics to his mother in England, and limited his correspondence with his brother the duke of Leinster to family chat.'¹¹⁰ It is impossible to know how engaged Pamela was in radical politics in this period, but it is improbable that she was completely naïve.

In early 1796 Edward officially joined the ranks of the United Irishmen.¹¹¹ It has been suggested that Edward's family connections to the duke of Leinster had prevented him from joining the United Irishmen at an earlier point, given the republicanism of the now-clandestine group. The decision was just as important for Pamela, given that Edward was now committing himself to the cause of the United Irishmen.¹¹² By February 1796, the United Irishmen wanted to re-open communication with France and as soon as Edward had officially joined the United Irishmen he began to form plans to meet with French officials in order to obtain military assistance for an Irish rising. To do this, Edward utilised his wife's European connections to ensure a suitable cover for a visit to Hamburg. Under the presumption that the Fitzgeralds were attending the wedding of Pamela's childhood companion, Henriette de Sercey, to Johann Conrad Matthiessen, a wealthy merchant in Hamburg, the young couple and their child, Edward, set out for London towards the end of April 1796.¹¹³ As a result, the activities of not only Edward but also his wife Pamela were viewed as threatening in the eyes of the British government, who did not believe the innocent cover story for their visit to

¹⁰⁹ Catriona Kennedy, "'Womanish Epistles?' Martha McTier, Female Epistolarity and Late Eighteenth-Century Irish Radicalism' in *Women's History Review*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2004), pp 649-68.

¹¹⁰ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 186.

¹¹¹ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 392.

¹¹² Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 217.

¹¹³ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 189.

Hamburg. Letters to Pitt from informants revealed that the true nature of Edward's trip was initially known.¹¹⁴ Pamela, who was also heavily pregnant at the time with her second child, entrusted the care of her first child, known within the family as 'Eddy', to Emily Fitzgerald for the duration of their journey. It was during her stay in London that Pamela was made aware of the extent of the danger her husband had placed her family in:

If Pamela ignored the revolutionary object of their journey, she would have learnt it during their stay, for being invited to a party at Devonshire House, she was taken down to supper by the duke of York who, speaking in a friendly manner of Lord Edward and with regret at what was happening in politics, earnestly advised her to do her utmost to dissuade her husband from their journey abroad.¹¹⁵

However, the exact source of this evidence is not known and therefore it is not certain whether Pamela was advised to prompt Edward to end their trip to Hamburg. Evidently, while the Fitzgerald family thought that informing Pamela of the danger involved in Edward's activities would help in successfully turning him away from the cause, it proved futile. Whether Pamela attempted to convince her husband to abandon his mission is unknown.

The United Irish mission to Hamburg would be a significant event in Pamela's life as it would confirm Pamela's involvement in her husband's political activities to some observers. Pamela was aware of the social constraints that were imposed upon her role, as a wife, and that this would hinder her ability to influence the final decision her husband made as 'the idealized image of the domestic woman served as a cultural shorthand for standards of female behaviour, applicable to all women regardless of specific situation or subject

¹¹⁴ W. J. Fitzpatrick, *Secret service under Pitt* (London, 1892), p. 44.

¹¹⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 292.

position.¹¹⁶ Therefore, it was evident that the role Pamela played in her husband's activities was already predetermined by social norms. However, the evidence suggests Pamela's role extended beyond her status as a wife and that she was actively involved in the mission. In London, Edward joined up with Arthur O'Connor, with whom he had planned the mission. In 1796 the pair had travelled throughout Ireland in order to assess readiness for French assistance.¹¹⁷ Edward and Arthur O'Connor had become friends in 1793, as fellow radical M.P.s, both outraged at the state of parliament and they quickly formed a close and loyal friendship.¹¹⁸ Edward and Pamela set off in early May for Hamburg and not soon after their arrival, on 18 May, Pamela gave birth to their daughter Pamela.¹¹⁹ While another pretence for the arrival of the Fitzgeralds in Hamburg was so that Pamela could enjoy the confinement of her pregnancy with Madame de Genlis, who at the time was also living in Hamburg, Pamela's adopted mother left for Berlin a week after Henriette's wedding, leaving under the pretext that she did not want to be an expense to her newly married niece.¹²⁰ Given the Matthiessen's wealth, Madame de Genlis's excuse for leaving was problematic and suggests, for the first time, a tension in the relationship between Pamela and de Genlis. It was quite plausible that Edward's radicalism kept Madame de Genlis at a distance from the couple. As Tillyard remarks: 'Lord Edward was soon marked out by many as a man on a secret mission. Some asserted that he was an Irish agent.'¹²¹ Not too long after Pamela and Edward's visit to Hamburg, it was revealed in the English press that Madame de Genlis was banished from Berlin: 'Madame de Genlis the celebrated author of several works on education has been

¹¹⁶ Marilyn Francus, *Monstrous motherhood: eighteenth century culture and the ideology of domesticity* (Baltimore, 2012), p. 99.

¹¹⁷ Clifford D. Conner, *Arthur O'Connor: the most important Irish Revolutionary you may never have heard of* (New York, 2009), p. 58.

¹¹⁸ Jane Hayter Hames, *Arthur O'Connor: United Irishman* (Cork, 2001), p. 73.

¹¹⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 292.

¹²⁰ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 292.

¹²¹ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 191.

ordered to quit Berlin.¹²² It was announced that émigrés who were considered close to the late king were seen as problematic and de Genlis was viewed as ‘une dangereuse agitatrice / a dangerous agitator.’¹²³ Madame de Genlis had found herself an exile in revolutionary Europe yet again. She was ordered to leave the state of Prussia in under two hours by King Frederick William III and forced to return to Hamburg.¹²⁴

Pamela was left in the care of Henriette while Edward and Arthur O’Connor made their way to Basle, Switzerland, for negotiations with General Hoche, who was appointed as leader of a French invasion of Ireland.¹²⁵ Whether Pamela was aware of the actual nature of her trip is not clear but a conversation with Madame de Genlis while she was in Hamburg suggests something of Pamela’s attitude to Edward’s radical engagement. Madame de Genlis stated:

Elle me dit qu’elle s’était imposé la loi de ne pas lui faire une seule question sur les affaire, par deux raisons : la première, parce qu’elle n’aurait, à cet égard, aucune influence sur lui, la second afin, si les choses tournaient mal, et qu’elle fût interrogée juridiquement, de pouvoir jurer sur l’Évangile, qu’elle ne savait rien, et ainsi de ne pas se trouver dans l’affreuse alternative, ou de le dénoncer, ou de faire un faux serment.¹²⁶

She said the law had obliged her not to ask him a single question on his affairs, for two reasons: firstly, because she wouldn't have any influence on him, and secondly because if things go wrong, and she is questioned in court, she can swear on the

¹²² *Ipswich Journal*, 29 Oct. 1796.

¹²³ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 292.

¹²⁴ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, pp 306-8.

¹²⁵ Elliott, *Partners in revolution*, pp 100-1.

¹²⁶ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 316.

Gospel that she knew nothing, and thus will not be faced with the terrible alternative of either denouncing him or making a false oath.

While Pamela may have not colluded directly in the activities of her husband, she was strategic enough to devise a strategy towards his politics that provided not only her safety but that of Edward, if he was ever arrested. However, the reliability of de Genlis' account is questionable. Evidence from her later life suggests that Pamela was in close contact with the United Irishmen and radicalism, in contrast to the image presented by Madame de Genlis. Historians have often been under the presumption that, at the very least: 'Pamela shared her husband's secrets and did not discourage his intentions.'¹²⁷ After almost a month in Basle, waiting for negotiations to begin, the French decided that only Arthur O'Connor would be permitted to meet Hoche and continue negotiations.¹²⁸ Given his marriage to Pamela, many French delegates were concerned with the link between Pamela and the Orléans family could damage the mission.¹²⁹ Edward quickly returned to Hamburg, to his wife, having been denied access to further negotiations.

For the remainder of his stay in Hamburg Edward set about purchasing arms and munitions for his political cause at home. It does not seem plausible that Pamela was ignorant to her husband's activities, especially in Hamburg. The fact that Edward had now involved Henriette's husband in his mission, as Matthiessen agreed to send the arms to Ireland, made it even more probable that Pamela was aware of Edward's political involvements.¹³⁰ By the end of August, Edward's political mission was coming to an end with success on the level of military diplomacy, with the French agreeing to provide assistance for an invasion, not

¹²⁷ Edith Roelker Curtis, *Lady Sarah Lennox: An Irrepressible Stuart, 1745-1826* (New York, 1946), p. 286.

¹²⁸ Hames, *Arthur O'Connor*, p. 114.

¹²⁹ Hames, *Arthur O'Connor*, p. 114.

¹³⁰ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 294.

however until towards the end of the year.¹³¹ On 29 August 1796, Edward wrote to his mother of their expected arrival in London, with Pamela bearing the departure from her friends exceptionally well: ‘my Pam has had also her share of pleasure with her friends here. She is quite reasonable (as she always is), and will bear the parting very well; and so is M[adam]e. Genlis.’¹³² Pamela’s role in the mission to Hamburg had made her a target of the Irish and British governments. In Madame de Genlis’ description of the departure, although written much later, after the events of 1798, highlighted the potential threats that involved the United Irishmen. She stated: ‘Je me séparerai d’elle avec une vive douleur, surtout en pensant que son mari allait s’engager dans de périlleuses aventures./ I parted from her with great pain, especially in knowing that her husband was going to be involved in some dangerous adventures.’¹³³

Pamela and her family would spend the next month in England with her extended family at Ealing, in particular with Emily Fitzgerald. Not long after being reunited with the son she had spent four months separated from, Pamela agreed to leave her son in England in the care of Emily, while she returned to Ireland with Edward and her new-born daughter. The reason for this decision is not entirely clear. One possibility is that Edward had promised his first son to his mother out of his affection for her, as a kind of gift. To this may be added Edward and Pamela’s awareness of the dangers which attended Edward’s activities so that by placing their eldest son in the care of Emily Fitzgerald they guaranteed his safety and his opportunity for a promising education. Before departing for Ireland, Edward wrote to his mother from Chester on 26 September 1796, and on the back of the letter Pamela wrote of the emotion she endured by departing without her only son:

¹³¹ Elliott, *Partners in revolution*, p. 101

¹³² Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 29 Aug. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 109.

¹³³ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 4, p. 317.

Comme notre étourdi Edouard a oublié de *give you my best love*, et mille baisers à mon cher enfant, je prends la plume de ses grosses Pattes pour vous dire encore combien je vous aime, et que je suis sûr que maintenant vous n'en doutez pas, car mon cher Petit *Dood Poy* est le gage le plus sûr que je puisse vous donner de tendresse et d'estime. Je ne puis voir un enfant de l'âge de mon Eddy sans un battement de cœur mais bien vite je pense à votre Bonheur, et je suis consolée.¹³⁴

As our scatter-brained Edward forgot to *give you my best love*, and a thousand kisses to my dear child, I take the pen from his great hands to tell you again how much I love you, and I'm sure by now you do not doubt it because my dear little *Dood Poy* is the surest guarantee I can give you of affection and esteem. I cannot see a child of the age of my Eddy without heart palpitations but I am consoled very quickly at the thought of your happiness.

Despite her emotional reluctance to hand over her son to his grandmother Pamela supported the idea and gave the impression of being honoured to bestow such a gift on her mother-in-law. Also by giving her son to Emily, Pamela ensured her place within the Fitzgerald family. Emily Fitzgerald provided an account of Pamela in a letter to her daughter Lucy not too long after her and Edward's departure for Ireland:

As for Dear Pamela I think her very much improved in everything but beauty tho' she is...a pretty creature but not in very good looks. What a sacrifice they do make in leaving the boy! They both adore it. My scruples are so great in keeping him it almost lessens my comfort in keeping it yet I think had Father and Child both left me

¹³⁴ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 26 Sep. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 110.

at once it wou'd have been too much for my spirits! This they saw and have most kindly and affectionately insisted upon it.¹³⁵

Emily Fitzgerald commented in a letter written on 13 October 'I don't know how I cou'd have borne all this but for this kindness in leaving their precious babe with me was not it so good in them?'¹³⁶ There was a certain political influence behind Edward and Pamela's decision, the potential threat of rebellion prompted the Fitzgeralds to secure their children's future. The act deepened Pamela's relationship with her mother-in-law. While Emily might have expected Edward to make this kind of sacrifice, she was shocked at Pamela's willingness, as she noted on 20 October:

I do think that their consideration for my comfort, their kindness a such good nature on this occasion really beyond what the most exigeante friend could ever have expected or looking for . In Edward nothing surprises me Dear Angel he has always loved me in an uncommon degree from childhood but in her Dear thing it is really as proof of this amiable disposition to make such a sacrifice and she has made me love her more than I can say.¹³⁷

Overall, Pamela's relationship with all of her husband's family had become quite close, especially amongst the siblings nearest to her age such as Lucy. Edward and Pamela arrived at Castletown House on their return to Ireland, where Lucy noted their arrival in her journal: 'the Edwards came, and the Castlereaghs.'¹³⁸ The Castlereaghs were Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, who would become secretary of state for Ireland in 1797 and played an important role in suppressing the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and his wife, Amelia. Lucy spent

¹³⁵ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 7 Oct. 1796 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/37).

¹³⁶ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 13 Oct. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005 (1)).

¹³⁷ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 20 Oct. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005 (1)).

¹³⁸ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 23 Oct. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 110.

the latter part of 1796 in Ireland, predominantly with Edward and Pamela, who moved temporarily to Carton where Lucy was residing on 20 November: ‘Ly. Edward was there the whole time and Ed. backwards and forwards: we had beautiful dancing and such a Ballet call’d Didone. Ly. Ed, composed it mostly, I selected the music.’¹³⁹ Lucy wrote of the rather peaceful times she spent at Carton with Pamela and Edward, while Pamela displayed one of the many talents she had acquired while growing up under the supervision of Madame de Genlis. Pamela and Edward would come to spend the majority of their time between Carton House, Frescati and Kildare Lodge. Arthur O’Connor joined the trio, which included Lucy, on 27 November in Kildare Lodge, where they resided, to form what they soon called the ‘happy quatur’. Lucy’s diary indicates that these gatherings certainly involved discussion of radical politics.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, Edward and Arthur hosted other radicals.¹⁴¹ Lucy sympathised with the United Irish cause.¹⁴² While Pamela was wise to restrain herself from publically commenting on the United Irishmen, her involvement in gatherings held at Kildare were enough to promote the idea that she was a radical.

Both Lucy’s journal and Pamela’s letters reveal that they engaged with the political sphere, although in a rather passive and domestic manner. Lucy’s journal entries verified the assumptions that social gatherings at Kildare Lodge were often of political nature. For example, on 30 November, Lucy noted: ‘the Apothecary dined with us as he is a great democrat.’¹⁴³ In this case, Lucy was probably referring to George Cummins, an apothecary in Kildare who was known to have frequently visited Kildare Lodge, especially in 1796.¹⁴⁴ On December 2 ‘two men came from town, both great Demarcates [*sic*] and very agreeable

¹³⁹ Lucy Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 20 Nov. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 111.

¹⁴⁰ Lucy Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 27 Nov. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 111.

¹⁴¹ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 97.

¹⁴² Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 301

¹⁴³ Lucy Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 30 Nov. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 111.

¹⁴⁴ Liam Chambers, *Rebellion in Kildare* (Dublin, 1998), p. 43.

men. We spent a delightful afternoon divided between dancing and singing patriotic songs and the most interesting conversation; we sat up till two o'clock.'¹⁴⁵ Further on, on 3 December she similarly wrote:

Edward went to bed early in the dancing-room where we sat, and Arthur and Pamela, and I had a conversation I never shall forget. I never heard anything of the kind before. I was very much amused and interested, lost in admiration of such superior talents, but not convinced, and grieved to tears at such a mind supposing itself perishable.¹⁴⁶

Even without the presence of Edward it seems that the political conversation involving Pamela and Lucy continued with Arthur O'Connor, supporting the argument that Pamela's own political opinions were just as radical as her husband's. However the defining gender division is clearly seen in terms of politics and female involvement when Lucy wrote on 4 December: 'Ed. very angry with us for sitting up; he and Mr O'Connor set off on a tour. Pamela and I very sorry.'¹⁴⁷ The development of separate spheres had confined women to the private sphere, which prevented any transition of their opinions into the public realm.¹⁴⁸ While it was acceptable for the opinion of females to be heard within private circles, their involvement was ultimately restricted. This is seen effectively in Edward and Arthur O'Connor's departure on a United Irish mission and Lucy and Pamela's position at home.

Lucy's own diary revealed the political nature of her writing and how her own beliefs were affected by her admiration for her brother. The party of four was soon dispersed,

¹⁴⁵ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 2 Dec. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, pp 111-112.

¹⁴⁶ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 3 Dec. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁷ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 4 Dec. 1796 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁸ Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Cliona Ó Gallchoir and Penny Warburton, 'Introduction: women writing and representation' in Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Cliona Ó Gallchoir and Penny Warburton (eds), *Women, writing and the public sphere, 1700 – 1830*(Cambridge, 2001), p. 1.

on 15 December Lucy left for Castletown after the arrival of Lord and Lady Castlereagh who informed her of Henrietta Pakenham's illness, a friend of both Pamela and Lucy who was pregnant at the time.¹⁴⁹ Shortly before Lucy's departure, the letters between her and Pamela had become a daily exchange. Pamela's own letters revealed the radical characteristics of her sister-in-law who she described as 'a fire minded girl'.¹⁵⁰ The last few months in 1796 had proved to be a cementing period in Pamela's relationship with her sister-in-law. Their letters often discussed political events occurring across Europe alongside their own domestic issues. They frequently mentioned their dislike of Lady Emily Bellamont, eldest sister of Edward and Lucy. Emily Bellamont was anxious at Lucy and Pamela's involvement in political radicalism. To a certain extent it seemed that Bellamont wanted their correspondence to cease all together: 'Mon ange qu'un mot pour vous ce soir, non pas que B[ellamont] m'empêche de vous écrire une longue lettre/ My angel, just one one word for you tonight, not that Bellamont is preventing me from writing you a long letter.'¹⁵¹ Therefore, it can be presumed that the wider Fitzgerald family were aware of the dangers of being connected to both Edward and Pamela, especially in relation to politics.

Pamela's letters to Lucy also commented on domestic issues, notably the well-being of her daughter, Pamela. They also refer to the presence of domestic servants in the household. Edward's black American servant, Tony Small, remained with Pamela while Edward was away from home. 'Voilà Small qui m'apporte mon souper, une omelette, ce n'est pas rafraichissant/ Here is Small who brings me my supper, an omelette, it's not very refreshing.'¹⁵² While Edward mentions Tony to a certain degree in his correspondence, his

¹⁴⁹ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 112; Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 305.

¹⁵⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 7 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

¹⁵¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 20 Jan. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (5)).

¹⁵² Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 17 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

presence is almost unknown from the correspondence of Pamela. Pamela herself had a French maid called Sophie; she is not mentioned at all in Pamela's letters but appears in her husband's.¹⁵³ Pamela's own letters give a significant insight into the political discourse held between women despite the gender divisions that generally prevented them from actively participating in politics. It is evident that letter writing was a medium used by women to express their political opinions.¹⁵⁴ On 7 December 1796, in a letter to Lucy, Pamela wrote about the supposed arrival of a French fleet:

My dearest, nous avons reçue votre lettre qui nous a apries, ce qui ce passe dans le monde. Nous avions entendais dire qu'il y avait, un rapport *that the French were landed* mais nous croyons que c'était une bêtise, mais nous voyons aujourd'hui par les grandes et fortes mesures que prend le gouvernement qu'il y a quelque vérités, Kildare est rempli de troupes (600 hommes) qui font sur leurs chemain pour Corke. Je voudrais bien savoir la vérité, écrives moi tous ce que vous savez à ce sujet.¹⁵⁵

My dearest, we have received your letter that told us what is happening in the world. We had heard it said that there was a report that the French were landed but we believe that it was a mistake, but we see by the large and strong measures taken by the government that there is some truth in it, Kildare is filled with troops (600 men) who are on the way to Cork. I would like to know the truth, write to me all that you know about it.

¹⁵³ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 155.

¹⁵⁴ Catriona Kennedy, "'Womanish Epistles?'" Martha McTier, 'Female Epistolarity and Late Eighteenth-Century Irish Radicalism' in *Women's History Review*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2004), pp 649-68.

¹⁵⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 7 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

The following day Pamela wrote another letter in which she described the current political situation as being ‘in warm water.’¹⁵⁶ Pamela and Lucy’s letters were prime examples of how politics could find its way into the supposed rigid domestic and private sphere that was previously deemed to be divided from the public sphere.

Given the fact that Pamela was asking for Lucy for news of the French fleet, it is plausible that Edward kept certain information from his wife. In a letter written on 17 December, Pamela mentioned that she was waiting on the arrival of mail from Hamburg: ‘Je suis très bien aujourd’hui, mais triste car joint au chagrin de ne plus avoir notre agréable quatuor, je n’ai pas eu de lettres de Hambourg. Il faut pourtant avoir de la raison et se résigner/I’m fine today, but sad because in addition to the grief of no longer having our agreeable quatuor, I have not had letters from Hamburg. It is necessary for one to have reason and to resign one self.’¹⁵⁷ After Lucy’s departure from Kildare, the strong relationship that developed between them endured. Pamela wrote to Lucy on 17 December 1796:

My Dear Dearest Lucy. Je ne puis vous dire combien la journée d’hier et d’aujourd’hui m’a paru longue. Je regrette ces trois semaines, si confortable que nous avons passés ensemble. Je vois avec peine que je vous aime beaucoup trop et que mon cœur se laisse toujours attraper ó il s’attraperait bien davantage s’il ne vous aimait pas.¹⁵⁸

My Dear Dearest Lucy, I cannot tell you how yesterday and today seemed long. I miss those three weeks, so comfortable that we spent together. I see with sadness

¹⁵⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 8 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

¹⁵⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 17 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

¹⁵⁸ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 17 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

that I love you far too much and that my heart always makes me fall for someone oh!

I would fall even further if I did not love you.

Evidently Pamela's relationship with her younger sister-in-law had developed to such an extent that their correspondence developed into daily letters. Similarly, on 25 December 1796, Pamela's growing dependence on Lucy for friendship is evident in her demand for more detail and news from her letters:

Votre lettre n'est pas assez longue, pense ma chère que vous ne pouvez jamais m'écrire assez, n'y être assez avec moi ; enfin que je n'ai jamais assez de vos lettres, de votre chère conversation, de votre esprit, qui me convient tant, votre visage, votre harpe, votre rire, enfin tous ce qui est vous !¹⁵⁹

Your letter isn't long enough, my dear think that you can never write enough to me, or be with me enough; at least that I never have enough of your letters, your dear conversation, of your mind which suits me so much, your face, your harp, your laugh, in the end everything that is you.

It is from these letters in particular that a unique insight into Pamela's life is given and how her relationship and conversations with Lucy prompted further political debate.

Most significantly, Pamela's correspondence with Lucy reveals the extent to which she considered the 'quator' as an Enlightened gathering, in contrast even to the views of moderate Ascendancy circles. On 18 December, she responded to Lucy's account of conversations at Castletown:

¹⁵⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 25 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

Vous m'avez fait rire avec le ... de ta conversation de Castletown. Je crois que ces personnes sont de 600 ans plus reculées en lumières, que nous quatre, vous, A[rthur], E[dward], et moi. Ce n'est pas modeste à dire mais c'est la vérité.¹⁶⁰

You have made me laugh with the ... of your conversation of Castletown. I believe that these people are 600 years more backwards in enlightenment than us four, you A[rthur O'Connor], E[dward] and me. It is not modest to say but it's true.

Of course, other female members of the extended Fitzgerald daily discussed politics on a regular basis. Emily Fitzgerald and Louisa Conolly were both powerful female figures in Ireland who were often intervened in political matters or providing patronage.¹⁶¹ However, Pamela and Lucy appear to have adopted slightly radical positions.

Although the Bantry Bay expedition of December 1796 failed, it confirmed United Irish assumptions about French support.¹⁶² During 1797, the United Irishmen expanded, particularly in Leinster. It became evident to both the United Irishmen and the British government that a rebellion in Ireland was becoming more imminent. United Irish numbers had been steadily increasing since they experienced a significant decline 1794 and with the failed French invasion in 1796 the leaders of the United Irishmen were eager to act.¹⁶³ One factor that became evident from the failed French invasion was that the United Irishmen were less prepared than expected for a rebellion than Edward had assumed. As Elliott puts it 'Ireland had not stirred when the French lay off her coast and it was difficult to avoid the

¹⁶⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 18 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

¹⁶¹ Deborah Wilson, *Women, marriage and property in wealthy landed families in Ireland, 1750-1850* (Manchester, 2013), p. 11.

¹⁶² Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p. 69.

¹⁶³ Curtin, 'The transformation of the society of United Irishmen into a mass-based revolutionary organisation: 1794-6', p. 474

conclusion that the Irish agents had secured French assistance under false pretences.’¹⁶⁴ Pamela’s letters to Lucy contain detailed accounts of the arrival of the French expedition off the Irish coast. However, it was not just Pamela who kept up to date on political activity, as Lucy’s diary also contained detailed news of the French.¹⁶⁵ At the end of 1796, Pamela expected to accompany Edward and Arthur O’Connor on a political mission. More generally, her future was increasingly uncertain:

A vous dire la vérité je crains de regard dans l’avenir, le présent est notre seul bien, il est heureux ainsi, profitons-en. Mais hélas ! que le présent est court et je vois l’avenir, s’avancer à grands poids mais couvert d’un voile épais, la bienfaisante nature là ainsi voilé pour nous faire supporter la vie. Car si nous n’avions pas l’espérance, que notre existence serait malheureuse !¹⁶⁶

To tell you the truth, I fear looking into the future; the present is our only good, it is happy like this, let’s take advantage of it. But -unfortunately!- the present is short and I can see the future, advancing at great strides but covered with a thick veil, the beneficent nature like so veiled for us to bear life. Because if we did not have hope, our existence would be miserable!

Evidently Pamela was well aware of her husband’s activities and, as a result, the potential impact on her life.

Pamela joined Edward in Dublin on 1 January 1797 and from here she wrote to Lucy about her anxieties for the future that followed her into the new year: ‘Profitons du présent, mon ange, ce présent qui m’est devenu si cher, précieux./Let us make the most of the present,

¹⁶⁴ Elliott, *Partners in Revolution*, p. 119.

¹⁶⁵ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 113.

¹⁶⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 29 Dec. 1796 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

my angel, the present which has become so dear to me, so precious.¹⁶⁷ On 6 January Lucy noted in her diary that Arthur O'Connor's illness that prompted Edward to travel to Belfast.¹⁶⁸ Pamela maintained contact through their correspondence and even planned to join him in Belfast with her sister-in-law Lucy.¹⁶⁹ Pamela also kept her sister-in-law up to date with information she had received on the attempted French invasion:

Je vais vous donner les nouvelles qui sont, the French have sailed off both from Bantry and the Shannon, they had taken provisions from the latter place and paid for it, it is generally thought here that they have sailed for Brest. Voilà tous les nouvelles.¹⁷⁰

I am going to give you the news which is, the French have sailed off both from Bantry and the Shannon, they had taken provisions from the latter place and paid for it, it is generally thought here that they have sailed for Brest. That's all the news.

Pamela eventually cancelled her trip to Belfast to Edward in order to prevent potential social gossip or slander against Lucy. There was clearly anxiety in the Fitzgerald family about Lucy's proximity to Edward and Pamela:

Nous sommes décidés de ne point aller au nord, je n'ai pas besoin de te dire la peine que cela nous fait ; nous nous en étions fait une fête ; car il était bien agréable de recommencer le cher temps passe a Kildare; mais tu peux croire comme je serais malheureuse de faire une chose qui pourrait donner lieu au moindre propos sur ma

¹⁶⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 2 Jan. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005 (4)).

¹⁶⁸ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 6 Jan. 1797 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 113.

¹⁶⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 13 Jan. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MS 35,005).

¹⁷⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 4 Jan. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/ Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005 (4)).

chère Lucy, que j'aime tant; et véritablement tout ce que la tante Sarah a dit sur ce voyage ne peut pas se croire. Mon Dieu ! Comme je déteste les bavardages !¹⁷¹

We have decided to no longer go to the north, I need not say the pain that it causes us. We had a party; because it was very nice to start again the wonderful time spent in Kildare, but you can believe how sad I should be to do something that could result in the smallest problem for my dear Lucy, who I love so much and truthfully all that Aunt Sarah has said on this trip is not to be believed. My God! How I hate gossip!

Evidently, Pamela was aware of the effects of Lucy's involvement in her political circles, as Lucy noted in her diary: 'Pamela with me; talk'd over many things; both exceedingly provoked at some gossip that has prevented a charming scheme we had in view.'¹⁷² From the few surviving letters between Pamela and Edward, the strength of their relationship is evident. Edward wrote to Pamela, who had returned to Kildare Lodge, from Belfast, of his hatred of being so far from his wife for so long: 'Je déteste a toi loin de toi je ne me sens pas a mon aise et vous me manquez à chaque instant./ I hate to be away from you, I'm not at ease and I miss you at every moment'¹⁷³

At the prospect of Edward returning from Belfast, Pamela was elated, so much so that she was willing to ignore potential problems:

Nous allons être heureuse encore une fois c'est toujours bon de faire une provision de Bonheur. Hélas le malheur ne vient que trop vite mon ange soyez in good spirits

¹⁷¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Edward Fitzgerald, 7 Jan. 1797 cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p.311.

¹⁷² Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 10 Jan. 1797 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 113.

¹⁷³ Edward Fitzgerald to Pamela Fitzgerald, 10 Jan. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,011).

il n'y a rien encore pour vous tourmanter que des propos oh qu'il y a longtems que je m'en moquer.¹⁷⁴

We will be happy once again for once it is always good to make a provision of happiness. Alas! Misfortune comes only too fast, my angel be in good spirits there is nothing yet to torment you just problems that I will laugh about in the long run.

As the year progressed and the dangers of Edward's actions intensified, so did the relationship between Lucy and Pamela. In late January 1797, Pamela reflected on the nature of her letters to Lucy: 'enfin je vous dis ce qui se passe dans ma sottte tête. Je vous écris sans rime ni raison mais il m'est devenu quelquefois nécessaire d'écrire a ma bien aimée Lucy. / In fact I am saying to you that which passes in my stupid head. I write to you without rhyme nor reason but it has become necessary to write to my good friend Lucy'¹⁷⁵ From Pamela's letters to Lucy it was clear that she desired to return to Frescati house, 'j'espère que la banque quittera bientôt Frescati et laissera la place au pauvres rats (mais heureux) Fitzgeralds./ I hope that soon the bank will leave Frescati and leave the place to us poor (but happy) rats, the Fitzgeralds.'¹⁷⁶ Frescati, at this time, was being rented by the prominent banking LaTouche family.¹⁷⁷ Lucy noted Arthur O'Connor's arrest, as a result of his address to the freeholders of Antrim, in her diary on the 3 February 1797.¹⁷⁸ Pamela became even more anxious as the possibility of rebellion increased:

¹⁷⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 20 Jan. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(5)).

¹⁷⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 27 Jan. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(5)).

¹⁷⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 2 Feb. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(5)).

¹⁷⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 319.

¹⁷⁸ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 3 Feb. 1797 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 114.

Ma très chère Lucy je ne puis que vous dire un mot car je suis triste a mourire, notre cher ami. Oh! Je suis furieuse ! Mon pauvre cœur est navre, oppresse-mais on peu le garder longtems en prison.¹⁷⁹

My dearest Lucy I can only say a few words because I am terribly sad, our dear friend. Oh! I am furious! My poor heart is broken, oppressed- but you can keep it like that for a long time in prison.

Once again, Pamela emphasised the importance of finding happiness in the present: ‘Il faut jouir du présent si maintenant nous pouvons en jouir./ It is necessary to enjoy the present so now we can enjoy it.’¹⁸⁰

From Lucy’s journal, it is evident that Edward was a target of the Dublin government from early 1797. On 19 January, Lucy recorded an encounter with her brother Charles:

Charles came to see me, and frighten’d me about Edward, saying that Lord Camden had information against him and that her must leave the country. I am constantly agitated with these kind of things, which quite distract me. Edward is at Belfast, which is the cause of all this.¹⁸¹

Pamela was now inextricably involved in a political circle that was the centre of government interest. With Arthur O’Connor imprisoned, Pamela feared for Edward’s freedom, with his connection to the United Irishmen becoming more serious. Edward and Pamela made a brief

¹⁷⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 3 Feb. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(5)).

¹⁸⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 6 Feb. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(5)).

¹⁸¹ Lucy Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 19 Jan. 1797 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 114.

stay in Dublin on the 12 February, before returning to Frescati by the end of the month.¹⁸² With Edward's increasing involvement in radical politics, the entire Fitzgerald family was becoming concerned about the dangers that his association with the United Irishmen posed to both his immediate and extended families. As the United Irishmen continued to recruit forces for potential rebellion, particularly in Leinster, their growing numbers and activity was noted by Lord Clare, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland: 'the leaders of the rebels are now busied in sending emissaries all over the country to debauch the soldiery and I fear they have succeeded in a very alarming degree.'¹⁸³ The expansion of the United Irishmen into Leinster and the government response, raised the prospect of an imminent uprising.¹⁸⁴

Fitzgerald family correspondence indicates that the activity of both Edward and Pamela was a constant theme. Edward and the duke of Leinster effectively agreed to no longer meet given the implications of Edward's radicalism.¹⁸⁵ Writing in her diary, Lucy noted the fact that her two brothers no longer met each other: 'Eddy and I very snug in the evening as I cannot go down, and Brother Leinster and him don't meet, so he comes incog. to see me upstairs.'¹⁸⁶ While Edward may have kept his political activities out of his letters to his family, they were still widely known. The degree to which both Pamela and Lucy became involved in the ever-growing democratic circle of the United Irishmen is evident in Lucy's diary entry on 10 April 1797:

We had a large patriotic dinner. McNevin, Conolly, Mr. Hughes (a Northern, and Edward says a very sensible man), a Mr. Jackson, an Iron Manufacturer, a Mr. Bond, a great merchant, one of the handsomest and most delightful men to all appearance

¹⁸² Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 128.

¹⁸³ Lord Clare to Lord Mornington, 20 April 1797 (P.R.O.N.I., Fitzgibbon papers, T3287/5/1).

¹⁸⁴ Key works on this subject include: Liam Chambers, *Rebellion in Kildare* (Dublin, 1998); Ruan O'Donnell, *The rebellion in Wicklow, 1798* (Dublin, 1998); Daniel Gahan, *The people's rising, Wexford, 1798* (Dublin, 1995).

¹⁸⁵ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 216

¹⁸⁶ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 30 Nov. 1797 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 114.

that ever was, and a Presbyterian Clergyman called Barber, a venerable old man who had been forced by persecution to fly his Diocese where he had lived 30 years.¹⁸⁷

Evidently both Lucy and Pamela were present at these gatherings, which hosted leading members of the United Irishmen. The dangerous nature of Edward's involvement in the United Irishmen had caused such concern amongst the Fitzgerald family that Lucy was ordered back to England immediately, with Edward acting as her escort, on 21 May.¹⁸⁸ However, Edward had his own interests for travelling to London beyond safely ensuring his sister's arrival home. In her journal, Lucy even suggested that the trip was Edward's idea: 'saw Edward who proposed to me to take me over to England.'¹⁸⁹ It seemed the younger sister had become too involved herself within radical circles. While she too, like Pamela, did not publically announce her political opinions at this moment, it was her connection and presence alongside Edward and his social circles that prompted the idea that she too had become a radical like her brother. While Edward travelled to England, Pamela remained in Leinster House in Dublin. Edward returned home from England on 14 June, as noted in the government-sponsored *Freeman's Journal*.¹⁹⁰

Letters between government informants and members of the British government highlight the extent to which Pamela had come under suspicion by 1797. In a letter to the duke of Portland, from an informant, it is clear that Pamela and her connections were under just as much surveillance as her husband's: 'I am not aware who is meant by l'amie of Lady E. Fitzgerald but as she was at Hamburg last year with her husband it is very easy for her to

¹⁸⁷ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 10 April 1797 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 118.

¹⁸⁸ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 21 May 1797 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 119.

¹⁸⁹ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 21 May 1797 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 119.

¹⁹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 June 1797.

have established that correspondence.’¹⁹¹ Suspicion is also evident in the comments of another agent. Samuel Turner, who was a trusted guest at the Matthiessen’s house, wrote to Lord Downshire in 1797 about the potential danger of correspondence between female members of the Fitzgerald family. On 19 November 1797, Turner wrote ‘all letters from Lady Lucy Fitzgerald ought to be inspected; she Mrs. M[atthiessen]. of this place and Pamela carry on a correspondence.’¹⁹² In one of Edward’s many letters written to his mother he raised the possibility of sending Pamela to Hamburg:

I cannot tell you the anguish and heart rendering feels I find on parting with her, you can recollect I was very much averse to her going to Hamburg but such are the violent prejudices of the unjust and ill-natured world against her I beg it is best for the present that she should get far away from all the unpleasant and mortifying things she was liable of hearing of if she had remained in England.¹⁹³

Evidently Edward understood the seriousness of his political involvement to the extent that he was willing to send Pamela abroad and hoped that ‘the storm will probably be blown off.’¹⁹⁴ By late 1797, Edward was well-aware of government attention on him and, as a result, he stepped back from his role as leader of the United Irishmen in Kildare. In November 1797, he effectively passed on his position in the Kildare United Irishmen to Thomas Reynolds, who soon turned informer.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ To the duke of Portland from unknown, 30 August 1797 (Kent County Record Office, Pratt Manuscripts, U1968/0514).

¹⁹² Samuel Turner to Lord Downshire, 19 Nov. 1797 cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 335.

¹⁹³ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,001(2)).

¹⁹⁴ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,001(2)).

¹⁹⁵ Thomas Reynolds, *The life of Thomas Reynolds, Esq by his son Thomas Reynolds* (2 vols, London, 1889), vol. 1, p. 184.

Pamela Fitzgerald provides the historian with an important female lens on the events of the 1790s. Following her arrival in Ireland in early 1793, Pamela's background influenced the manner in which she was perceived. As a result, she was considered by some contemporaries as the embodiment of violent radicalism. Her relationships with the United Irishmen highlights 'the complex relationship between gender and radical politics during the 1790s.'¹⁹⁶ The evidence suggests that Pamela was actively present during the United Irish mission to Hamburg in 1796 and used her family connections to ensure its success. Pamela's domestic roles, as wife and mother, were clearly important parts of her identity as a woman. However, her letters suggest a previously underappreciated level of political engagement, notably through her exchanges with Lucy. Indeed, her detailed letters, with their mix of the domestic and the political, are revealing of the changing nature of female roles in the late eighteenth century. By 1797, Pamela was apprehensive about the future, her fears would be realised in 1798.

¹⁹⁶ Catriona A. Kennedy, 'What can women give but tears': gender politics and Irish national identity in the 1790's' (PhD Thesis, University of York, 2004), p. 316.

Chapter 3: Rebellion, 1798

This chapter will focus on the impact of the events of 1798 on Pamela's life. The timeline of this chapter will follow the build-up to the 1798 rebellion, Edward's arrest and subsequent death and its affect on Pamela, her financial affairs and her eventual departure for Hamburg via England. This assessment of Pamela's experience of 1798 draws on and extends recent scholarship on the 1798 rebellion and will contribute to the recent work of historians to assess female perspectives on 1798. Indeed, Pamela provides unique insights on the experience of rebellion and her role was remembered differently to other female figures connected to the United Irishmen. An important aspect of this chapter concerns the nature of Pamela's relationship with the Fitzgerald family following Edward's death. Madden, like other commentators, believed that:

when her husband died in a prison, when his property was confiscated by the government, when she herself was driven out of the country and was without a home, a husband or means of any kind of living in England, no effectual assistance was rendered to her by members of her husband's family, from whom it might have been expected.¹

In fact, as this chapter shows, Pamela had a more complex relationship with the Fitzgeralds, who did not disown Pamela in the manner suggested by Madden and others. However, the chapter also illustrates that 1798 marked a turning point for Pamela and would have a determining impact on the remainder of her life. For this reason, the chapter draws on a wealth of primary sources to offer a particularly detailed account of this crucial year.

In early 1798, the prospect of a United Irish rebellion, backed by a French invasion, was becoming more realistic. When Lord Edward Fitzgerald resigned as colonel of the United Irish forces in Kilkea and Moore Barony (in County Kildare), in late 1797, he

¹ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 520.

approached a merchant with local connections called Thomas Reynolds, who agreed to take his place. In early 1798, Reynolds turned informer, which had important consequences for the United Irishmen in Kildare and Leinster.² Reynolds was asked ‘to act in his [Lord Edward’s] stead in the United Irish society in the country in which Mr. Reynold’s was establishing his residence, as his own inconsiderate activity had drawn on him the suspicions of government and he wished to withdraw himself for a time’.³ His son later claimed that Reynolds was to hold the position for a short time only.⁴ With the United Irishmen having considerably expanded, supposedly reaching half a million members by 1797, the imminent threat of a rebellion in Dublin was strong⁵ Edward’s relinquishing of his role as colonel in Kildare highlighted his understanding of the seriousness of the situation as he began to undertake national responsibility for the United Irishmen.

As Dublin and Leinster became the focus of United Irish plans, Fitzgerald and his colleagues came under increased pressure. His close friend Arthur O’Connor was arrested on 28 February 1798.⁶ The meeting of the Leinster leadership of the United Irishmen planned for 12 March 1798 was raided by Major Sirr, Dublin’s chief of police.⁷ Sirr was acting on information that the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Camden, had received through Thomas Reynolds, who had turned government informant on 25 February 1798.⁸ Although Lord Castlereagh issued a warrant for Edward’s immediate arrest on the same day, 12 March, he did not attend the meeting and thus evaded capture. He was, however, forced into hiding.⁹ Oliver Carleton

² Chambers, *Rebellion in Kildare*, pp 56-7.

³ Thomas Reynolds, *The life of Thomas Reynolds, Esq by his son Thomas Reynolds* (2 vols, London, 1889), vol. 1, p. 184.

⁴ Reynolds, *The life of Thomas Reynolds*, p. 185.

⁵ Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p. 254.

⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 338.

⁷ Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p. 257.

⁸ Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p. 257; Reynolds, *The life of Thomas Reynolds*, vol. 1, p. 203.

⁹ James Mac Cormick, *The Irish rebellion of 1798, with numerical historical sketches* (Dublin, 1844), pp 165-166.

high constable of Dublin, led a raid of Leinster House on the same evening, 12 March, in search of Edward.¹⁰ Forewarned by Tony, his servant, Edward made a quick escape.¹¹ The officers searched Edward and Pamela's lodgings in Leinster House and they found and seized their papers.¹² Although Pamela attempted to burn any evidence that might compromise herself and her husband, letters from O'Connor and plans to capture Dublin were found among the material in a writing case.¹³ In his memoirs, Thomas Moore revealed an encounter between Pamela and Major William Bellingham Swan during this attempted arrest of Edward:

Lady C. told me the circumstances connected with Lord E's escape from arrest, which she had heard from an old woman servant of the family. Tony, the black, giving the alarm to Lord E. and the latter escaping (it was at Leinster House) by the stables. The officer who came to make the search (Swan I think) saying, when he required her keys to look for papers 'it's a very disagreeable task for a gentleman to be employed in' and Lady Edward answering with much dignity 'it is a task no gentleman would perform'.¹⁴

Pamela's presence at the raid potentially raised questions as to her involvement with the United Irishmen. As a result of the raid, the government had obtained enough evidence to charge Edward with treason. However, a few weeks after this ordeal Sarah Napier accounted for the material obtained by the government after speaking to Pamela about it:

She explained about the map so talked of. It was an anonymous essay on the possibility of the citizens of Dublin defending themselves against any attack whether

¹⁰ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 338.

¹¹ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 251.

¹² Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 338.

¹³ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 251.

¹⁴ Lord John Russell (ed.), *Memoirs, journals and correspondence of Thomas Moore* (8 vols, London, 1853-6), vol. 6, pp 137-138.

military or other if they chose it - Edward seemed to treat it as if no sort of consequence to Ly Edward who had asked him about it and he had laughed at the idea of its being taken in his papers and of the importance government would attach to what he thought so unimportant.¹⁵

While Pamela protested that the material obtained by the government from their lodgings in Leinster house was of little significance, and could do no harm to either her or Edward, Emily Fitzgerald did not believe her. She expressed this doubt in a letter to Henry Fitzgerald on the 21 March: 'I confess I should not have the least reliance on Lady Edward's story, as I believe it to be a fact that a pocket-book of great consequence is now in the hands of the Duke of Portland, and which was taken from her.'¹⁶ It is possible that either Pamela attempted to downplay the significance of the evidence for the sake of Edward's family or that she herself was not aware of the gravity of the information obtained from this material. Newspapers revealed that 'among the papers of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was found the plan of a regular arack for taking the garrison, castle, and city of Dublin'.¹⁷

The raid on Leinster House forced Edward into hiding, which placed Pamela in a difficult position. In order to remain successfully hidden, Edward changed his hiding place as frequently as possible. From Sarah Napier's journal, it is clear that Pamela was seriously affected by Edward's choice to go into hiding: 'From thence Louisa went to Leinster house, where poor little Pamela's fair, meek, and pitiable account of it all moved her to the greatest degree and gained my sister's good opinion of her sense and good conduct.'¹⁸ Although there was an enormous amount of support for Pamela at this time, from family and friends, Sarah

¹⁵ Sarah Napier to Sophia Fitzgerald, 24 April 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(6)).

¹⁶ Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, p. 182.

¹⁷ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 24 March 1798.

¹⁸ Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, p. 167.

Napier's journal illustrates that when Pamela complained of an illness around this time, not everyone believed her:

Louisa went back to the *set* and told them how meek and gentle Pamela was; that she did not suppose any of the government people would insult her, but underlings might; that she would as soon as her breast admitted of it, see everybody who was so good as to call on her to show she was not plotting mischief. They gave great praise to her sense and good conduct (though I hear before this Mr. P[elham] had said her sickness was a sham).¹⁹

Pamela had been ill before the attempted arrest of Edward and it appears from Louisa Conolly's letter to Emily Fitzgerald on 14 March 1798 that the illness had progressed after the incident at Leinster House: 'the shock has occasion'd a derangement in the tumour that attacks her breast. It was just ready to break and by this has been put back, but Doctor Lindsay expects in a few days to bring it back again'.²⁰ Thomas Pelham, the Chief secretary for Ireland, believed her sickness to be false.²¹ While many of the Fitzgerald family believed Pamela's illness it was evident that the Irish and British government were reluctant to believe her.

With Edward officially a wanted man, Pamela's role in radical political networks came under increased scrutiny. Regardless of her illness, Pamela was watched by the government, her letters to family and friends often opened before they were delivered to her. The government believed that she was better informed on her husband's affairs than the family assumed. Sarah Napier's diary also recalled how quickly Pamela recovered from the Leinster House raid, suggesting that she knew of Edward's whereabouts: 'I heard daily from

¹⁹ Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, p. 167.

²⁰ Louisa Conolly to Emily Fitzgerald, 14 March 1798 (British Library, Dowager Duchess Papers, Add MSS 30990/12).

²¹ Thomas Pakenham, *The year of liberty: the great Irish rebellion of 1798* (London, 1969), p. 33.

Lady Edward and found she had recovered her spirits in so sudden a manner, that everybody is convinced she knows where he is, and that he is safe and innocent.’²² It is important to note that it was not the raid at Leinster House that sparked the suspicion of the government towards Pamela. Years earlier, during her trip to Hamburg with Edward in 1796, the informant Samuel Turner suspected that information was being passed between radicals in Hamburg and Ireland through Pamela and Henriette Matthiessen.²³ This journey, accompanying her husband on his secret mission to gain French support, resulted in the suspicion that Pamela was also involved in radical political activity.

From the early months of 1798, Pamela’s surviving correspondence is limited and it is not until March of that year that she began to become a common subject in the wider Fitzgerald correspondence. On the 14 March 1798, soon after Edward’s escape from arrest, Lady Louisa Conolly wrote to Emily Fitzgerald on Pamela’s behaviour while Edward was in hiding. Even though the results of Edward’s political activity could have detrimental consequences for Pamela, she still remained loyal to her husband:

But our Dear Lady Edward has commissioned me to tell you that she entreats you will rest satisfied that your beloved son has never put pen to paper that could inspire him. She hopes that his escape is effected and she means to remain in Dublin to take care of his affairs and to let her conduct be known to whoever pleases to enquire about her.²⁴

Evidently Pamela was aware of the dangers resulting from her position and her continuing support for Edward. The evidence suggests that unlike many of the other female relatives of

²² Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, p. 168

²³ Paul Weber, *On the road to rebellion: the United Irishmen and Hamburg 1796-1803* (Dublin, 1997), p. 86.

²⁴ Louisa Conolly to Emily Fitzgerald, 14 March 1798 (British Library, Dowager Duchess Papers, Add MSS 30990/12).

United Irish leaders, Pamela was involved in radical political activity. She had been present at dinners in Kildare Lodge that were of political significance and was now – in early 1798 – complicit in her husband’s attempts to avoid arrest. Pamela had, in effect, pledged herself to the United Irishmen alongside her husband.²⁵

The wider Fitzgerald family network held Pamela in high regard due to her ability to remain calm during such a stressful period. A friend of the Fitzgerald family, Louisa Ann Pakenham, wrote to Sophia Fitzgerald on 20 March 1798 concerning Lady Edward’s demeanour whilst Edward was in hiding: ‘She seems to have kept up her spirits and to speake and act with a degree of coolness and good sense that does her infinite credit and that may be of ... service to Lord Edward’s affairs.’²⁶ In a letter to a family agent, James Spencer, on the subject of land, it was clear that all the family affairs were left in Pamela’s hands, as she undertook the task of retrieving land for Edward:

Sir, as it is now the time (if I recollect right) that Lord Edward was to get the 2 fields that [the] Duke promised him and that he has made his arrangements accordingly. I beg you will let me know when they are to be given up to me for him. There is a man who attends at our lodge at Kildare, who will take them, as I wish to give him his directions, what to do with them. I beg you to favour me with an answer as soon as possible. I am sir yours truly, Pamela Edward Fitzgerald.²⁷

The strongest evidence for Pamela’s direct involvement in the United Irishmen following the Leinster House raid appears in the evidence presented by the informant Thomas Reynolds to the privy council on 23 July 1798:

²⁵ Similar to Pamela and Edward’s situation there were other members of the United Irishmen who had female relatives that, to some degree assisted their male counterparts, for example: Margaret Bond, Martha McTier and Mary Ann McCracken. Further information on female involvement in the 1798 Rebellion can be found in Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong, *The women of 1798* (Dublin, 1998).

²⁶ Louisa Ann Pakenham to Sophia Fitzgerald, 20 March 1798 (N.L.I, Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (18)).

²⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to James Spencer, 20 March 1798 (P.R.O.N.I., Leinster Papers, D3078/3/8/4A).

And the deponent further saith that at the said county [Kildare United Irishmen] meeting a resolution was read as if it came from Dublin, desiring them to fill up the vacancies suitably which men made by the arrest of the delegates at Bonds in Dublin, and that the afore said letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald was also read that deponent gave in this letter at the meeting. That the letter was in the handwriting of Lord Edward, and was believed at the county committee to come from Lord Edward and was handed about the county as such that the said letter was unsealed when deponent received it from Lady Edward Fitzgerald, that deponent received also from Lady Edward £13 for the Barony of Ophaly which she directed him to give to Daly and also £32 as success onto Lord Edward as treasurer to the county committee which Lady Edward gave him an account on paper which she read. That deponent gave the £13 to Daly and of the £32 deponent has £15 at present in his possession.²⁸

According to Reynolds, Pamela was acting as an agent for Edward, couriering messages and money between the United Irishmen and her husband. While there is some historical debate about the authenticity of Reynolds' information, given the fact that he was a paid informer, much of Pamela's previous correspondence such as her letter to James Spencer, implies that she had indeed taken over her husband's affairs. Furthermore, government suspicions concerning Pamela's involvement were also increasing, given Pelham's reluctance to believe her illness and it was presumed by both the government and many of the Fitzgerald family members that Pamela knew where Edward was.

Indeed, when Pamela claimed that Edward had fled the country. Reynolds was doubtful:

²⁸ Information of Thomas Reynolds before the Privy Council, 1798 (N.A.I., Rebellion Papers, 620/3/32/23).

That lady Edward Fitzgerald told deponent that Lord Edward had quitted the country, but deponent believes that he is now in Dublin, because had Lord Edward been abroad he would have written to some of his friends, from whom deponent would have heard of him, and because he would most likely have carried into execution the plans he had projected had he been in France.²⁹

While Edward was in hiding, Pamela remained at Leinster House for a brief period, much to her dismay as she found the place unwelcoming and unhelpful. She confided in Sarah Napier:

J'avoue que je ne puis comprendre la dignité que me donne Leinster House, j'avoue aussi que j'ai assez de fierté pour penser que partout où je serai, je pourai préserver le dignité que je dois à mon bien aime Epoux! À sa famille et à moi-même.³⁰

I must admit that I cannot understand the dignity afforded me by Leinster House, I admit also that I have enough pride to think that wherever I may be, I can preserve the dignity that I owe to my beloved husband! To his family and to myself.

Lady Edward found help from other family members and friends during this time. One particular friend, Lady Moira, was especially supportive towards Pamela during this period. Elizabeth Rawdon was the wife of Lord Moira, and their home at Moira House was considered one of Ireland's leading salons in the eighteenth century.³¹ Lady Moira was evidently sympathetic toward the United Irishmen, given the presence of the intellectual elite at her salon.³² However, 'she could not agree with their revolutionary methods and did not wish to alter the hierarchical governance of society, thereby aligning her with elements of

²⁹ Information of Thomas Reynolds before the Privy Council, 1798 (N.A.I., Rebellion Papers, 620/3/32/23).

³⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 23 March 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

³¹ Amy Prendergast, "'The dropping genius of our isle to raise": the Moira house salon and its role in Gaelic cultural revival' in *Eighteenth century Ireland*, vol. 26 (2011), p. 97.

³² Prendergast, 'The dropping genius of our isle to raise', p. 113.

Bluestocking conservatism'.³³ Unhappy at Leinster House, Pamela decided to move to a house on Denzille Street where it would have been much easier for Edward to visit her.³⁴ On precisely the night she moved, on 24 April, Edward made a secret visit.³⁵ Edward then sought shelter in the house of one Mrs. Dillon at Portobello.³⁶ Edward's brief visit assured Pamela of his safety for the time being, putting her mind at ease concerning his whereabouts. Madden later cited an account given by Pamela's maid of Edward and Pamela's encounter:

On going into her lady's room late in the evening she saw his lordship (whom all the servants had been told had fled to France several days previously) and Lady Edward sitting together by the light of the fire. The youngest child had been brought down out of its bed for him to see it and both he and Lady Edward were, as she thought in tears.³⁷

Pamela's role as a mother must not be forgotten at this time. Although, her eldest child, Eddy, was safely in England, she had the care of Pamela and the final trimester of another pregnancy to be considered. After a surprise visit from Edward, supposedly disguised as a woman, at the start of April, her labour was apparently induced from the resulting shock.³⁸ Lady Moira wrote on the 11 April 1798 of her condition:

I write my dear lady Sarah from hence having called upon Lady Edward this afternoon about four o'clock. I staid with her finding that her labor was fully come

³³ Prendergast, 'The dropping genius of our isle to raise', p. 113.

³⁴ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 340.

³⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 340.

³⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 340.

³⁷ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 404

³⁸ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 404.

on till the Doctor and nurse Tander arrived...She is in a perfectly good way, but I think will not be brought to bed before tomorrow morning or perhaps noon.³⁹

Pamela's and Edward's third child was born on 18 April 1798. Emily Fitzgerald wrote to Sophia Fitzgerald of the birth: 'Precious Pamela being safely brought to bed of a little girl come before her time but as well as could be expected.'⁴⁰ The child was named Lucy, evidently highlighting the significance of the friendship between Pamela and her sister-in-law Lucy Fitzgerald. Although surrounded by family and friends during the birth of her child, the absence of Edward would obviously have an effect on his wife, as she already feared the safety of her husband, she also had to endure the premature birth of their child without him. Soon after the birth of Lucy, Lord Castlereagh, who had temporarily replaced Pelham as chief secretary on 29 March 1798 due to the latter's illness, pushed the idea that Edward should leave for America.⁴¹ Lucy recorded the event in her journal:

April 13 - Henry had a letter from Aunt Louisa saying that she had had a conversation with a person high in Office (Lord Castlereagh), and that the result was that she wish'd Edward's family to use their influence with him to persuade him to go to America. This I well knew would be in vain had we had it in our power, but, alas! We had not, as we did not know where he was conceal'd: after some deliberation we agreed that Mr. Ogilvie who was going to Ireland should speak to Lady Edward to desire her to inform him, as she alone knew where to find him.⁴²

³⁹ Lady Elizabeth Moira to Sarah Napier, 11 April 1798 (British Library, Napier Papers, Add MSS 49089/117).

⁴⁰ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 18 April 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (3)). Stella Tillyard dates the birth of Lucy Fitzgerald to late April or early May 1798, but the letters of both Lady Moira and Emily Fitzgerald note her birth in early April.

⁴¹ Roland Thorne, 'Stewart, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh and second marquess of Londonderry (1769-1822)', in *Oxford dictionary of national biography*

⁴² Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 13 April 1798 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 141.

Having avoided arrest, Edward and five other members of the United Irishmen quickly formed a new directory after the 12 March roundup of their comrades.⁴³ As a result, Edward became the essential leader and figurehead for the group in Leinster. Although realistic about the potential damage that the United Irishmen could inflict on the larger and more experienced army forces, Lord Edward was still insistent on carrying through on plans for rebellion.⁴⁴ Hoping to utilise the element of surprise against the government and that the uprising in Dublin would thus spur further uprisings around the country, Edward and the leading United Irishmen had set the 23 May 1798 as the date for the rebellion.⁴⁵

During the spring of 1798, Edward's family grew more anxious for his safety. While the letters between Pamela and Lucy for this period have not survived (or are not currently available for consultation), Lucy Fitzgerald noted her correspondence with Pamela in her journal from Boyle Farm in Surrey on the perimeters of London. On 4 April she noted: 'The assurances Pamela gives me of Edward's safety help to calm my mind, yet I wish she would let me go over. She desires I won't. She says she has a reason.'⁴⁶ Evidently, Pamela was aware of the potential danger that lay in Ireland. As a result of concern for her sister-in-law and a desire to keep her name from being associated with Edward's politics, Pamela urged Lucy to remain in England. While Thomas Moore has placed a visit by William Ogilvie to Ireland some time before the arrest of the United Irishmen at the meeting of the 12 March 1798, Lucy's diary clearly stated that William Ogilvie departed Boyle Farm on 14 April.⁴⁷ As soon as William Ogilvie arrived in Ireland, after 14 April, he sought advice from John Fitzgibbon, Lord Clare, the lord chancellor of Ireland, who urged him to get Edward out of

⁴³ Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p. 257.

⁴⁴ Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, p. 258.

⁴⁵ Tommy Graham, 'Dublin's role in the 1798 rebellion' in Cathal Poirteir (ed.) *The great Irish rebellion of 1798*, (Dublin, 1998), p. 58.

⁴⁶ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 4 April 1798 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 141.

⁴⁷ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 14 April 1798 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 142; Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, p. 183.

the country stating: 'For God's sake get this young man out of the country; the ports shall be thrown open to you, and no hindrance whatever offered.'⁴⁸ Ogilvie quickly delivered this information to Pamela who was suspicious of the government connection to this apparent offer of safe passage to America. She was reluctant to tell Ogilvie, whom she had never got along with, the whereabouts of her husband, given his visit to Clare. She was suspicious of Ogilvie's intentions for Edward and remained determined to keep his whereabouts a secret.

Lucy noted this in her diary:

May 9 - Heard that Mr. Ogilvie had arrived at 5 o'clock from Ireland in the Stage. He brought us assurances from Pamela of Edward's safety, said she seemed perfectly satisfied and in excellent spirits, that she did not wish me to go to her by any means ... Mr. O. told us he was himself ignorant of Edward's place of concealment,-that seeing Lady Edward so cautious and prudent and so secure he did not press her to anything, but left all to herself.⁴⁹

Recently, Edward had changed location from Portobello to the house of Nicholas Murphy in Thomas Street.⁵⁰ In order to evade any suspicion he moved from house to house on the same street often seeking the refuge of a Mr. Moore and a Mr. Cormick. It was there that Ogilvie found Lord Edward, presumably with the aid of Julie Small, the French maid and Tony Small's wife, given that Pamela was reluctant to give Ogilvie his location.⁵¹ There is no contemporary evidence to prove that Ogilvie encountered Edward as neither letters nor diary entries give an account of his visit, so the evidence presented by Thomas Moore must be considered with caution. According to Moore, Edward refused to abandon the United Irishmen, stating: 'I am too deeply pledged to these men to be able to withdraw with

⁴⁸ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 341.

⁴⁹ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 9 May 1798, cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 142.

⁵⁰ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 261.

⁵¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 341.

honour.’⁵² The scene was recalled by a Mrs. Moore, sister of the man whose house Edward was hiding in, and was subsequently told Thomas Moore while he researched his biography of Edward.⁵³ Ogilvie returned home to England failing to have convinced Edward to give up his cause.

The political climate in Ireland was increasingly dangerous for Pamela. In a letter to Sophia Fitzgerald, Emily Bellamont expressed her concerns for both Pamela and Edward just days before his arrest:

I need not tell you all I have felt about dearest Pamela and her dearest husband God grant he may be in safety. I think of him continually and when I am at all inclined to be nervous, thinking of him and considering how it will all end is what dwells upon my mind.⁵⁴

Throughout Edward’s period in hiding Pamela was insistent on remaining in Ireland to be as close to her husband as possible. At the same time, due to the seriousness of the prospect of a rebellion both Pamela and Edward agreed it was safer for her to leave Ireland. As Lucy noted in her diary on the 20 May 1798, Pamela was ordered out of Ireland: ‘May 20 - I received a letter from Pamela telling me she was to be sent away out of Ireland.’⁵⁵ This occurred after Pamela applied to Lord Castlereagh, the acting chief secretary of Ireland at the time, for a passport to leave the country. He took it upon himself to seize ‘the chance to humiliate her.’⁵⁶ Castlereagh ultimately ordered her to leave Ireland. This is noted in a letter from Francis Higgins, a government secret agent, to the under-secretary at Dublin Castle, Edward Cooke, on 18 May 1798: ‘Lady Equality complains dreadfully about Lord Castlereagh ordering a short

⁵² Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, p. 170.

⁵³ Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, pp 83-84.

⁵⁴ Emily Bellamont to Sophia Fitzgerald, 16 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004 (7)).

⁵⁵ Lucy Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 20 May 1798 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 142.

⁵⁶ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 265.

passport. She will have letters sewed or quilted in her clothes, and goes for Hamburg. I shall send you particulars.⁵⁷ Instead of granting her request, Pamela was ordered to leave Ireland at once and only permitted to a short stay in England on her way, hence the short passport. Edward had previously expressed his desire to send Pamela to her relatives in Hamburg in 1797. It seemed that now he acted on this earlier thought, which prompted Pamela to seek a passport. Emily Fitzgerald wrote to Sophia Fitzgerald on 21 May 1798:

Lucy has had a letter from Pamela desiring her not to write any more to Ireland as she had determined upon going to Hamburg with her two girls as she thought she shou'd be easier there among her friends and mentions Mme de Genlis being in a bad state of health and the comfort it would be to her to see her. She gives me no other reason for leaving Ireland but it is reported that she has been desired to do so. This may or may not be true but we don't believe it.⁵⁸

Emily Fitzgerald was unaware when she wrote this letter that Lord Edward had been arrested on the night of the 18 May at Murphy's house on Thomas Street.⁵⁹ Louisa Conolly recounted the arrest in a letter to William Ogilvie:

Which of poor Edward's bad friends betrayed him, or whether, through the vigilance of the town magistrates, he was apprehended at nine o'clock that night, I know not, but at a house in Thomas Street, Mr. Sirr, the town-major, Mr. Ryan and Mr. Swan got information of him and had a small party of soldiers to surround the house. Mr. Sirr was settling the party and advised Ryan and Swan not to be in haste; but they hastily ran up stairs and forced open the door where he was asleep. He instantly fired

⁵⁷ Francis Higgins to Under Secretary Cooke, 18 May 1798, cited in Thomas Bartlett (ed.), *Revolutionary Dublin: 1795-1801, the letters of Francis Higgins to Dublin Castle* (Dublin, 2004), pp 237-238.

⁵⁸ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 21 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

⁵⁹ Louisa Conolly to William Ogilvie, 21 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002(5)).

a pistol at Mr. Ryan, who we have this day hopes will recover. Upon Mr. Swan's approaching him, he stabbed Mr. Swan with a dagger, but that wound is not considered dangerous. Mr. Sirr, upon hearing the resistance, ran upstairs and thinking that Edward was going to attack him, fired a pistol at him which wounded Edward in the shoulder but not dangerously. He was then carried prisoner to the Castle, where Mr. Stewart (the surgeon-general) was ordered to attend him.⁶⁰

Pamela did not hear of Edward's arrest until 20 May. Louisa Conolly accounted for the lapse in Pamela receiving this information in her letter:

As soon as Edward's wound was dressed he desired the Private Secretary at the Castle (Mr. Watson I believe is the name) to write for him to Ly. Edward and to tell her what had happened. The secretary carried the note himself, Ly. Edward was at Moira House and a servant of Ly. Mountcastle's came soon after to forbid Ly. Edward's servants saying anything to her that night.⁶¹

Evidently, there was an attempt to keep this information from Pamela at first in order to prepare her for the worst. On 20 May Pamela was informed of Edward's arrest:

The next morning (being yesterday) [i.e. 20 May] Miss Napier told Ly. Edward and she bore it better than she expected - but Mr. Napier who went to town brought us word that her head seemed still deranged and that no judgement could yet be formed about her.⁶²

⁶⁰ Louisa Conolly to William Ogilvie, 21 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002(5)).

⁶¹ Louisa Conolly to William Ogilvie, 21 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002(5)).

⁶² Louisa Conolly to William Ogilvie, 21 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002(5)).

Pamela's and Edward's attempts to secure their children's place in the extended Fitzgerald family's care highlights the fact that they were both realistic about the potential outcomes of Edward's radical politics. The previous December, in 1797, Edward had expressed his desire to send his wife and daughter to Hamburg, to Madame de Genlis, in a letter to his mother.⁶³ In the final days before his arrest it was clear that Edward acted on this possibility, asking Pamela to leave Ireland.⁶⁴ Therefore, Pamela was pragmatic about the potential consequences of Edward's United Irish involvement. As Tillyard has commented: 'Pamela had known that a rising was imminent and she must have prepared herself for the possibility of her husband's death.'⁶⁵ Many historians have pinpointed her lack of emotion at the news of his arrest as a sign of disinterest towards her husband. This stood in contrast to the expected eighteenth century female reaction to bad news, including hysteria and outbursts of emotion. Hysteria at this time 'shared mental characteristics with what we know as psychosis or depression and included physical manifestations ranging from headaches, salivation, and trembling, to paralysis, choking, and epileptic like fits.'⁶⁶ However, signs of hysteria were deemed a social norm for women, especially in times of emotional stress: 'projected from the female body, embracing female character, and extending female character, and extending ultimately to a standard of behaviour, a system of valuation, and a theory of sociability.'⁶⁷ According to Louisa Conolly's account, Pamela 'bore it better than she expected'.⁶⁸

⁶³ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 19 December 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,001(2)).

⁶⁴ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 21 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

⁶⁵ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 275.

⁶⁶ Heather Meek, 'Medical men, women of letters and treatments for eighteenth century hysteria' in *Journal of Medical Humanities*, vol. 34, no. 1, (2013), p. 3.

⁶⁷ Laura Brown, *Fables of modernity: literature and culture in the English eighteenth century* (London, 2003), p. 113.

⁶⁸ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 21 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

Despite Louisa Conolly's assessment, later evidence indicates the negative impact of Edward's arrest on Pamela. In a letter to Sarah Napier just days after Edward's arrest, Pamela's own words captured her devastation:

Ma bien aimée tante, mon Cœur est si remplie des différents sensations que je ne puis trouver de mots assez fort assez ... pour les exprimer, mon bien aimée époux est en prison et blesse...mon cœur est plongé dans la profonde douleur.⁶⁹

My beloved aunt, my heart is so full of different sensations that I cannot find the words strong enough to explain, my beloved husband is injured and in prison ... my heart is plunged into deep grief.

Almost immediately after the capture of Edward, Pamela quickly acted on the order emanating from Lord Castlereagh for her to leave Ireland: 'My Dearest Sal, Poor Lady Edward is to go when I brought her the passport this morning it threw her into sad distress for she had hopes I could prevail upon her being in prison with him.'⁷⁰ Many in the Fitzgerald family commented on the cruelty of Pamela's exile and the seriousness, and potential danger, of the situation. Louisa Conolly noted this in a letter to her sister, Sarah Napier: 'Lady Edward was sent out of the country upon his apprehension; it was notified harshly, intimating that unless she obeyed speedily she would be arrested and tried for her life, as Gover[nmen]t could hang her from proofs they had against her.'⁷¹ This 'apprehension' that Louisa speaks of was presumably Edward's, as he feared for Pamela's safety. Therefore, both safety and necessity forced Pamela to leave Ireland. Pamela left Ireland on 26 May. The journal of Elizabeth Holland, third Lady Holland, revealed Pamela's loyalty to her husband at this time,

⁶⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 21 May 1798 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. c. 238/55).

⁷⁰ Louisa Conolly to Sarah Napier, 22 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002(5)).

⁷¹ Ilchester and Stavordale, *The life and letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, p. 300.

so much so that she was willing to go to trial to be near him: ‘She said she would stand ye trial, provided she might be allowed to share the prison of her ever-to-be-lamented husband.’⁷² News of Edward’s arrest did not reach the Fitzgerald family in England until 23 May, as noted in Lucy Fitzgerald’s journal:

Mr. O. received a letter from the Duke of Portland with the account of Ed. Being taken the 20th. Mr. O. rushed out of the house and left me in uncertainty as to the particulars which I did not hear till I dragg’d myself to Henry’s. Lady Henry told me!⁷³

Edward’s family were also anxious as they waited for news from Ireland about him. The next day, on 24 May, Lucy expressed her desire to travel with Henry Fitzgerald to Ireland in order to see Edward but he strongly advised her against it.⁷⁴ Lucy also questioned the family’s decision to keep information concerning Edward from his mother: ‘Mama was at last told of his being wounded. Why was it kept so long from her?’⁷⁵ On receiving this information Emily made plans to go immediately to Ireland but was persuaded that her own family connections in England, including the royal family, could help Edward more than a trip to Ireland.

Pamela left Ireland, via Dun Laoghaire to Holyhead, and travelled on to England as is evident from her letter to Sarah Napier on the 26 May:

⁷² Ilchester and Stavordale, *The life and letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, p. 300.

⁷³ Lucy Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 23 May 1798, cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, pp 142-143.

⁷⁴ Lucy Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 24 May 1798, cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 143.

⁷⁵ Lucy Fitzgerald’s diary entry, 28 May 1798, cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 143.

Me voici arrivé ma très chère tante, après un bien bon passage, long mais calme.
Que mon cœur est triste ! ... mais il faut avoir de courage et tout supporter.⁷⁶

Here I am arrived my very dear aunt, after a very good passage, long but calm. Oh
how my heart is sad! ... but it is necessary to have courage and endure everything.

She travelled with her two daughters, Pamela and Lucy, Tony Small, his wife Julie and their child. From Holyhead, Pamela travelled to Shrewsbury and met Henry Fitzgerald.⁷⁷ Along with her fear for Edward's safety Pamela's youngest daughter was showing signs of illness: 'the child I find so ill that I fear her death took place upon the road'.⁷⁸ Ogilvie noted his opinion on the condition of both Pamela and her children stating: 'Lord Henry met Lady Edward at Shrewsbury with her two children - she and the older very well, the younger so ill as not to be likely to bear the passage to London.'⁷⁹ Pamela faced the challenge of her husband's arrest, leaving Ireland and the ill health of her new baby, who was just over a month old. However, Pamela focused on reaching safety with her relatives in London. At the same time, Sophia Fitzgerald was receiving information from Louisa Ann Pakenham, a family friend, on Edward's situation in Ireland. She highlighted the fact that information on Edward's health was frequently sent to Pamela in England: 'Poor Ly. E[dward] is probably with you by this time and as I know the Surgeon writes her constant accounts of his health.'⁸⁰ Pamela arrived at the Harley Street home of the Fitzgerald family in London on 30 May, not

⁷⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 26 May 1798 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 238/56-57).

⁷⁷ William Ogilvie to Lord Holland, 27 May 1798, (British Library, Holland House Papers, Add MSS 51802/160).

⁷⁸ Lady Elizabeth Moira to Sarah Napier, May 1798, (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 239/91-92).

⁷⁹ William Ogilvie to Lord Holland, 27 May 1798 (British Library, Holland House Papers, Add MSS 51802/160).

⁸⁰ Louisa Ann Pakenham to Sophia Fitzgerald, 27 May 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(18)).

too long after Louisa Ann Pakenham's letter. Her arrival was marked by Lucy's journal entry:

Pamela arrived with her two little girls. She was accompanied by a Mr. Murphy, a Parson, whom Lord Moira sent with her. Her spirits surprised us. The first thing was to assure us there was nothing against him, and that she was easy ... his wound is my only dread and yet Pamela is easy.⁸¹

The sympathy of both Lord and Lady Moira was again clear in the aid they provided Pamela with on her departure.

By the end of May, Henry Fitzgerald had travelled to Ireland to attempt to visit Edward. The entire Fitzgerald family was extremely sympathetic towards Pamela's situation, often commenting upon the challenges she had to face in their correspondences. The duke of Richmond, Charles, brother to Emily Fitzgerald and uncle to Edward, wrote to Colonel George Napier, husband of Sarah Napier, on the pity he had for Pamela at this time: 'I need not say how much I join with all the world in pitying the poor wife's situation which of all others is I think the most trying to which human nature can be put.'⁸² Overall, sympathy for Pamela prevailed at the moment of her husband's arrest. However, as time progressed many in the family came to blame Pamela for Edward's involvement in radical politics and found in her a scapegoat in order to minimise damage to Edward's character.

During Edward's period in hiding the relationship between Pamela and Ogilvie was beginning to become tense. While Ogilvie was primarily concerned with the reputation of the Fitzgerald family, Pamela was worried about her safety and that of her children. Altercations arose between Pamela and Ogilvie not too long after her arrival in England. Pamela had

⁸¹ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 30 May 1798 cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 144

⁸² The duke of Richmond to George Napier, 27 May 1798 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 237/166-167).

received permission from the duke of Portland to stay in England for just one week, but she was determined to stay longer.⁸³ Lucy noted this issue in her journal on May 31:

Mr. O. brought Pamela a passport from the Duke of Portland and a week's leave to stay in London. She is determined to stay. What monster could ask her to go? She employ'd friends (Mr. Sheridan) to get her leave to stay; this made violent altercation between her and Mr. Ogilvie, who behaves sadly to us both. The Duke of Richmond has taken Pamela under his protection and she is to stay.⁸⁴

The original apprehensions Ogilvie had towards Pamela, as early as her first arrival in England in 1793, had resurfaced and was evident in his conduct towards her in 1798. It is clear that having previously feared the impact of Edward's radicalism on the Fitzgerald family in England, Ogilvie now assumed the same stance towards Pamela's presence as rebellion broke out in Ireland on 24 May. Louisa Conolly noted the prejudice against Pamela, not just from Ogilvie but from the general public in both Ireland and England. On 1 June 1798 Louisa wrote to Ogilvie on the subject:

I must forever and ever repeat my firm belief of her innocence as far as acts of Treason that she shou'd know Dear Edward's opinions and endeavour to secret him when in danger of being taken, I easily believe and where is the wife that would not do so? As Mr. Conolly justly says no good man can ever impute that as guilt in her. However! I believe that under the illiberal prejudice that has been against her as a French woman, ever since she came to Ireland which has much increased upon this occasion. I believe it safer to send her to England. God help her poor soul! She is to

⁸³ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 31 May 1798, cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 144.

⁸⁴ Lucy Fitzgerald's diary entry, 31 May 1798, cited in Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 144.

be pitied more than can be expressed and I never knew how much I loved her till she became so unfortunate.⁸⁵

From Louisa's letter, it is apparent that the extended family feared that the prospect of Pamela being tried in court for her involvement in Edward's affairs was becoming more realistic. Although Louisa accepted Pamela's complicity in United Irish activity to some extent, she was protested that Pamela had carried out the dutiful role of a wife and thus should not be charged on this basis. Historians have questioned this line of reasoning. Catriona Kennedy argued that 'a simplistic division between masculine military activity and the domestic duties of the republican wife and mother cannot fully describe the complex relationship between gender and radical politics during the 1790s.'⁸⁶ However, in comparison to other female relatives of United Irish activists, such as Matilda Tone, Kennedy notes that 'depoliticizing her [Pamela] image was more difficult given her high profile connection with the French Revolution.'⁸⁷ Generally, female relatives were seen as taking a passive role alongside their male counterparts involved in the United Irishmen. However, Pamela not only had a controversial background in the early French Revolution, there is also significant evidence to suggest that she was much more than a passive figure when it came to Edward's involvement in the United Irishmen.⁸⁸

The political upheaval in Ireland continued despite Edward's arrest. Although Edward's arrest was a significant blow to the United Irishmen and their plans for rebellion, it went ahead. Samuel Neilson, a significant figure in the United Irishmen, and other leaders

⁸⁵ Louisa Conolly to William Ogilvie, 1 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

⁸⁶ Kennedy, 'What can women give but tears', p. 316.

⁸⁷ Kennedy, 'What can women give but tears', p. 302.

⁸⁸ Kennedy, 'What can women give but tears', p. 39.

now took command of the plans for rebellion with the proposed date remaining 23/24 May.⁸⁹ The rebellion was planned to centre in Dublin with rebels in surrounding counties such as Kildare, Wicklow and Meath blocking access to the capital and ‘outer’ counties like Wexford providing support. However, an attempted attack on Newgate prison in order to release Edward and other influential United Irishmen members by Nielson was unsuccessful and ultimately resulted in his own capture on 22 May.⁹⁰ Subsequently the rebellion did not break out until the 24 May. While rebellion went ahead, it did not proceed as planned in Dublin and ‘within in a week of the outbreak of the rebellion therefore, the rebel blockade of Dublin was lifted and the focus of attention shifted southwards to Wexford.’⁹¹ The rebellion continued into the early summer and ended only with the surrender of United Irish forces in Kildare on 21 July. The arrival of a French invasion force in August created further conflict, before a formal surrender in early September 1798.⁹² In the context of conflict in Ireland, Ogilvie’s eagerness to get Pamela to Hamburg quickly can be understood. For him, Pamela represented a threat to the entire Fitzgerald family.

Louisa Conolly also sent frequent updates to Pamela on Edward’s health. On 1 June Louisa’s letter suggested that Edward had improved:

Louisa Pakenham, who sees Dr. Lindsay every day, sends me constant accounts of dear Edward, who suffers less; and the accounts of yesterday are better than I have

⁸⁹ Tommy Graham, ‘Dublin’s role in the 1798 rebellion’ in Cathal Poirteir (ed.) *The great Irish rebellion* (Dublin, 1998), p. 58.

⁹⁰ Graham, ‘Dublin’s role in the 1798 rebellion’, p. 60.

⁹¹ Graham, ‘Dublin’s role in the 1798 rebellion’, p. 62.

⁹² Further work on the 1798 Rebellion includes: Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong (eds), *The mighty wave: the 1798 rebellion in Wexford* (Dublin, 1996), Thomas Bartlett, David Dickson, Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds), *1798: a bicentenary perspective* (Dublin, 2003); Thomas Pakenham, *The year of liberty: a history of the great Irish rebellion of 1798* (London, 1969); Daniel Gahan, *The people’s rising: Wexford, 1798* (Dublin, 1995), A.T.Q. Stewart, *The summer soldiers: the 1798 rebellion in Antrim and Down* (Belfast, 1995).

had yet as his appetite and sleep were better. But Lindsay cannot pronounce him out of danger until the balls are extracted.⁹³

What had previously been believed to be a non-fatal wound to the shoulder, as a result of being shot when he resisted arrest, worsened as time went on. With the bullets from Sirr's gun still embedded in Edward's arm and the prospect of surgery delayed due to heat and swelling, Edward's situation became graver.⁹⁴ Edward was advised to write his will, which he did on 27 May. However there is some controversy as to the exact details of this will. Thomas Moore in his biography of Edward altered the exact phrasing of the will:

I, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, do make this as my last Will and testament, hereby revoking all others: that is to say, I leave all estates, of whatever sort, I may die possessed of, to my wife, Lady Pamela Fitzgerald, as a mark of esteem, love and confidence in her, for and during her natural life and at her death to descend, share and share alike to my children or the survivors of them; she maintaining and educating the children according to her discretion; and I constitute her executrix of this my last Will and Testament.⁹⁵

A copy of the will transcribed in June 1798 stated:

I give and bequeath all my estates, manors, messuages, houses, towns land, tenants and [?] in the Kingdom of Ireland or elsewhere which I may be possessed of at the

⁹³ Louisa Conolly to William Ogilvie, 1 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

⁹⁴ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 282.

⁹⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 346.

time of my decease and all my rights and title whether in [?] or right of equity unto my brother Henry Fitzgerald.⁹⁶

Ultimately, Henry was to be a trustee for Edward's affairs after his death and any profit made from the sale of his land was to be for the 'benefit of my dear wife Pamela'.⁹⁷

Henry Fitzgerald arrived in Ireland to see his brother, but failed to achieve this until the night of Edward's death on 4 June. Edward's state deteriorated as septicaemia set in.⁹⁸ As word got out that Edward would not survive, Louisa Conolly was insistent on seeing her dying nephew. Having pleaded with Lord Camden, who still refused to let her see him, Louisa found success with Lord Clare who granted her and Henry permission to see Edward.⁹⁹ Louisa recounted her entire meeting with Edward in a letter to Ogilvie. While describing Edward's final moments and his delirious state of mind, she also recalled his final thoughts on Pamela:

However, he remained silent and I then brought in the subject of Lady Edward and told him that I had not left her until I saw her on board; and Henry told him of having met her on the road well. He said, 'And the children too? She is a charming woman': and then became silent again. That expression about Lady Edward proved to me that his senses were much lulled and that he did not feel his situation to be what it was.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Copy of the Will of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,013(1)). See also: Edward Ponsonby, 'The Will of Lord Edward Fitzgerald' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. vi, no. 2, (Jan. 1911), p. 425.

⁹⁷ Copy of the Will of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,013(1)).

⁹⁸ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 283.

⁹⁹ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, p. 292.

¹⁰⁰ Louisa Conolly to William Ogilvie, 4 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

Not too long after their visit Edward passed away, in the early hours of the morning of 4 June 1798.¹⁰¹

Emily Fitzgerald had used her connections in England in order to delay Edward's trial and was on the way to Ireland on 6 June, having not yet heard of Edward's death.¹⁰² Lucy, Sophia and Ogilvie also set out for Ireland, on 7 June, as noted in Lucy's journal and overtook Emily Fitzgerald on the 8 June at Coles Hill.¹⁰³ Campbell has stated that Lucy's journal ceases abruptly for a few days, presuming of course that the news of Edward's death had finally reached her during her party's travels. At the same time that many of the Fitzgerald family were attempting to travel to Ireland, Pamela found herself almost abandoned by all of the family, with nowhere to stay and Ogilvie refusing to let her reside at the family home on Harley Street. The duke of Richmond, in a letter to Louisa Conolly, recalled how he ultimately decided to take Pamela under his protection:

My sisters gone with all her daughters except Mrs. Locke who is daily expected to lie in, and Lady Charlotte Strutt who would not receive her she was poor soul left without any protection for the Duchess of Leinster is too ill to receive her and Lady Henry did not seem inclined to it. To stay by herself was impossible and it seemed cruel to attempt to force her away. I therefore agreed to take her to my house where to be sure Henriette from her age could not give her much protection but my house was some. This was settled with the D[uke] of Portland's approbation.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Louisa Conolly to William Ogilvie, 4 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

¹⁰² Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 145.

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁴ The duke of Richmond to Louisa Conolly, 7 June 1798 (OPW-Maynooth University Archive and Research Centre at Castletown, Conolly Papers, vol. 6, 1796-1803, p. 68).

Lady Charlotte Fitzgerald, in particular, was concerned about the potential danger that Pamela posed to the safety of her husband, Lord Henry.¹⁰⁵ News of Edward's death quickly spread among family and political networks in England. On 7 June, the duke of Richmond, before receiving the news on Edward's death, wrote on Pamela's state:

We have been much concerned about what to do about poor Lady Edward. Inclinations were given that it was wished she should go to Hamburg but she was really ill with a violent, nervous cough and as you may imagine most anxious to remain here to be so much nearer to receive accounts of Edward and his health for which, tho she did not think then so bad, yet we have for some days entertained the strongest apprehensions.¹⁰⁶

Evidently, many of the Fitzgerald family members thought that it was best that Pamela left England, despite her desire to stay as close to Edward as possible and in the proximity to where constant news of his condition was available.

The duke of Richmond received the news of Edward's death on the morning of 7 June and included in his letter to Louisa Conolly an account of Pamela's reaction to her husband's death:

I fetched her here this morning and her children soon followed. We have endeavoured to break the sad disaster to her by degrees with the assistance of Dr. Mosley who told her, after other prepositions which we had been taking, that the case was desperate. She has accordingly taken it as over, tho she has not since either asked or been positively told that it is so.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 350.

¹⁰⁶ The duke of Richmond to Louisa Conolly, 7 June 1798 (P.R.O.N.I., McPeake Papers, T3048/B/25).

¹⁰⁷ The duke of Richmond to Louisa Conolly, 7 June 1798 (P.R.O.N.I., McPeake Papers, T3048/B/25).

While processing the news of Edward's death, Pamela became hysterical at the sight of the duke of Leinster, who resembled Edward so much:

She has had violent hystericks took the Duke of Leinster for Edward and her bewildered mind being on him as such for a time. She is now more composed and has seen Lady Emily and Miss Fox as well as Henriette. Amidst her own grief she is forever dwelling on those of my sister and Lady Lucy and Cecilia. She has not yet seen her children and desired not to see them till tomorrow.¹⁰⁸

Edward's death ensured that Pamela's place in the wider Fitzgerald network became an even more pressing issue, with Ogilvie pushing for her departure to Hamburg. More questions quickly arose over her influence on Edward.

Pamela's activities before and after her husband's death have been the subject of critical scrutiny. Campbell noted one criticism: that while Edward was imprisoned, suffering from fatal wounds, Pamela made little or no effort to see him.¹⁰⁹ However, there are accounts, such as Madden's, that indicate that Pamela attempted to bribe guards at Newgate prison in order to see her husband. The only source for this is Madden, who stated that he had this information 'on the authority of two ladies still living in Paris, who had been intimately acquainted with Lady Edward in her later years, and to whom this statement was made by her'.¹¹⁰ Regarding the criticism of Pamela's lack of effort to see Edward, it must be highlighted that she was ordered out of the country under threat of arrest if she did not comply. While many were quick to judge her swift escape to England, few saw her determination to stay with Edward, willing even to sacrifice her own freedom.¹¹¹ The accusations made against Pamela were severely damaging to her reputation, especially in the

¹⁰⁸ The duke of Richmond to Louisa Conolly, 7 June 1798 (P.R.O.N.I., McPeake Papers, T3048/B/25).

¹⁰⁹ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 228.

¹¹⁰ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, pp 515-516.

¹¹¹ Ilchester and Stavordale, *The life and letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, p.300.

circumstances in which Pamela found herself from June 1798. The context, however, was government suspicion of Pamela. The government presumably prevented Pamela from visiting Edward in order to ensure that she could not pass on information from Edward to the United Irishmen. Indeed, it must be noted that the government may have had enough evidence to have charged Pamela with treason.

Pamela found herself under the protection of the duke of Richmond from 6 June. The Fitzgerald family soon congregated at Richmond's home at Whitehall to endure their bereavement together. In a letter to Ogilvie, the duke of Richmond gave an account of Pamela's condition two days after she received the news of Edward's death. He revealed that after her hysterical fit 'she grew more calm at times and although she has had little sleep and still less food and has nervous spasms and appears much heated yet I hope and trust her health is not materially affected'.¹¹² Richmond continued the letter with examples of how Pamela was coping with her grief. She occupied herself by enquiring as to how her relatives were dealing with Edward's death, rather than focusing on her own misfortune.¹¹³ Despite her grief Pamela wasted no time in organising a future plan for herself. It seemed that the only option that would give her safety was refuge in Hamburg.¹¹⁴ Ogilvie's antipathy towards Pamela was one reason to travel to Hamburg, as he made her feel unwelcome amongst the Fitzgerald family. Furthermore, the ongoing rebellion worried her and her presence in England was problematic. As the duke of Richmond commented to Ogilvie on 9 June: 'She is a very naturally suspicious and disgusted with affairs in this country and altho' she says that politics are the last thing she should think of, yet she fancies she should be quieter at

¹¹² The duke of Richmond to William Ogilvie, 9 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

¹¹³ The duke of Richmond to William Ogilvie, 9 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

¹¹⁴ The duke of Richmond to William Ogilvie, 9 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

Hamburg than in England.’¹¹⁵ Richmond was understanding of Pamela’s circumstances and ultimately let her make her own decision. However, he did make it clear that Pamela’s presence at Goodwood was of no inconvenience to him.¹¹⁶ Richmond’s status was enough to protect Pamela from any form of persecution during her short stay before her departure.

Pamela’s position in society had changed, she was no longer a married woman but rather a widow. Just as there were certain expectations of Pamela as a wife, there were similar expectations as a widow. In Pamela’s case, however, the status of widow was influenced by the perception that she was complicit in her husband’s death. However, there was a certain amount of sympathy towards Pamela, given the nature of her situation. Louisa Conolly highlighted this in letter she wrote to duke of Richmond on the 18 June:

Her present distress would move anybody. But prior to it I thought her entitled to all the countenance that his friends could show her. The prejudice against her, on account of her family connexions was very natural and strong, as I confess to have felt myself to talk about it, when first she married. I got over it from (I hope) just principles which ever must condemn the faults of parents being remembered to the innocent children-however wrong it was.¹¹⁷

While admitting her own ‘prejudice’ against Pamela, Louisa also revealed the extent to which Edward’s involvement in radical politics was blamed on Pamela:

The fact was so in Ireland, that the most illiberal prejudice against her, and nothing but her attractive, pretty, original pleasing manners conquered it at all for a time,

¹¹⁵ The duke of Richmond to William Ogilvie, 9 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

¹¹⁶ The duke of Richmond to William Ogilvie, 9 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,002 (5)).

¹¹⁷ Louisa Conolly to the duke of Richmond, 18 June 1798 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 34,922(9)).

they kill'd the dislike of her, but within these two years that poor Edward withdrew a good deal from his old circle of acquaintance and that his opinions began to be known and construed into a decided mention of bringing in the French, the fault was instantly lay'd upon her and so positive are some persons in the belief that she influenced him, that in latter times it accounted to an accusation of her being implicated in treasonable practices.¹¹⁸

Louisa defended Pamela against the accusation that she could have been involved in rebellious activities, revealing her previous ordeals with revolutions to have made her detest them.¹¹⁹ Louisa had come to understand and acknowledge the strength of Pamela's relationship with Edward: 'she was so devoted to her dear husband that she would have prefer'd living in a hat with him to all the palaces upon earth.'¹²⁰ Louisa reasoned that Pamela chose to seclude herself from Irish social circles to suit Edward in the later 1790s.¹²¹ Despite Louisa's own opinion, her letter is an important indication of the extent to which Pamela was implicated in her husband's politics and, moreover, his death. In a sense, Pamela would spend the remainder of her life attempting to deal with the consequences of this view.

Edward's death raised difficult questions for Pamela about their children. On 19 June, one of the first known letters written by Pamela after Edward's death was to his mother, Emily Fitzgerald:

My ever dearest mother. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire quelle impatience j'ai de vous serrer contre mon triste Cœur et de voir mon fils, ce fils que j'adore et le seul

¹¹⁸ Louisa Conolly to the duke of Richmond, 18 June 1798 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 34,922(9)).

¹¹⁹ Louisa Conolly to the duke of Richmond, 18 June 1798 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 34,922(9)).

¹²⁰ Louisa Conolly to the duke of Richmond, 18 June 1798 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 34,922(9)).

¹²¹ Louisa Conolly to the duke of Richmond, 18 June 1798 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 34,922(9)).

que j'ai! Maman il est à vous, je vous l'ai confié dans le tems de mon bonheur, et je vous le confie maintenant comme mon plus grand trésore !¹²²

My ever dearest mother. I do not need to tell the impatience I have to clutch you against my sad heart and to see my son, this son who I love and the only I have! Mother he belongs to you, I entrusted him to you in the times of my happiness and I entrust him to you now as my greatest treasure!

Pamela gave up her only son in the hope that in Emily Fitzgerald's care he would receive a good education. Unsure of her own financial situation until Edward's affairs were settled by Henry Fitzgerald, Pamela had three children to care for and their futures to plan. As a widow, Pamela's financial situation was weak and while she was well looked after by her husband's family she could not always guarantee that they would finance her lifestyle. Therefore, Pamela was left with the option of leaving her eldest son in the care of relatives who could offer assured access into aristocratic society in England. By the end of June, Pamela's spirits were reported to have vastly improved, at least to judge from the letters among the Fitzgerald family.¹²³ The question of where she should go became a pressing issue and although she was warmly encouraged to stay at Goodwood, under the care of the duke of Richmond, she chose to leave. Emily Fitzgerald commented on Pamela's reasons for being so determined to leave for Hamburg:

She seems at present much undecided about going to Hamburg. Mrs. Matheisson's pressing letters, the cheapness of living and being perhaps more in the way of seeing

¹²² Pamela Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 19 June 1798 (British Library, Dowager Duchess Papers, Add MSS 30990/16).

¹²³ Sarah Napier to the duke of Richmond, 29 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,003(3)).

those who might give her information as to the small chance she may have of recovering her property are all instruments to go.¹²⁴

Pamela also received an offer from Jean-Baptiste Cyrus de Valence, Pulcherie's husband, to join his family: 's'il est utile à Pamela de changer d'air qu'elle vienne sur le continent au milieu de quelques amis/If it is useful to Pamela to have a break that she comes to the continent in the midst of friends.'¹²⁵ However, despite the attractions of Hamburg, Pamela was reluctant as 'she hates leaving his family to whom she is naturally drawn by affection, she hates the appearance as well as the reality of separating herself from us'.¹²⁶

Following Edward's death the subject of Pamela's finances would become a recurring problem for both her and the Fitzgerald family. Emily Fitzgerald's letter of 17 July also raised the issue of finance, which would cause friction later on. With Henry in charge of Edward's finances, Emily asked him about Pamela's future: 'You may now have it in your power to know a little whether she has the power of making a choice as to her motions for they must greatly depend on money.'¹²⁷ Pamela would have to rely on the help of her extended family in order to survive. However, despite the prominence of the Fitzgerald family in aristocratic society, they were short of money, as indicated by Emily: 'we are too poor to give her any assistance and I believe it is pretty much the case with the whole family who at any other time wou'd have done it with pleasure.'¹²⁸ Replying to Emily's letter, Henry wrote of the fact that Pamela herself was now in charge of both her own life and those

¹²⁴ Emily Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 17 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(2)).

¹²⁵ Jean-Baptiste Cyrus de Valence to Lucy Fitzgerald, 22 June 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(8)).

¹²⁶ Emily Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 17 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(2)).

¹²⁷ Emily Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 17 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(2)).

¹²⁸ Emily Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 17 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(2)).

of her children. Given the position of a widow in late eighteenth century society, more so the widow of a traitor and the perceived illegitimate daughter of a revolutionary, Pamela was at a crossroads in her life. Henry wrote to his mother: ‘She has been left in totally to act from her own good sense and direction with respect to welfare and happiness depends on herself, she is young and my advice is that she should always follow yours.’¹²⁹ Pamela’s own financial problems would, in turn, have an effect on her outlook. The loss of her husband and burden of securing her future financially would be a source of immense pressure on Pamela.

Despite accounts that Pamela’s spirits were much improved, a letter to Sarah Napier on the 18 July revealed the extent to which the death of her husband impacted on her. Pamela’s frantic letter moved between admissions of her love for Edward and bouts of despair: ‘Je ne puis me comprendre moi-même et cette autrefois sensible Pamela est devenu aussi froide que le marbre/I cannot understand myself and even the once sensitive Pamela has become cold as marble.’¹³⁰ The magnitude of her loneliness is evident in her writing: ‘Je suis seul dans cette Immence Creation je n’ai plus d’ami// I am alone in this vast Creation I have no friends.’¹³¹ With Edward’s death, Pamela found solace in her children: ‘Mes enfants sont mon seul bien, c’est pour eux que je veux exister!// My children are my only wealth, it is for them that I want to exist!’¹³² Pamela’s letter also offers an insight into her tense relationship with Ogilvie: ‘O[gilvie] est toujours le même pensent plus a l’argent qu’a l’âme je ne l’aime pas/ Ogilvie is always the same, thinking more about money than the soul, I don’t like it’.¹³³ To Ogilvie, Pamela was another expense, a widow dependant on her husband’s family to

¹²⁹ Henry Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 17 July 1798 (British Library, Dowager Duchess Papers, Add MSS 30990/20.)

¹³⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 18 July 1798 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 238/58.

¹³¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 18 July 1798 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 238/58.

¹³² Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 18 July 1798 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 238/59.

¹³³ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 18 July 1798 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 238/60

provide for her. In an already large family with a large number of relatives dependant on the family's limited income, Pamela would only add further financial pressure. Pamela was particularly concerned about her children's prospects: 'Hélas, malheureuse que je suis! Je ne savais pas, que jamais, je serais obligé de me mêler seul, des affaires de mes pauvres enfants./Alas, how unhappy I am! I did not know that I would ever be obliged to get involved alone in the affairs of my poor children.'¹³⁴ It is important to bear in mind that Pamela wrote these letters with the intention of persuading her in-laws to provide her with support. As a result, her letters to her family frequently detailed her troubled state.

In a letter to her brother-in-law, Henry, Pamela's determined and persistent characteristics are more to the fore:

Cher, cher Henry je suis plus malheureuse de jours en jours, oui chaque jours chaque instants je sens l'irréparable perte que j'ai faite mais il faut m'armer de courage et de résignation.

*Dear, dear Henry from day to day I am more unhappy, yes every day, every instant I feel my irreplaceable loss which I made, but one must arm oneself with courage and resignation.*¹³⁵

Pamela's survival instincts also emerge in letters written during the summer of 1798, which would come to be dominated by financial concerns:

Quoique cela soit une bien petite somme, c'est toujours quelque chose, car avec cela je pourais aller à Hambourg ou cela pourais m'aider à prendre d'autres arrangements, jusqu'à ce que, je puisse savoir l'état de mes affaires à Dublin et ce

¹³⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 20 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(3)).

¹³⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 20 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(3)).

serais bien bête de m'en éloigner, lorsque mon premier devoir maintenant est de m'occuper de mes affaires pour mes enfants.¹³⁶

Though this is a very small sum, it is at least something, because with it I could go to Hamburg or it can help me make other arrangements just until I can know the state of my affairs in Dublin and it would be very stupid of me to draw away when my first duty now is to occupy myself with the affairs of my children.

Ogilvie remained a challenge, as she noted to Henry:

La personne qui m'a remis votre lettre est bien grognon, de ce que je ne lui parle pas de mes affaires mais je ne puis changer à son égard ni oublier la conduite, je ne l'aime ni ne l'estime, il voudrais que j'allé à Hambourg pour être débarrassé de moi mais je ne puis quitter ce pais sans savoir au juste l'état de mes affaires en Irlande.

The person [Ogilvie] who handed me your letter is very grumpy, as I do not speak to him of my affairs but I cannot change towards him or forget his conduct, I do not like nor esteem him, he would like that I go to Hamburg to be rid of me but I cannot leave this country without knowing precisely the state of my affairs in Ireland.¹³⁷

While the Fitzgerald family believed that Pamela was determined to move to Hamburg, it is clear that she was insistent on sorting her financial affairs first. Therefore it can be presumed that Hamburg was the best of a limited series of options. Evidently the relationship between Pamela and Ogilvie had worsened significantly. Since Edward's death, he had treated Pamela as a burden, despite his own affection for her late husband. From Pamela's perspective, she believed Ogilvie wanted her out of the country, for political as well as financial reasons.

¹³⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 20 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(3)).

¹³⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 20 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(3)).

The relationship between Pamela and Lucy remained as close as ever, with Pamela expressing concern for Lucy's well-being not long after her own husband's death. From a letter between Lucy and Frances Coutts, a family friend, it was clear that Lucy had initially intended to travel with Pamela to Hamburg: 'He asked me if Pamela had said anything of your going with her.'¹³⁸ The same letter then goes on to describe the importance of Lucy and Pamela's relationship as they coped with the death of Edward:

I said I was certain it must be a very great comfort to Lady Edward to have you with her who was now the person she loved most in the world and that I knew well your affection for her personally independent of her being Edward's widow which of course endeared her to you beyond anything in this world.¹³⁹

The friendship between Pamela and Lucy was well known among the friends and family of the women. Frances Coutts even asked how Lucy could bear the departure of such a close friend: 'Can you bear to see Edward's widow go from you oh Heaven I dead it for you and believe me I wish you were going with her altho I alone should feel such a loss.'¹⁴⁰ Pamela proceeded from Goodwood to Thames Ditton, the home of Sophia Fitzgerald, in the early days of August, as noted in Emily Fitzgerald's letter to her: 'You I fear will have been agitated with the arrival of our dearest Pamela and her sweet children, may God bless and protect them from their cruel prosecutors!'¹⁴¹ It was here that Pamela entrusted her youngest child, Lucy Fitzgerald, to Sophia Fitzgerald.¹⁴² Lucy had been born prematurely during Edward's time on the run and she was considered too frail for the journey to Hamburg.

¹³⁸ Frances Coutts to Lucy Fitzgerald, 28 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(9)).

¹³⁹ Frances Coutts to Lucy Fitzgerald, 28 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(9)).

¹⁴⁰ Frances Coutts to Lucy Fitzgerald, 28 July 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(9)).

¹⁴¹ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 5 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

¹⁴² Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 350.

Therefore Pamela left two of her three children in the care of family members, a consequence ultimately of her economic situation.

When the Irish House of Commons introduced a bill of attainder against Edward on the 27 July 1798, Pamela's future prospects grew more desperate.¹⁴³ The bill threatened to confiscate Edward's estate, overriding Pamela's claims and those of their children.¹⁴⁴ Family members challenged the attainder.¹⁴⁵ In a speech made at the House of Commons in Ireland, John Philpot Curran defended Pamela and her children against the attainder of Edward's property. Curran was a prominent Irish politician and lawyer, and from 1794 onwards he was actively involved in defending members of the United Irishmen such as Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and Henry and John Sheares.¹⁴⁶ He denounced the attainder, claiming that as Edward had not survived to stand trial it was unjust. In relation to Pamela, Curran argued that Reynolds had made failed attempts 'to asperse the conduct of Lady Edward Fitzgerald, but he well knew, that, even were she in the country, she could not be adduced as a witness to disprove him'.¹⁴⁷ He further argued that the fact that Reynolds was paid in return for information ensured that he was 'utterly unworthy of credit'.¹⁴⁸ Although Curran failed to overcome the attainder, he provided a public defence of Pamela's reputation against Reynolds' evidence. The attainder was pushed by Lord Clare, which in turn caused outrage amongst the Fitzgerald family. However, Fitzgibbon was in an awkward position having already shown leniency towards the Edward's family, he could not be seen as overly

¹⁴³ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 460.

¹⁴⁴ *A bill for the attainder of Edward Fitz-Gerald, commonly called Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald, Cornelius Grogan and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, deceased, of high treason* (Dublin, 1798) (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,014(4)).

¹⁴⁵ Louisa Conolly to Lord Cornwallis, 12 August 1798 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 34,922(12)).

¹⁴⁶ Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Curran, John Philpot', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (Cambridge, 2009).

¹⁴⁷ John Philpot Curran, *Speeches of the right honourable John Philpot Curran, master of the rolls in Ireland, on the late very interesting state trials* (Dublin, 1811), p. 325.

¹⁴⁸ Curran, *Speeches of the right honourable John Philpot Curran*, p. 325.

sympathetic in the aftermath of a violent rebellion.¹⁴⁹ Despite his support for the attainer, he still arranged to sell Edward's property to Ogilvie in order for it be held for his children.¹⁵⁰

By early August 1798, as the bill of attainder was making its way through the Irish parliament, Pamela was an effective political refuge and sought safety in Hamburg. Her eldest and youngest children remained in England in the care of family, but Pamela travelled to Hamburg in early August with her eldest daughter, Pamela. She visited Sophia Fitzgerald before she parted and Henry Fitzgerald accompanied his sister-in-law as far as Yarmouth before the journey.¹⁵¹ On 13 August, Pamela wrote to Henry Fitzgerald as soon as she arrived in the port of Cuxhaven to inform him of her safe arrival: 'Écrivez à notre chère mère que je suis arrivé à bon port a Cuxhaven'.¹⁵² Almost immediately after arriving in Hamburg, Pamela wrote to Lucy Fitzgerald while at Henriette Matthiessen's house: 'My sweet Dearest Lucy! Je suis arrivé ici se matin à 6 heure, je me suis trouvé dans les bras de mon Henriette! My sweet Dearest Lucy ! I arrived here this morning at 6 o'clock, I found myself in the arms of my Henriette.'¹⁵³ In her letter Pamela expressed her deepest emotion towards Lucy and the family she had left behind in England:

Oui c'est maintenant que je suis près de mon Henriette que je puis vous parler de l'amitié que j'ai pour vous, car même dans les bras j'ai pensée à toi et alors je n'ai que trop bien sentie que le Bonheur, dans ce monde n'est point fait pour moi. Je suis si lasse que je n'irai qu'après demain à la campagne, j'ai eu un bon passage mais je

¹⁴⁹ Ann C. Kavanaugh, *John Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare* (Dublin, 1997), p. 354.

¹⁵⁰ A.P.W. Malcomson and David A. Fleming, *'A volley of execrations': the letters and papers of John Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare (1772-1802)* (Dublin, 2005), p. 374.

¹⁵¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 350.

¹⁵² Pamela Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 13 August (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(3)).

¹⁵³ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 13 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

n'ai pas ferme l'aile une seule minute depuis que j'ai quitté ma bien aimée famille, oui, oui je sens dans ce moment à quel point je vous aimerai tous !¹⁵⁴

Yes, now I am near my Henriette that I can talk to you of the friendship that I have for you, because even in her arms I thought of you and then I did too well feel that happiness in this world was not for me. I am so tired that I will not go to the country tomorrow, I had a good journey but I have not closed an eye for a single minute since I left my beloved family, yes, yes I feel in this moment how much I love you all.

Despite leaving the Fitzgerald family and England, Pamela arrived in Hamburg with an almost optimistic disposition. Although the prospect of establishing a new home in Hamburg without Edward and two of her children was a daunting one, Pamela persevered. She professed love and friendship for her family at home, despite the general agreement within the Fitzgerald family that it was best that she leave for Hamburg rather than stay in England. As Pamela began a new period in her life, without Edward, she would come to rely on her friends and extended family to survive on the continent. Pamela would never return to Ireland, though the country was a constant theme in her correspondence after 1798.

The Fitzgerald family resented the introduction of the bill of attainder against Edward to the Irish parliament and they challenged it, in order to enable Pamela and her children to benefit from Edward's estate. However, as the legal process to fight the attainder progressed, it became evident that Pamela could not make the same argument against the attainder as her children. In a letter to Louisa Conolly on 14 August, the duke of Richmond gave his opinion on how to best oppose the attainder. In it he highlighted the need to separate the cases of Pamela and her children:

¹⁵⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 13 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

Lady Edward's case being in this respect different from that of the children - that she has only a life interest, they the perpetuity. But there is a much stronger distinction between them. Lady Edward being of age competent may by her own act have fortified her own personal right. But she could not by any act of hers forfeit her children.¹⁵⁵

Pamela's involvement with the activities of the United Irishmen was a problem. Richmond clearly believed that a separation of the two cases against the bill of attainder would be more beneficial. Pamela was still viewed with suspicion by the Irish and English governments, which weakened the case of her children against the bill. Evidence given by Thomas Reynolds before the privy council had implicated Pamela, with Richmond suggesting that 'before I proceed I would just [?] to an affidavit, I have heard of made by Lady Edward in opposition to Mr. Reynold's evidence about the money.'¹⁵⁶ Thomas Reynold's had claimed that in Edward's place, Pamela was responsible for the delivering of money to Reynolds in his capacity as a United Irish officer.¹⁵⁷ Richmond explained in a further letter, this time to Henry Fitzgerald, damning information produced by Thomas Reynolds against Edward which also incriminated Pamela:

I think this will be far better than getting into a dispute about his being more or less concerned in which Reynolds would swear what he pleased which could not be

¹⁵⁵ The duke of Richmond to Louisa Conolly, 14 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,003(1)).

¹⁵⁶ The duke of Richmond to Louisa Conolly, 14 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,003(1)).

¹⁵⁷ Information of Thomas Reynolds before the Privy Council, 1798 (N.A.I., Rebellion Papers, 620/3/32/23).

disproved and entering into all this might involve Lady Edward and raise a spirit against them both.¹⁵⁸

In a letter to the marquis of Cornwallis, Camden's successor as Lord Lieutenant, the duke of Leinster claimed that Reynolds' information on Pamela was completely false:

I shall not animadvert upon the conduct of my unfortunate brother; or the villainy of Mr. Reynolds, who, not content to injure the character of my deceased brother, has gone so far as to calumniate Lady Edward, by swearing the most downright falsehood as to having handed money over to Mr. Reynolds, from Lord Edward, as treasurer of the county of Kildare. The fact is, Mr. Reynolds did call upon her at the time Lord Edward had disappeared. She had asked him whether Lord Edward was safe – Reynolds answered yes. She then gave him twenty or twenty five guineas to carry to Lord Edward.¹⁵⁹

Louisa Conolly was also disinclined to believe Reynolds but was eager for Pamela to provide witnesses to counter his evidence: 'if lady Edward could furnish us with witnesses to oppose Mr. Reynolds, or others, I should wish to know them. What I do already know of Mr. Reynolds I shall not let escape the public ear.'¹⁶⁰ From this evidence it is clear that the Fitzgerald family did not believe Reynold's claim that Pamela was actively involved in the United Irishmen. Amongst the family and friends of Pamela there was general outrage at the bill of attainder. According to Frances Coutts, writing in mid-August:

¹⁵⁸ The duke of Richmond to Henry Fitzgerald, 14 August 1798 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 237/171).

¹⁵⁹ Duke of Leinster to Marquis of Cornwallis, 6 Aug. 1798 cited in Marquis of Kildare, *The earls of Kildare, and their ancestors; from 1057 to 1804, Second addenda* (Dublin, 1872), p. 323.

¹⁶⁰ Louisa Conolly to the duke of Leinster, 1 Aug. 1798 cited in Marquis of Kildare, *The earls of Kildare, and their ancestors; from 1057 to 1804, Second addenda* (Dublin, 1872), pp 321-2.

The wretches; heavens, there is really no sense of human justice tis infamous and they have really the wickedness and barbarity, the diabolical infamy to make beggars of his wife and children to do all they can towards it at least tis too bad indeed.¹⁶¹

However, despite this, the family still believed that in order to oppose successfully the bill of attainder, it was necessary that Pamela's and her children's cases should be presented separately. Ultimately, the family could not prevent the bill of attainder passing into law. The legislation had passed through the Irish parliament by early September and received royal assent on 6 October 1798.¹⁶² By this stage, Ogilvie had been permitted to purchase part of Edward's estate, so that it was not seized under the terms of the act.¹⁶³

Pamela's relationship with the Fitzgerald family became increasingly complex after she left England. Pamela wrote as often as possible to them from Hamburg. In a letter to Lucy Fitzgerald on 14 August the need for verification that she remained as much as part of the family as ever was evident in her request for letters: 'J'ai besoin de recevoir une lettre de toi, que j'ai besoin que tu dises que tu m'aimeras toujours, que je suis ta sœur, l'épouse de ce frère chéri! I need to receive a letter from you, that I need you to say that you will always love me, that I am your sister, the wife of your dear brother!¹⁶⁴ With such a distance between Pamela and her family in England, it is not surprising that she feared estrangement from them after she moved abroad. In a letter to Sophia Fitzgerald, Emily Fitzgerald answered the doubts Sophia had concerning Pamela's departure:

¹⁶¹ Frances Coutts to Lucy Fitzgerald, 18 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(9)).

¹⁶² 38 George III, c. 77.

¹⁶³ Outline of what Mr. Ogilvie has done relating to the Estate of Kilrush', 5 Feb. 1802 (Bodley Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 238-87-88-89).

¹⁶⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 14 August 1798 cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 159.

Indeed my dear Sophia it was better she went away I cou'd give you many reasons that you would as for money she told me she should receive six hundred pounds from Mme de Valence a legacy from poor M de Sillery as soon as she was at Hamburg which will keep her there she told me a long time in affluence.¹⁶⁵

As mentioned before, earlier in her life, Pamela had been promised an annuity of 6,000 livres by the duke of Orléans and a further one thousand in 1791.¹⁶⁶ However, it appears that Pamela was never paid this pension, probably as a result of the financial chaos of the early French Revolution. Evidently finances were a central issue in Pamela's move to Hamburg. Emily Fitzgerald stated in her letter that the family should take it upon themselves to help the widow of her late son, but she also acknowledged their own lack of income: 'it is time enough then to consider what can be done for her dear angel! At present we can barely keep ourselves but in time it is to be hoped things may mend.'¹⁶⁷ A recurring element of many of the letters from Pamela was her growing dislike of Ogilvie. Gerard Campbell, in his work on *Edward and Pamela*, claimed that she seemed 'to have acquired a prejudice against Mr. Ogilvie, which, to judge from his known actions on her behalf, was quite groundless and must be put down to the fanciful ideas natural to one in her nervous condition'.¹⁶⁸ In reality, Pamela gave her own reasons for her antipathy to Ogilvie, a result of his conduct towards her during Edward's capture. Emily, predictably, had nothing but praise for the conduct of her husband towards her son's widow: 'Mr. O's generosity in great things can never be call'd in question and his attachment to her dear husband will make him act towards his widow and

¹⁶⁵ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 20 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

¹⁶⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 206-207.

¹⁶⁷ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 20 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

¹⁶⁸ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 203.

children accordingly.’¹⁶⁹ Which account of Ogilvie’s conduct towards Pamela is to be believed credible is debateable, but the evidence suggests that his attitude towards Pamela when she married Edward was not especially warm. By the end of August 1798, Pamela expressed strongly her desire that Ogilvie would have no influence on her affairs in England or Ireland. ‘Mais je voudrais bien que Mr. Ogilvie ne l’en mêlassent point car il me porteras malheur et je ne crois pas l’intérêt qu’il veut me montrer dans ce moment./But I should like very much that Mr. Ogilvie would not meddle because he will bring me bad luck and I don’t trust the interest that he is showing in me at the moment.’¹⁷⁰

By the end of the summer, Pamela’s correspondence suggests that bouts of depression would trouble her:

Lucy chère et tendre oui plus je vais plus je sens ce que j’ai perdu ma vie, va donc s’écouler dans une monotone indifférence, pour bien dire c’est moi qui n’existe plus ma vie desormit vais être bien tranquille je ne sentirai plus de grande jouissances mais aussi je ne sentirai plus de douleurs cuisantes, je ne suis plus sensible et lorsque je descends dans mon Cœur et que je rumine le doux et l’horrible passé je ne puis comprendre comment je ne suis pas morte!¹⁷¹

Dear and tender Lucy yes the more I go the more I feel that which I lost in my life, is going to flow into a monotonous indifference, that is, I feel like I no longer exist, my life will henceforth is going to be very quiet, I will no longer feel great pleasure but also I will no longer feel painful suffering, I am no longer sensitive and when I delve

¹⁶⁹ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 20 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

¹⁷⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 28 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

¹⁷¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 28 August 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

into my heart and I ponder that sweet and horrible past I cannot understand how I am not dead!

Whether it was the postal service between London and Hamburg or the lack of interest in the Fitzgerald family to write to Pamela, she found that there was a lapse in correspondence. Pamela expressed her worries of being forgotten or ignored to Henry Fitzgerald:

Par le dernier courrier d'Angleterre je n'ai pas eu une seule lettre de ma chère famille que j'ai laissée, Henry écrivez moi quelquefois vous savez comme je vous aime et comme je dois vous aimer, tout ce qui vous intéresse m'intéresse aussi enfin je suis votre sœur Ô! ne l'oubliez pas hélas je crains que vous ne m'oubliez et j'avoue que cette pensée m'est fort pénible l'absence double tous les maux.¹⁷²

By the last courier from England I had not received a single letter from my dear family that I left, Henry write to me sometimes you know how I love you and how I must love you, all that interest you also interest me anyway I am your sister. Oh! Do not forget it sadly I fear that you will forget me and I admit that this thought is very painful for me absence makes everything worse.

The correspondence between Pamela and Lucy, previously daily, now became sporadic. Despite Pamela's belief that Edward's family were forgetting her, they had arranged a pension to provide her with some money: 'Vous êtes bien bonne ma très chère de vous joindre au plan que notre frère a arrangé pour que la veuve de votre bien frère ne fait pas à l'aumône./ You are very good my dearest to join in the plan that your brother has arranged so that the widow of your dear brother does not have to take charity.'¹⁷³ Pamela described the

¹⁷² Pamela Fitzgerald to Henry Fitzgerald, 3 Sep. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,006(3)).

¹⁷³ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 10 Sep 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

extent of her living conditions, highlighting the fact that while the Matthiessens were well off they are not enormously rich, and therefore she could not depend on them entirely.¹⁷⁴ Lucy was in contact with extended members of Pamela's family also following her arrival in Hamburg. On 21 September Henriette Matthiessen wrote to Lucy, where she highlighted Pamela's attitude towards her financial situation: 'Pamy qui m'a dit ce matin: 'they have take [sic] all my money./ Pamy who told me this morning : they have take[n] all my money.'¹⁷⁵ Lucy was also in contact with Jean-Baptiste Cyrus de Valence, husband of Pulcherie Valence's, who was the daughter of Madame de Genlis. These letters reveal that Lucy had a close relationship with the Valence family: 'je serai votre frère à cause de Pamela/ I will be your brother because of Pamela.'¹⁷⁶

Pamela's love for her children is consistently evident in every letter she wrote. She provided detailed accounts of her eldest daughter, Pamela, to her family in almost every letter she sent and asked for accounts of her son and youngest daughter, Lucy: 'Merci de tous les détails que vous me faites sur mon bien aime fils. / Thank you for all the details you gave me on my dearest son.'¹⁷⁷ Evidently, Pamela was attempting to reinforce the idea that she was still a part of the Fitzgerald family by highlighting the main connection she still had, Emily's own grandchildren. Pamela's letters reveal the difficulty she faced during this transition to her new home. The feeling that she was becoming estranged from the Fitzgerald family was apparent soon after her arrival. Her letters also revealed that she often lamented the past and despaired at her present situation.

¹⁷⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 10 Sep 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

¹⁷⁵ Henriette Matthiessen to Lucy Fitzgerald, 21 Sep. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(8)).

¹⁷⁶ Jean-Baptiste Cyrus de Valence to Lucy Fitzgerald, 2 Sep. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(8)).

¹⁷⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 10 Sep 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

Although Pamela felt a distance growing between her and the Fitzgerald family, she continued to occupy herself with their well-being, especially that of Lucy. Pamela was aware of the need to remain optimistic: ‘J’ai conu pour l’être il faudrait oublier mon état et être heureuse! / I know for it would be necessary to forget my state and to be happy!’¹⁷⁸ Pamela’s eldest daughter was a source of happiness during this time. Despite having to give up two of her children she was grateful to still have her daughter who brought her great comfort:

Ma Pamela devient tous les jours plus belle et plus amiable je ne puis vous exprimer tous les sentiments que mon malheureux sensible cœur a réussi sur ce bien aimé petit être la ressemblance chérie devient tous les jours plus frappante.¹⁷⁹

My Pamela becomes everyday more beautiful and more amiable, I cannot explain to you all the feelings that my sensible, unhappy heart managed on this beloved dear to resemble the beloved becoming everyday more striking.

When not in Hamburg, Pamela spent her time in the country in Niendorff with the Mattheissens, though for the winter of 1798 it was planned that they would spend their time in Hamburg.¹⁸⁰ Pamela’s relationship with her sisters-in-law remained good during her early months in Hamburg. However, the tension with Ogilvie remained and was evident in her letters. In a letter to Lucy she claimed that she refrained from writing to Emily ‘Mimi’ Ogilvie, half-sister of Edward, for fear of angering the latter’s father, Ogilvie.

¹⁷⁸ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 2 Oct. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers MSS 35,005 (6)).

¹⁷⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 2 Oct. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers MSS 35,005 (6)).

¹⁸⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 11 Oct. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

Êtes-vous toujours contente de Mimi ? Je l'aime, elle fort amiable, dites-lui que je ne lui écrire pas parce que j'ai peur que cela ne mette son père en colère et ce ne serait pas la peine pour mes griffonnages.¹⁸¹

Are you still happy with Mimi? I love her, she is very friendly, tell her that I did not write to her because I fear that will make her father angry and my doodles are not worth this.

Pamela's family in England and Ireland continued to deal with the act of attainder against Edward after it became law on 6 October. In order to continue the case against the attainder, it was finally decided that 'the widows name shou'd be omitted as unfortunately it has appeared in so many of the trials it goes against my feelings to do so but I believe it is right', as Emily Fitzgerald explained on 15 October.¹⁸² Caroline Fox agreed with the decision: 'I certainly agree in thinking it most prudent to omit Lady Edward's name though I can easily conceive that the omission may in some degree hurt your feelings.'¹⁸³ Although none of the family wanted to remove Pamela's name from the petition against the attainder it was decided that since her name was criminally involved with Edward's political activities it was best her cause remained separate from her children's.¹⁸⁴ To Pamela, it might have appeared that the Fitzgerald family were abandoning her, with the frequent lapse in their correspondence and their removal of her name from the petition against the attainder. However, they were ready to support her financially, if not publically. There was an attempt

¹⁸¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 11 Oct. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

¹⁸² Emily Fitzgerald to Lord Holland, 15 Oct. 1798 (British Library, Holland House Papers, MSS 51803/3).

¹⁸³ Caroline Fox to Emily Fitzgerald, 21 Oct. 1798 (British Library, Dowager Duchess Papers, Add MSS 30990/45).

¹⁸⁴ Caroline Fox to Emily Fitzgerald, 21 Oct. 1798 (British Library, Dowager Duchess Papers, Add MSS 30990/45).

to collect a yearly fund for Pamela to ensure that she was provided for by the Fitzgerald family:

I hope he has wrote or sent the paper he talked of round to the brothers and sisters in regard to dear Lady Edward. I feel uneasy till it is done for our ... for dear Pam is easy knowing it is to be. Mama inputs it every day that she may put down her name.¹⁸⁵

It was presumably soon after this letter between Lucy and Sophia Fitzgerald that a document was drawn up to provide an agreement on the yearly sum paid by family members to Pamela.

The document agreed that Pamela:

being at this moment destitute of any provision whatever from the forfeiture of the estate of her husband which was left to her for her life by his will we whose names are ... subscribed being desirous of making use amongst ourselves the sum of three hundred pounds a year which we conceive may be necessary for her use and the maintenance and education of the child she has with her. Do hereby agree to pay yearly the sums we have set against our respective names so long as such contribution shall appear to us requisite and proper.¹⁸⁶

It was agreed that the first sum was to be paid by Christmas of 1798.¹⁸⁷ The family members who agreed to contribute to this payment were Emily Fitzgerald, the duke of Leinster, Henry Fitzgerald, the duke of Richmond, Louisa Conolly, Lord Conolly, Lucy Fitzgerald and George Napier. While the document stated that the total sum amounted to three hundred

¹⁸⁵ Lucy Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 15 Oct. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(9)).

¹⁸⁶ Anonymous document on yearly annuity for Pamela Fitzgerald, Nov. 1798 (P.R.O.N.I., Leinster Papers, D3078/3/8/8).

¹⁸⁷ Anonymous document on yearly annuity for Pamela Fitzgerald, Nov. 1798 (P.R.O.N.I., Leinster Papers, D3078/3/8/8).

pounds yearly, the sums corresponding to the names listed amounted to four hundred pounds.¹⁸⁸

Although Pamela was apprehensive about the prospect of the Fitzgerald family omitting her from the family, they were clearly attempting to provide sufficiently for her in her new life in Hamburg. Two of the family members had also taken it upon themselves to care for the upbringing of two of her children. However, publically it seemed as though the Fitzgerald family had come to distance themselves from Pamela in order to prevent any further connections that could implicate the Fitzgerald family in radical politics. Pamela continued to express her regret at leaving her family in England: ‘Lucy douce et fidèle amie que l’absence est un cruel tourment pour deux amie comme nous, dites mille tendresses a notre bien bonne et bien tendre mère./ Sweet Lucy and loyal friend that the absence is a cruel torment for two friends like us, give a thousand caresses to our dear good and very tender mother.’¹⁸⁹ As time progressed Pamela began to return to the social circles she once thrived in. In a letter to Lucy Fitzgerald she described being accepted by the Mattheissens’ friends so warmly:

Je suis ici aussi heureuse que je puis l’être dans ce moment je suis bien accueillie pour tous les amis de mon amie, et je suis parfaitement tranquille ainsi je ne puis rien désirer de mieux.¹⁹⁰

I am here as happy that I can be for the moment I am very welcomed by all the friends of my friends and I am perfectly peaceful that I don’t desire anything more.

¹⁸⁸ Anonymous document on yearly annuity for Pamela Fitzgerald, Nov. 1798 (P.R.O.N.I., Leinster Papers, D3078/3/8/8).

¹⁸⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 9 Nov. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

¹⁹⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 20 Nov. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(6)).

This letter marked one of the first written expressions of Pamela being happy since the death of Edward. After this letter there seems to be notable gap in the correspondence between Pamela and the Fitzgerald family. It is not until the new year of 1799 that any further letters between Pamela and her sister-in-laws are written (at least among those that are known of).

One of the striking aspects of Pamela's residence in Hamburg in 1798 is the absence of Madame de Genlis. While the initial proposal to move to Hamburg was stimulated by being closer to her family, it was presumed that this included her adopted mother. However, in the four months Pamela had been in Hamburg by December, none of her letters indicate she had been in contact with Madame de Genlis. When Edward had first proposed to send Pamela abroad in 1797, it was made clear that she would stay with her mother.¹⁹¹ Pamela had not seen her adopted mother since her visit to Hamburg in 1796 and while she was known to keep in contact with her in the early years of her marriage, there was little evidence to suggest that two maintained a correspondence in the later 1790s. In her own memoirs Madame de Genlis claimed that Pamela refused her initial invitation to reside in Berlin.¹⁹² However, no other correspondence indicates that Pamela proposed Berlin as an option for political refuge. When first exiled from Ireland after Edward's arrest in May 1798 Pamela claimed that she planned to stay with Madame de Genlis, who was seriously ill, at her residence in Brevel, Holstein.¹⁹³ However, Pamela chose to reside in Hamburg with Henriette rather than Madame de Genlis. At the time of Pamela's arrival in Hamburg, Madame de Genlis had already moved to Berlin and while she claimed to have written to Pamela to stay with her in Berlin, Pamela refused.¹⁹⁴ Both Hamburg and the small country village of Niendorff were more appealing for Pamela, both financially and politically, given the large number of

¹⁹¹ Edward Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 19 Dec. 1797 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,001(2)).

¹⁹² Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 5, p. 55.

¹⁹³ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 343.

¹⁹⁴ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 361.

European migrants who lived there. The remainder of Pamela's time in Europe would give an insight into an understanding of the complex relationship between her and Madame de Genlis.

Pamela's five brief years in Ireland with Edward would come to define her. Previously marked as a revolutionary from her links to the early French Revolution, she was now identified as a radical on the basis of her involvement in the Irish rebellion of 1798. In traditional accounts of the 1790s, women played relatively insignificant roles in political activity. Dáire Keogh points out that: 'what was recorded of women's activity in the 1790s reflected male expectations of female behaviour, in this way contemporary stereotypes have served to filter historical memory.'¹⁹⁵ Nancy Curtin has commented on 'the reduction of their role to that of victim; the mourner'.¹⁹⁶ There is evidence that Pamela's role was more than one of 'passive republican sacrifice',¹⁹⁷ and that she fits the more active model of female radical agency evident in historical scholarship over the past two decades. The evidence of Samuel Turner and Thomas Reynolds suggested that Pamela was actively involved in the United Irishmen. Following Edward's capture and death, Pamela faced an uncertain future. Her reputation was tarnished to the extent that months after Edward's death, Sarah Napier admitted the dislike felt towards her by the general public: 'You gently said in a letter to my sister, "she is not popular".'¹⁹⁸ This chapter has illustrated, in detail, her increasingly complex relationships with the Fitzgerald family network. Ultimately, Pamela's political associations had serious consequences for the reputation of the Fitzgerald family. More generally, Pamela occupied the role of widow. As Curtin notes: 'second only to the fallen patriot in republican esteem was the widow left behind him. Honoured not only for her

¹⁹⁵ Daire Keogh, 'The women of 1798: explaining the silence' in Thomas Bartlett, David Dickson, Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds), *1798: A bicentenary perspective* (Dublin, 2003), p. 520.

¹⁹⁶ Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong, *The women of 1798* (Dublin, 1998), p. 7.

¹⁹⁷ Kennedy, 'What can women give but tears', p. 38.

¹⁹⁸ Moore, *The life and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, p. 278.

sacrifice of happy domesticity to the public cause, for giving up her husband to the nation'.¹⁹⁹

Pamela did not, however, conform easily to this image. For example, in comparison to Matilda Tone, the wife of Theobald Wolfe Tone, a key member of the United Irishmen, Pamela had a significantly more active role in the events leading to the rebellion. Indeed, Pamela's image, in comparison to that of Matilda Tone, was more heavily marked by her clear political connections not only in Ireland but also in France. Ultimately, by the end of 1798, Pamela found herself displaced and a political refugee in Europe.

¹⁹⁹ Nancy J. Curtin, 'Matilda Tone and virtuous republican femininity' in Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong (eds), *The women of 1798* (Dublin, 1998), p. 26.

Chapter 4: Exile, Family and Survival,
1799-1831

The final decades of Pamela's life have received little attention from historians. Recent biographers of Edward Fitzgerald provided brief summaries of the remainder of Pamela's life after 1798, often focusing on her poverty. This chapter will aim to provide the most accurate analysis of the remainder of Pamela's life to date. It will also attempt to understand why Pamela was not remembered historically, like other female figures associated with the 1798 rebellion. In terms of how Pamela was remembered, her remarriage (and separation) altered her image and 'posed a problem for those who wished to represent her as an ambulatory mausoleum to her husband's memory.'¹ When compared to Matilda Tone, the wife of Theobald Wolfe Tone who was seen as the prime example of 'the virtues of republican womanhood', Pamela did not correspond to the idealised republican widow.² This chapter will also account for the complex relationship between Pamela and the Fitzgerald family. Up until recently it was assumed that the Fitzgerald family disowned Pamela soon after her remarriage. Drawing extensively on the available correspondence, the chapter assesses Pamela's life and networks to 1831.

Pamela was not alone in her exile from Ireland as a large number of United Irishmen found refuge in Hamburg.³ Given Hamburg's neutral status in Europe after the 1789 French Revolution and during the French Revolutionary wars, it was a safe haven for political refugees.⁴ Emigration of the United Irishmen had begun as early as 1793, following a significant number of the United Irish prosecutions in 1792.⁵ Evidently radical migration from Ireland to Hamburg reached its peak in the spring and summer of 1798 due to the impending Irish rebellion. In Hamburg, it was reported that Pamela socialised with United

¹ Kennedy, 'What can women give but tears', p. 303.

² Nancy J. Curtin, 'Matilda Tone and virtuous republican femininity' in Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong (eds), *The women of 1798* (Dublin, 1998), p. 26.

³ Weber, *On the road to rebellion*, p. 141.

⁴ Weber, *On the road to rebellion*, p. 28.

⁵ Weber, *On the road to rebellion*, p. 39.

Irishmen who had made their way there, apparently confirming her radical connections.⁶ Pamela is thought to have aided Hervey Montmorency Morres, a United Irishman who had also fled to Hamburg.⁷ An intimate friend of Edward's, Pamela had welcomed him amicably despite the fact that he was wanted in Ireland and could have been of potential danger to her security in Hamburg.⁸ Although Morres did not stay long, fearing for his own safety, his presence was enough to verify the rumours of Pamela's potential links to the rebellion. Despite the hardship her connection to the United Irishmen caused her, Pamela was still loyal to a certain degree to the society. It is important to note that while Pamela had found refuge in Hamburg, the rest of Europe was still in the middle of a prolonged war. In 1799, Pamela continued to comment on the political climate. She made no attempt to disguise her hatred of war:

Tout est fort triste on ne parle que de guerres de combats et je crains bien que le continent cette année n'offre plus que jamais, des scènes de carnages et d'horreurs qui passeront même toute ce que nous avons vu ! ... Vous verrez que les préparations de guerre sont plus violentes que jamais de tous les cotes et que nous sommes nées dans le siècle d'horreurs !⁹

It is all so sad. People only speak of wars and fighting and I truly fear that this year the continent will provide more than ever: scenes of carnage and horrors which will surpass all that we have seen thus far! ... You will see that preparations for war are more urgent than ever on all sides, and that we have been born into the century of horrors.

⁶ Weber, *On the road to rebellion*, p. 119.

⁷ Charles Vane, (ed.), *Memoirs and correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh* (12 vols, London, 1848) vol. 2, pp 96-7.

⁸ Charles (ed.), *Memoirs and correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, vol. 2, pp 96-7.

⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 25 Mar. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

The same letter also noted an antipathy towards politics in general: ‘Mais voila allez de politique mon amiable sœur, vous devez savoir plus qu’une autre, l’horreur que j’ai pour elle./ But that’s enough politics, my kind sister. You should know more than anyone the horror that I have for it.’¹⁰

Pamela’s relationship with the Fitzgerald family altered following her departure from England. While it is known that Pamela maintained a correspondence with some members of the Fitzgerald family, historians have focused specifically on Pamela’s exchanges with Sophia Fitzgerald. In fact, Pamela corresponded with a wider network of the Fitzgerald family than has previously been realised. In the early weeks of January 1799, Pamela wrote to Lady Mary Fitzgerald, eldest daughter of William Fitzgerald, the duke of Leinster. Pamela expressed her despair at entering a new year without her husband and two of her children. She questioned her new identity as a widow:

Voici un moment bien triste pour moi, une nouvelle année! J’avoue que je l’ai vue fini avec une joie mêlée de peine cette année! Dont le commencement m’a vue la femme, la mère, la plus heureuse, maintenant veuve et mère dont les enfants sont dépouilles de leurs biens ! Cette pensée est cruelle, mais je suis une habitante de cette terre où il faut souffrir et se soumettre a une providence sévère ... Je suis comme vous ni le tems, ni l’absence ne peuvent me changer, je pense souvent à vous, à mon cher frère Leinster, à Emily et jamais mon triste Cœur ne pourra vous oublier.¹¹

This, the new year, is a very sad time for me! I admit that I saw the year finish with a mixture of joy and sorrow! Whose beginning saw me as a woman, a mother, the

¹⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 26 Nov. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

¹¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Mary Fitzgerald, 15 Jan. 1799 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 34,922(20)).

happiest, now widow and mother whose children have had all their possessions taken away! This thought is cruel, but I live in this land where it is necessary to suffer and submit to a severe kind of providence ... I am like you, neither time nor absence can change me, I often think of you, of my dear brother Leinster and of Emily and my saddened heart will never forget you.

The letter was an early indication of Pamela's need for affirmation of her place within the Fitzgerald family following her move to Hamburg.

The growing complexity of Pamela's relationship with the Fitzgeralds is evident from their correspondence. In comparison to the frequent correspondence that Pamela maintained with her relatives while Edward was still alive, the letters sent between Pamela and the Fitzgerald family became less numerous from 1799. While the correspondence between Pamela and Sophia remained consistent, it was the reduction in frequency of letters between Lucy and Pamela which is the most perplexing. Throughout 1798 the sisters-in-law sent each other daily letters, up until Edward's death in June 1798. Some interaction did continue, as is evident from letters between Henriette Matthiessen and Lucy. On 21 September 1798 Henriette wrote to Lucy informing her that Pamela received her fifth letter.¹² However, by 19 October of the same year Henriette noticed a lapse in Lucy's correspondence with Pamela and eventually it would cease altogether.¹³ Edward's death greatly affected Lucy, and it is possible that the prospect of writing to Pamela was too difficult for her. In her letters to Sophia, Pamela provided updates regarding her current situation and the health of her daughter. In the majority of her letters, she expressed her wish to return to her family in England, writing to Sophia on 1 February 1799:

¹² Henriette Matthiessen to Lucy Fitzgerald, 21 Sep. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(8)).

¹³ Henriette Matthiessen to Lucy Fitzgerald, 19 Oct. 1798 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(8)).

Mille baisers à ma sweet petite love Lucy. Oh! Que ne puis-je les lui donner moi-même ; ciel ! Que je suis loin de la chère Angleterre, pays qui contient mes bien-aimés enfants et tant d'amis chéris.¹⁴

Lots of love to my sweet little love Lucy. Oh ! that I cannot give them to her myself; God! That I am so far from dear England, the country that holds my beloved children and so many dear friends.

Pamela also remained in contact with the duke of Richmond. She commented in the same letter to Sophia that: 'J'ai reçue une bien aime lettre de mon oncle Richmond, il me monde qu'Henry et toute le famille est en bonne santé./ I received a letter from my uncle Richmond, he tells me that Henry and all the family are in good health.'¹⁵ The gratitude that Pamela felt towards the duke of Richmond is evident in her continued correspondence with him, however these letters would soon cease too. Daily letters between Pamela and her sisters-in-law gave way to monthly letters in early 1799. Pamela wrote to Sophia again on 25 March with her growing concern about the lack of mail from friends and relatives: 'my dear Sophia. La dernier courier d'Angleterre ne m'a point apporté de lettre de mes chères amies/ My dear Sophia. The last courier from England did not bring me any letter from my dear friends.'¹⁶ While the Fitzgerald family may not have intentionally reduced their correspondence with Pamela, it was clear that this troubled her.

In her letter to Sophia on 25 March, Pamela mentioned her first known contact with Lucy Fitzgerald following her arrival in Hamburg. 'J'ai reçue une lettre de notre chère Lucy, dans laquelle elle me donne d'excellents nouvelles de notre petite fille./ I received a letter

¹⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1 Feb. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

¹⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1 Feb. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

¹⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 25 Mar. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

from our dear Lucy, in which she gave me excellent news of our little daughter.’¹⁷ What is striking about Pamela’s comment on Lucy’s letter is that she now referred to her youngest daughter, also named Lucy Fitzgerald, as ‘notre petite fille’. It was known that Pamela placed her daughter in Sophia’s care because the journey to Hamburg was presumed too much for the young child who was born prematurely in April 1798. Indeed, infant mortality rates remained high in the eighteenth century.¹⁸ The comment ‘notre petite fille’ suggests that Pamela was resigned to giving up her youngest child. Ultimately, financial limitations and her status as a political refugee left Pamela with few options regarding her children.

As Pamela felt the departure from her family more strongly as the year went on, she began to imagine seeing her children. She wrote to Sophia on this matter exactly three months after her previous letter, on 9 July:

Je vois mon Eddy courire et s’amuser sur le gazon avec les chers petit Henry’s, mon cœur bat et je voudrais franchir les mers mais il faut calmer mon imagination et penser que je suis loin de mes pauvres chers enfants.¹⁹

I see my Eddy run and play on the grass with the dear little Henry’s. My heart beats loudly and I feel I could cross the seas, but then I must calm my imagination and remember that I am far from my poor dear children.

Pamela indicated the extent of her gratitude in her letters to Sophia, for taking care of her youngest daughter:

¹⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 25 Mar. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

¹⁸ Hufton, *The prospect before her*, p. 195.

¹⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 9 July 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

J'aime à vous écrire ma bonne Sophie, j'aime à parler, à vous montrer que toujours mon cœur est près de ma petite Lucy et de vous, de vous le maman de ma fille, ma Sophie voilà un titre qui a jamais nous unis !²⁰

I love to write to you my dear Sophie, I love to talk, to show to you that my heart is never far from my dear Lucy and from you, you the mother of my daughter, here Sophie is a title that ever unites us!

This furthers the debate on contact between the Fitzgeralds and Pamela. Evidently, the relationship between Pamela and Sophia remained on good terms, their common connection to her children strengthening their bond. However, correspondence with the wider Fitzgerald network became increasingly irregular in 1799. The next extant letter was written in November 1799. At this point, Pamela was still in contact with Emily Fitzgerald: 'Je suis sûre que mon dernière lettre à la chère Duchesse l'aura inquiète à mon sujet/ I am sure that my last letter to the dear Duchess will have worried her about me.'²¹ However, Pamela admitted that the lack of exchange was, at least in part, her own fault: 'Ce jour-là j'étais très malade mais pourtant je ne pouvais m'empêcher de lui écrire il y avait si longtemps que je lui devais une lettre. /That day I was very sick but nevertheless I could not help myself from writing to her because I had owed her a letter for some time.'²² In relation to Lucy Fitzgerald, a letter between Emily Fitzgerald and Sophia Fitzgerald indicates that contact between Lucy and Pamela continued into 1800.²³

²⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 19 July 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

²¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 26 Nov. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

²² Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 26 Nov. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

²³ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 30 Jan. 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

After Pamela's departure from England, her situation was discussed frequently by her English relatives, especially when it came to the gossip that followed her. In a letter to Sarah Napier on 15 September 1799, Selina Frances Forbes, Lady Granard, a friend of the family, claimed that there were rumours circulating in England that Pamela had remarried in Hamburg to a 'French attorney'.²⁴ However, Forbes doubted the sincerity of these claims and criticised those who started the rumours: 'I have no patience with their malice; surely her sorrows might have blunted it.'²⁵ At around the same time, Pamela had – in fact – begun a correspondence with Colonel George Harcourt. Their first known letter was written on 19 November 1799.²⁶ From the nature of Pamela's writing, it can be assumed that they had established a romantic relationship: 'Les vents sont contre nous, j'espère que ce n'est point un mauvais augure/ The winds are against us, I hope that it is not a bad omen.'²⁷ It is plausible that Pamela already had intentions to remarry, only a year after her husband's death. While it is known that they met in England, it is not clear when, precisely, Pamela and Harcourt began to develop a correspondence.²⁸ Pamela signed off her letter of November 1799 with gratitude for their friendship: 'Je vous prie de croire à jamais aux sentiments d'estime et d'amitié que vous m'avez inspirés./I hope that you will forever believe in the sentiments of respect and friendship you have inspired in me'²⁹

Pamela's letters to Colonel Harcourt became increasingly frequent in the latter part of 1799, even more so than those with her sisters-in-law. They became more personal as they continued. On 29 November, she commented: 'Il n'y a pas beaucoup d'heures dans la journée

²⁴ Selina Frances Forbes to Sarah Napier, 15 Sep. 1799 (British Library, Napier Papers, MSS 49090/96).

²⁵ Selina Frances Forbes to Sarah Napier, 15 Sep. 1799 (British Library, Napier Papers, MSS 49090/96).

²⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 19 Nov. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P. W Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/6).

²⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 19 Nov. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P. W Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/6).

²⁸ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 29 Nov. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P. W. Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/3).

²⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 19 Nov. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P. W Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/6).

où l'on ne pense à vous!/ There are few hours in the day during which I do not think of you!³⁰ Harcourt's first known reply was written on 9 December, in which he looked forward to the future prospects between him and Pamela: 'when our communications will not require the mediums of pens, ink and paper.'³¹ From Harcourt's letter their intention to marry was evident: 'I immediately acquainted my brother with all and from him I have to forward you the first assurances of his anxieties to be soon acquainted with you in the character of a sister.'³² The first indication that the Fitzgerald family was aware of a relationship between Pamela and Harcourt appeared in Sarah Napier's letters. In a letter to her friend, Susan O'Brien, on 30 November 1799, she wrote: 'if you happen to hear a lie circulated with pains to blacken poor Ly. Edward Fitzgerald, pray contradict it, for she is not married and has no such ideas as yet. Melancholy is her companion.'³³ Initially there was disbelief at the idea that Pamela could have remarried, so soon as well after Edward's death.

Harcourt's letter of 9 December had not arrived when Pamela wrote to him the following day: 'Pas encore de nouvelles d'Angleterre! Rien pour calmer l'agitation dans laquelle je suis depuis votre départ./ Again no news from England! Nothing to calm the agitation in which I am since your departure.'³⁴ Pamela became desperate that the relationship with Harcourt would work: 'where your happiness and mine are both at stake!'³⁵ The fact that Pamela wrote these words in English emphasised her concern for their future, as she rarely wrote in a language that was not native to her, as she noted elsewhere: 'Vous me

³⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 29 Nov. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P. W. Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/3).

³¹ Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 9 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

³² Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 9 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

³³ Ilchester and Stavordale, *The life and letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, p. 149.

³⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 10 Dec. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P. W. Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/5).

³⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 13 Dec. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P. W. Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/1).

pardonnez de vous écrire en français, cela m'est plus commode vous le savez si bien./
Forgive me for writing to you in French, it is more convenient for me, you know it so well.³⁶
While it was known that Pamela was a Catholic when she arrived in Ireland in 1793, there is no indication of religious belief in her correspondence in Ireland. However, in a letter to Harcourt, Pamela revealed a religious side that, to this point, had not been evident: 'recevoir toutes mes prières before these shrines I kneel, such saints are for every (religion) but alas how many unbelievers have we.'³⁷ It is possible, of course, that Pamela engaged or re-engaged with religion following Edward's death.

Evidently, Pamela's conduct did not take long to become a subject of gossip. Harcourt responded to Pamela's letters on the 20 December. He revealed that their relationship was known in elite circles in England:

I overheard at the drawing room yesterday our history recited by Lady Cardigan, as having been told it by Miss Jeffery (the maid of Honour) who received it from the Queen. She did you some justice for she endeavoured to praise you but God knows how short she fell on the subject and she misconstrued my leaving the country immediately into an arrangement made by my family to separate me as far as possible from you!³⁸

Once more, Pamela was the object of speculation. While the letter indicates that it was rumoured that the proposed marriage was not approved by the Harcourt family at the time, Harcourt himself dismissed this. In fact he informed Pamela that his mother planned to visit

³⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 10 Dec. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P. W. Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/5).

³⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Colonel George Harcourt, 13 Dec. 1799 (P.R.O.N.I., A. P.W. Malcomson (depositor) Papers, T2534/6/1).

³⁸ Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 20 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

her in Vienna the following spring.³⁹ One issue that would decide Pamela and Harcourt's relationship was their future plans: 'Why then if England and England alone is forbidden ground for the present may we not be happy elsewhere?'⁴⁰ Despite Pamela's attempts to ensure a return to England, it was evident that this was not possible, even if she married Harcourt. He suggested:

Accompany my mother, she will very likely come to see me and then once we are married the obstacles may either be removed of themselves or seeing the matter settled (if them odious men are always to continue our despotic rulers) Government may be a little less childish in their apprehensions at that future period and when my regiment return to Europe we will by that time have had a leisure sufficient to convince them of their errors and to overcome their scruples.⁴¹

Marriage to Harcourt could potentially have enabled Pamela to return to England. As Harcourt investigated the issue of Pamela's return to England it became more evident that the British government would not permit it. Harcourt wrote to Pamela on 28 December and, in contrast to the previous romantic letters written between them, this one had a distinctive melancholy tone. Harcourt mentioned having been in contact with a solicitor concerning legal documentation relating to Pamela and her situation. Disappointingly, Harcourt confirmed that 'by the government a peremptory negative was given to your returning'.⁴² From conversing with a lawyer Harcourt discovered that Pamela had been found to be involved in the charges brought against her late husband:

³⁹ Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 20 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

⁴⁰ Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 20 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

⁴¹ Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 20 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

⁴² Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 28 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

On conversing with Adam the lawyer thro' whose hands all the papers went and who was a great personal friend of Lord E[dward], he assured me that, you were in fact, tho you might not be aware of it completely implicated in the charge the brought forward.⁴³

While Pamela may have proposed to marry Harcourt in the hope that his status in the army could aid her in returning to England, his efforts proved to be futile in the end: 'With the prohibition of ministers what can be done? Nothing in my mind but to consider the whole as a dream from which indeed it may be unpleasant to be awakened.'⁴⁴ With the disappointing realisation that her return to England was not possible the proposed marriage between Pamela and Harcourt was called off.

Pamela's correspondence with Sophia continued with the familiar themes of further news on her children and extended family in England and gave no hint at her recently dissolved marriage prospect. In early January 1800, Pamela reemphasised her need to still be regarded as their sister: 'je serai toujours votre sœur?/ Will I always be your sister?'⁴⁵ While the rumours of Pamela's potential marriage to Harcourt did not appear in the correspondence of the Fitzgerald family, the news of her marriage to the American Consul in Hamburg, Joseph Pitcairn did.⁴⁶ Pitcairn was thirty seven years old and had previously been Vice-Consul of the United States in Paris, from 1785, and became consul in Hamburg in 1798.⁴⁷ He was, in fact, the son of a Presbyterian minister from Scotland and also a merchant.⁴⁸ In a

⁴³ Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 20 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

⁴⁴ Colonel George Harcourt to Pamela Fitzgerald, 20 Dec. 1799 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(1)).

⁴⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 3 Jan. 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁴⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 374.

⁴⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 374.

⁴⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 310; L. Belle Hamlin, Letters of Thomas Boylston Adams in *The quarterly publication of the historical and philosophical society of Ohio*, vol. XII, no. 1 (1917), p. 5.

letter to Sophia on 30 January 1800, Emily Fitzgerald wrote on the subject of Pamela's remarriage. Both Sophia's and Emily's main concern was the prospect of Pamela's children, Edward and Lucy Fitzgerald, being taken from them:

No woman marrying again wou'd wish to burden a husband with children unprovided for and your fortune will secure you the possession of the little angel! As to me I trust to what I knew his mother always wished that of his getting an English education and to her attachment to me, for she knows my heart and soul is wrapped up in him.⁴⁹

From this letter there is evidence that Pamela 'hints at living in America.'⁵⁰ Despite her relatively quick remarriage, Emily remained positively disposed towards her daughter-in-law: 'I therefore hope the dear little soul will find an end to all her troubles and miseries and pass her days in peace after the storms of her youth.'⁵¹ Further indications that Pamela was still in contact with the Fitzgerald family are evident from a letter written to Sarah Napier on 4 February 1800. While it is clear that the two maintained a correspondence, Pamela had come to believe that her previous letters were lost due to slow replies from her family and lack of responses: 'Je suis sure que mes lettres sont perdues, car je ne puis croire que l'on pense encore à les arrêter / I am sure that my letter are lost, because I cannot believe that they are still considering stopping them.'⁵² Although Pamela acknowledged that she had found a new companion, she dwelled on her misery: 'Je suis l'enfant de la douleur j'arrive in Pain, je suis tranquille, j'ai une charmante amie, une société assez agréable, je suis aimée./ I am the

⁴⁹ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 30 Jan. 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

⁵⁰ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 30 Jan. 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

⁵¹ Emily Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 30 Jan. 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(3)).

⁵² Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 4 Feb. 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,003(2)).

child of suffering I arrive in pain, I am calm, I have a charming friend, pleasant company, I am loved.⁵³ Pamela was obviously torn between grieving for Edward and being happy at the prospect of a new marriage at the same time.

The letters that were once so frequent between Pamela and Sophia ultimately became sparse and occasional. On 29 April 1800, Pamela wrote a rather short letter, which expressed Pamela's love for her daughter Lucy and again dwelled on her suffering and sadness: 'C'est avec délices que je quitterai ce monde qui n'a été pour moi qu'une école de souffrances! / I will be delighted to leave this world which for me has been nothing more than a school of suffering.'⁵⁴ While Pamela was quick to believe that the Fitzgerald family were forgetting her, Henry Richard Fox had planned to visit Pamela in Hamburg while on a trip, as noted by Emily Fitzgerald to her niece Caroline Fox: 'I am glad he will see D[ea]r Pamela I know it will make her so happy and his manner is so soothing that it will afford great comfort as well as pleasure.'⁵⁵ Sarah Napier wrote a detailed letter to Sophia Fitzgerald on the state of Pamela's affairs in July 1800: 'dear Pamela can never be left out of the list of your family as one of the most interesting subjects.'⁵⁶ Sarah found Pamela's remarriage to be extremely interesting and still viewed her in high regard claiming that she knew 'of few men worthy of her'.⁵⁷ An account of Pamela's wellbeing was also passed from Sir James Craufurd, the

⁵³ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sarah Napier, 4 Feb. 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,003(2)).

⁵⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 29 April 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁵⁵ Emily Fitzgerald to Caroline Fox, 16 July 1800 (British Library, Holland House Papers, Add MS 51967/81). On Fox, see: V. E. Chancellor, 'Caroline Fox' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

⁵⁶ Sarah Napier to Sophia Fitzgerald, 17 July 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(6)).

⁵⁷ Sarah Napier to Sophia Fitzgerald, 17 July 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(6)).

British minister and diplomatic representatives in Hamburg to the Conolly family, which Sarah repeated to Sophia.⁵⁸

He said I am delighted you have given me an opportunity of mentioning that Lady which I wished to do, but finding her family silent I was so too – Ly Edward is well in health, naturally of a likely turn of mind she is cheerful – but never appears to lose sight of her misfortunes.⁵⁹

Craufurd's comment on the silence of the Conolly family in regard to Pamela is revealing. It suggested that they discussed their late nephew's wife as little as possible. However in the final paragraph Sarah gave both her own and Emily's opinion towards Pamela's marriage: 'we heard she was to be married and we hope she will be happy I most sincerely approve of her doing so, but we can never think anybody good enough for her.'⁶⁰ Regarding the choice Pamela made between Pitcairn and Harcourt, Sarah revealed some information that it ultimately came down to them two: 'Pitcairn admired her but it was thought she would not accept of him – and the same with a Col. Harcourt.'⁶¹ It is possible that Pitcairn, as an American diplomatic, may have offered more hope of access to England.

Remarriage after the death of a husband was a complex subject in both eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe as it was widely believed that a widow 'should not remarry but should remain in chaste widowhood.'⁶² Emily Fitzgerald's second marriage to William Ogilvie, was considered a scandal in the elite social circles of Ireland and England. Pamela's motives for a remarriage were simple: protection and finance. As a widow Pamela still

⁵⁸ James Kelly, 'Tandy, James Napper (1737–1803)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵⁹ Sarah Napier to Sophia Fitzgerald, 17 July 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(6)).

⁶⁰ Sarah Napier to Sophia Fitzgerald, 17 July 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(6)).

⁶¹ Sarah Napier to Sophia Fitzgerald, 17 July 1800 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(6)).

⁶² Hufton, *The prospect before her*, p. 37.

needed a husband to both provide for her financially and to protect her. Pamela's concerns after Edward's death reflected the reality that 'all widows faced a number of major questions almost immediately.'⁶³ Although under the protection of the Matthiessens while in Hamburg, Pamela felt the need to remarry in order to ensure her future security. From her letters with Harcourt it is fair to assume that an ulterior motive was also behind Pamela's desire to remarry. Marriage to Pitcairn raised the prospect of a return to England, at some point in the future.

Although Madame de Genlis was near Hamburg, it seemed Pamela did not visit her until 1800. Lord Henry and Lady Elizabeth Holland visited Hamburg on 17 July 1800, and Lady Elizabeth wrote in her diary about her encounter with Pamela while visiting the Matthiessens' house: 'On Wednesday we dined at Monsr. Mathisons's; he is a wealthy merchant married to Henriette, one of Mde. Genlis's élèves, and in consequence of her connection with Ly. Edward is become one of her most cordial and useful friends. Ly. Ed. Lives in his house.'⁶⁴ Elizabeth also mentioned that 'Mde. Genlis was just arrived from Berlin.'⁶⁵ This was probably Pamela's first encounter with her adoptive mother since 1796. The exact date of Pamela's remarriage is unknown. The explanation offered by Lucy Ellis and Joseph Turquan was that this was due to a fire that occurred in 1845 in Hamburg, in the church in which Pamela was married.⁶⁶ They couple were known to have married in the chapel of the Spanish Embassy in Hamburg, at the end of July.⁶⁷ News of their marriage did not reach English newspapers until late in 1800.⁶⁸

⁶³ Hufton, *The prospect before her*, p. 233.

⁶⁴ Earl of Ilchester (ed.), *The journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland (1791-1811)*, vol. 2., (London, 1909), p.110.

⁶⁵ Earl of Ilchester (ed.), *The journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*, vol. 2., p. 110.

⁶⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 376.

⁶⁷ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 310.

⁶⁸ *Bath Cronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 23 Oct. 1800.

Pamela was still the subject of discussion within the Fitzgerald family into 1801. In a letter to Lucy Fitzgerald, on 10 April 1801, Arthur O'Connor wrote: 'let me hear how poor Pamela does, she is at present in a troubled city but I take she will not experience any, pray remember me to her when you write to her.'⁶⁹ In September 1801, Lady Elizabeth Holland recalled Louisa Conolly's conduct towards Pamela and her attempts to alleviate political damage done to her through association with Edward:

Her manner of thinking of L[ad]y Ed[ward] is just such as you might expect from a candid true discriminating mind. As a witness of the progress of poor Lord Ed[ward]'s delusion, her testimony carries weight and her complete acquittal of Pamela either as promoter or accessory in his proceeding is sufficient.⁷⁰

It is significant that – for at least some in the family – Pamela's role was viewed as a loyal wife rather than a radical accessory. From Elizabeth's letter, it appears that the family were content to pinpoint the blame on 'his wandering among the savages in America, where his ardent imagination was captivated by beholding what he thought the charms of liberty and independence'.⁷¹

The friendships that Pamela had formed in Ireland became strained in the early nineteenth century. The letters between Arthur O'Connor and Lucy Fitzgerald are full of comments about Pamela and Arthur's fears that she had forgotten him: 'it is so long since I heard from her that I fear she has forgotten me.'⁷² Whether Lucy had direct correspondence with Pamela is unknown, however it seems from a letter written by Arthur on 4 March 1802 that he got a reply on her status: 'I am no less delighted to hear dear P[amela] is so happy, I

⁶⁹ Arthur O'Connor to Lucy Fitzgerald, 10 April 1801 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(11)).

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Holland to unknown, Sep. 1801 (P.R.O.N.I., McPeake (depositor) Papers, T3048/B/40).

⁷¹ Elizabeth Holland to unknown, Sep. 1801 (P.R.O.N.I., McPeake (depositor) Papers, T3048/B/40).

⁷² Arthur O'Connor to Lucy Fitzgerald, Feb. 1802 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(11)).

should almost to be remembered to her, least it may remind her of days of sorrow.⁷³ With Arthur's release from prison soon after this letter it seemed he had planned to visit Hamburg and stated to Lucy that 'if Pamela is there I shall see her and probably write you a line from there.'⁷⁴ The pair had not seen each other since Arthur's arrest in February, 1798.⁷⁵

With Pamela now remarried, the issue of finance re-emerged as a topic of serious debate in the Fitzgerald family. While the family had promised a yearly annuity to Pamela after Edward's death, the payment became a subject of tension within the family.⁷⁶ With regard to the estate of Kilrush that Edward had previously owned, Ogilvie was provided with the opportunity of buying this land prior to the act of attainder. As a result, it was up to him to on how the property should be used to assist Edward's family. A document compiled on the subject in 1802 addressed the issue:

He has planned the laying out of the fortune according to his own ideas of justice and propriety and will probably meet with entire approbation except from such as think Lord Edward's widow should have some mark bestowed on her of the respect due to her for his sake who loved her so much as she has done nothing to forfeit her claim to that respect but as this must be a matter of opinion it must rest on Mr. Ogilvie who undoubtedly has the right to dispose of it as he thinks fit.⁷⁷

Pamela often expressed her troubles with finance to Sophia, the only Fitzgerald family member who consistently wrote to her. Following a significant lapse in the correspondence between Pamela and Sophia Fitzgerald it resumed on 15 June 1802, with Pamela admitting

⁷³ Arthur O'Connor to Lucy Fitzgerald, 4 March 1802 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,005(11)).

⁷⁴ Arthur O'Connor to Lucy Fitzgerald, 12 June 1802 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers

⁷⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 338.

⁷⁶ Anonymous document on yearly annuity for Pamela Fitzgerald, Nov. 1798 (P.R.O.N.I., Leinster Papers, D3078/3/8/8).

⁷⁷ Outline of what Mr. Ogilvie has done relating to the Estate of Kilrush', 5 Feb. 1802 (Bodolian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Lett. C. 238-87-88-89).

her lack of letters to her: ‘Ma très chère Sophie, il y a longtems que je ne vous ai écrit / My dear Sophie, I have not written to you for a long while.’⁷⁸ Since her marriage to Pitcairn she was becoming accustomed to her new life: ‘Je suis fort occupé à la campagne ... notre terrains n’est pas très grand mais ce sera une habitation très agréable. / I am very busy in the countryside ... we do not have much land but it will be a lovely home.’⁷⁹ It was also one of the first letters in which Pamela signed off her with a new name after her marriage, Pamela Pitcairn.⁸⁰

Although many historians, such as Tillyard and Campbell, have claimed that the Fitzgerald family quickly cut off contact with Pamela as soon as she remarried, many of the letters between family members suggest otherwise. The correspondence between Emily Fitzgerald and her daughter Lucy Fitzgerald often mentioned Pamela. On 5 October 1802 Emily gave an indication that Pamela had planned to visit England, possibly as a result of safe access acquired through Pitcairn:

Mrs. Pitcairn don’t come and Mr. O[gilvie] is impatient to go, I shall leave her dear boy with Sophia. My brother has sent her by me a kind invitation to go to Goodwood and I hope she will come immediately after she arrive, I long to see her.⁸¹

It had been almost four years since Emily and Pamela had met. On 19 October of the same year Emily revealed her disappointment that ‘Mrs. Pitcairn don’t come I have given up all

⁷⁸ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 15 June 1802 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁷⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 15 June 1802 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁸⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 15 June 1802 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁸¹ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 5 Oct. 1802 (P.R.O.N.I, Strutt Papers, T3092/2/61).

thoughts of Goodwood and Cheltenham.’⁸² While Pamela’s reason for not travelling to England is unknown, Emily was undoubtedly upset at the fact she was not travelling. In a letter to her niece, Emily Napier, she wrote of her hope that she would still come: ‘I have not heard a great while from dear Pamela I hope her visit to her dear children is only put off not given up.’⁸³ Although Emily and Pamela did not keep up a consistent correspondence, Emily did not simply cut Pamela off after her second marriage.

The tension that arose with the Fitzgerald family and their situation with Pamela is evident in the obviously lessened correspondence as time progressed. Pamela did not write to Sophia again until 1 May 1803. Although remarried, Pamela’s letters were still etched with sentiments of unhappiness: ‘elle me fait que penser à son jour de naissance hélas il y a 9 ans comme j’étais heureuse mon Edw[ard] hélas mon Cœur le désire/She makes me think about the day she was born, goodness, 9 whole years ago now. I was so happy, my Edward. Oh! How my heart desires him.’⁸⁴ The letter also reveals continuing contact with her mother-in-law, Emily, although it may not have been as frequent as in previous years: ‘J’espère que la Duchesse a reçu une lettre de moi dans la qu’elle il y a avait une pour Edward!/ I hope that the Duchess received a letter from me in which there was one for Edward!’⁸⁵ Pamela’s eldest child, Edward Fox Fitzgerald, was at this time almost ten years old and a correspondence between the mother and son had obviously started. Pamela was possibly depressed at this point: ‘j’espère que la mort viendra bientôt mettre fin à toutes les peine de mon Cœur./ I hope that death will soon come and put an end to all the sorrows of my heart.’⁸⁶ Pamela’s

⁸² Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 19 Oct. 1802 (P.R.O.N.I, Strutt Papers, T3092/2/63).

⁸³ Emily Fitzgerald to Emily Napier, 29 Nov. 1802 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 40,242(17)).

⁸⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1 May 1803 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁸⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1 May 1803 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁸⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1 May 1803 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

separation from her family in England was becoming increasingly difficult for her and her eldest daughter. On Pamela's ninth birthday the lack of presents from her extended family troubled the young child.⁸⁷

By 1803, financial strains affected Emily and Pamela's relationship. In May, Emily Fitzgerald expressed frustration to her daughter Lucy, who evidently continued to maintain contact:

Let me know in your next all that Mrs. Pitcairn says about herself and child for she never writes to me which is very wrong and you should tell her so on Pamela's account. I have written her three letters to which I have got no answer ... She has never taken the least notice about the paper in which she must have seen at least how generous and kind William and Mr. Ogilive have been to her children if nothing more in giving up their debts and when she thinks what hear dear children wou'd have been in had the estate been sold by government to pay them and others she ought to be very thankful! I am afraid she has no gratitude in her composition!⁸⁸

Miscommunication remained a problem. In April 1804, Pamela complained to Sophia that she: 'êtes la seul qui répons plus à mes lettres Lucy ne répons plus à mes lettres/ is the only one who responds any more to my letters Lucy no longer replies to my letters.'⁸⁹ She also claimed that Emily did not write to her: 'j'ai écrit il n'y a deux mois une lettre à la chère Duchesse, sur des choses bien importantes elle n'a pas encore répondu/ Two months ago I

⁸⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 1 May 1803 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁸⁸ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 29 May 1803 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/69.)

⁸⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 13 April 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

wrote to the dear Duchess regarding important matters but she has not yet replied.’⁹⁰ While complaining about the lack of letters, Pamela also came to the more pressing issue of finance:

Il est honteux que depuis 3 longues années se soit Mr. Pitcairn qui supporte Mme. Fitzgerald, la Duchesse m’a toujours promis £60 sterling et je ne reçois pas un sou.⁹¹

It is shameful that for 3 long years Mr. Pitcairn has supported Miss Fitzgerald, the Duchess has always promised me £60 sterling and I have not received even a penny.

Pamela indicated that her finances had become precarious, which ensured that an income from the Fitzgerald family retained significance:

Je demande que l’on aye le bon de m’envoyer £180 sterling, dans une famille qui est si riche ce n’est pas une forte somme, Mr. Pitcairn ne peut plus me donner d’argent je suis dans le grand embarras.⁹²

I ask that you be kind enough to send me £180 sterling, in a family so rich it is not a large quantity. Mr. Pitcairn can no longer give me the money. I am quite mortified.

The evidence suggests, therefore, that the Fitzgerald family annual payment to Pamela had ceased, possibly on her marriage to Pitcairn.

As Pamela’s letters were dominated by finance it was inevitable that her complex relationship with Ogilvie would again resurface. Writing to Sophia on 29 May 1804 Pamela requested that money to be sent to her as soon as possible, but she recognised that Ogilvie had raised objections:

⁹⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 13 April 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁹¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 13 April 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁹² Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 13 April 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

Si monsieur O[gilive] craint que je ne mette à pare sur cette somme pour doter les enfants de Mr. Pitcairn, je pourrai faire passer tous les ans mes comptes. Je dis qu'il est bien mieux pour Mme Fitzgerald de recevoir cet argent de ses parents que de Mr. P[itcairn]. Moi je n'ai pas eu le bonheur d'apporter un sou en mariage à Pitcairn.⁹³

If Mr. O[gilive] is afraid that I will take money from this sum for Mr. Pitcairn's children, I can share my accounts each year. I believe it would be much better for Miss Fitzgerald to receive this money from her relations than Mr. Pitcairn. I did not have the luck to bring a penny to my marriage to Pitcairn.

Pamela was determined and insistent on receiving the money that was promised to her and her children: 'Je suis leurs mères et leurs tutrice et je ne compte pas remettre ces droits à au qu'on autre être sur terre. / I am their mother and their guardian and I do not intend to give up these rights to anyone else on earth.'⁹⁴ Pamela was especially concerned at the fate of Edward's former land at Kilrush:

L[or]d Henry qui est le tuteur de mes enfants n'a pas daigné m'écrire un mot sur l'arrangement des terres de Kilrush et si Mr. O[gilive] venait à mourir un sur l'arrangements ? Que devient la fortune de ces enfants faites-moi savoir cela.⁹⁵

Lord Henry who is the guardian of my children has not deigned to write to me regarding the arrangements for the land at Kilrush and what would happen if Mr. Ogilive were to die while one of the arrangements were being made? What becomes of these children's fortune, pray tell?

⁹³ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 29 May 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁹⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 29 May 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁹⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 29 May 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

Pamela's anger was clear. Ogilvie was disinclined to inform Pamela on how he was dealing with Edward's former estate. Her continuing dislike for Ogilvie is evident:

Je dois de la reconnaissance à Mr. Ogilvie aise pour sa conduite envers moi lorsque j'ai quitté l'Irlande venant voir moi belle-mère et lorsqu'ils furent obligé de quitter Londres il ne voulut pas me laisser rester chez lui.⁹⁶

I owe recognition to Mr. Ogilvie's for his behaviour towards me when I left Ireland, coming to see my mother in law, and when they were obliged to leave London, he did not want to allow me to stay in his home.

In fact, this letter – written in May 1804 – provides the first explanation for Pamela's negative attitude to Ogilvie in relation to her departure from London. At the same time, Pamela was still concerned as to Emily Fitzgerald's opinion of her: 'Oh mon Dieu j'espère qu'elle n'est pas bien fâchée contre moi / Oh my God I hope that she is not upset with me.'⁹⁷ In the final words of her letter she listed out the number of times she had written to family members and the responses she received:

J'ai écrit il y a 8 mois à Lady Louisa Conolly, Ly Sarah Napier, au Duc de Leinster, à Emily Napier 5 fois, à Lucy Foley une fois, à Lady Bella[mont] une fois, à Lady Charlotte, 2 fois au Duc de Richmond pas une seule lettres de toutes ses personnes.⁹⁸

I wrote 8 months ago to Lady Louisa Conolly, Lady Sarah Napier, to the duke of Leinster, to Emily Napier 5 times, to Lucy Foley once, to Lady Bellamont once, to

⁹⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 29 May 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁹⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 29 May 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

⁹⁸ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 29 May 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

Lady Charlotte, twice to the duke of Richmond and not a word from any of these people.

The lack of communication brought her to the brink of argument with her family. The fears she had expressed in late 1798 were now, apparently, realised. Given Pamela's desperate attempts to secure financial aid from her relatives, it can be assumed Pitcairn refused to pay for Pamela's daughter's upbringing and education.

Prior to 1798 the depth of the relationship between Pamela and Lucy was evident in their letters. Edward's death had seriously affected Lucy and their correspondence was limited in the early nineteenth century. In a letter to Sophia, on 11 December 1804, Pamela expressed her anguish at having not heard from Lucy: 'Lucy! Cette amie si tendre, si amiable m'a complètement oublié je ne puis comprendre ce changement / Lucy! That friend so tender, so friendly has completely forgotten me I cannot understand this change.'⁹⁹ Lucy had only recently been married herself, to a Captain Thomas Foley in July 1802, and she moved to a house in the country at Abermarlais in Carmarthenshire.¹⁰⁰ While the lack of correspondence from the rest of the Fitzgerald family was probably related to Pamela's demands for money, the reason for Lucy's reluctance to write to Pamela is less clear. In another letter written on 2 April 1805 to Sophia, the lack of letters Pamela received is evident: 'Il y a plus de cinq semaines que je n'ai reçue des nouvelles d'Angleterre / It was five weeks ago that I received news from England.'¹⁰¹ An interesting aspect of this letter is Pamela's mention of Tony Small, the African American former slave who had served

⁹⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 11 Dec. 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

¹⁰⁰ Liam Chambers, 'Lady Lucy Anne Fitzgerald (1771-1851)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁰¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 2 Apr. 1805 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

Edward. After the death of Edward, Small had not travelled with Pamela to Hamburg. In her letter to Sophia, Pamela made her first mention of Tony:

C'est pour vous parler du bon Small, sa santé est beaucoup meilleur et j'espère qu'au mois d'avril il pourra aller en Angleterre mais il faut que vous lui envoyai un passeport pour lui et sa femme.¹⁰²

It is to speak to you about the good Small, his health is much improved and I hope that in the month of April he will be able to go to England but you must send a passport for him and his wife.

Since her marriage in 1800, Pamela had not mentioned a pregnancy in her correspondence with Sophia. However, Pamela still had to fulfil her role as a wife to Pitcairn, which was to provide him with children. In sharp contrast to the letters written during her pregnancies with Edward, there was little mention of her children with Pitcairn. There was no mention of the birth of her daughter Helen, in 1803, who was named after Pitcairn's sister, Helen Brodie.¹⁰³ Pamela briefly mentioned her daughter in a letter to Sophia on 13 April 1804 in which she stated: 'Je suis malade, je viens de sevrer mon petite fille j'ai la fièvre ainsi pardonnes mon griffonnage. / I am sick, I have just weaned my little daughter and I have a fever so pardon my scribbles.'¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, in 1805 Pamela wrote to Sophia on the birth of a son, on 2 April. 'Ma santé est fort et je suis heureusement accouchée d'un petit garçon, il y a maintenant trois semaines ce qui fait que je ne vais pas vous écrire une très longue lettre. / I am in good health and happily gave birth to a little boy, now three weeks ago

¹⁰² Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 2 Apr. 1805 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

¹⁰³ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 382.

¹⁰⁴ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 13 April 1804 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

so that I will not be writing you a very long letter.’¹⁰⁵ However, Pamela revealed no further news of this son and it can be presumed that the child died in infancy. After the death of their son, the relationship between Pamela and Pitcairn began to deteriorate and there is no evidence of another pregnancy. The birth of a new child may have put further strain in the relationship between Pamela and the Fitzgerald family.

In 1806 it became apparent that Pamela planned to return to England to see her children. During a brief period of peace after the battle of Austerlitz, Pamela deemed it sufficiently safe to travel to England.¹⁰⁶ The British government, it seemed, permitted Pamela’s return to England despite the fact she was originally exiled from there in 1798. She left for England in June 1806 along with her eldest daughter Pamela.¹⁰⁷ Pitcairn and their daughter, Helen, remained behind in Hamburg. Pamela was noted in Frances Waddington’s letters while at Sarah Napier’s house, who was a friend of the family: ‘Pamela a Frenchwoman, the daughter and élève of Mme. De Genlis, is one of the very sweetest creatures I ever had the pleasure of beholding ... she ran into the room looking not more than six and twenty.’¹⁰⁸ Why Pamela did not immediately go to Sophia Fitzgerald’s home in Thames Ditton, where her daughter Lucy was, is not clear. Instead, she and her daughter took residence at Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, in London, at least initially.¹⁰⁹ On 28 July 1806, Pamela wrote to Sophia Fitzgerald: ‘Je vous serai très obliges de me prêter jusqu’a la semaine prochaine £15 en billet de banque. / I will be very obliged if you could lend me £15

¹⁰⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 2 Apr. 1805 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

¹⁰⁶ Johnathan Sperber, *Revolutionary Europe: 1780-1850*, (Essex, 2000), p. 184; *Morning Advertiser*, 3 Jan. 1806.

¹⁰⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 387.

¹⁰⁸ Hare, *The life and letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen*, p.75.

¹⁰⁹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 28 July 1806 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

in bank notes until next week.’¹¹⁰ It was not until August that Pamela was finally reunited with the two children that she had not seen in almost eight years. This happened at Worthing, Sussex, where Pamela, Sophia, Emily Fitzgerald and Ogilvie would reunite with the three children Edward, Pamela and Lucy: ‘But Mr. O[gilvie], Eddy and I shall go as soon as we can, Pamela, Sophia and their girls are very impatient to be gone and only wait for lodgings.’¹¹¹

The extent of Pamela’s stay in England was not planned, but she had hoped to take up accommodation in London:

Dear Eddy has now only three weeks and some days more of his holidays remaining which would make it not worthwhile for us to unsettle, Pamela has taken a lodging in London and will come home every Friday and stay till Monday while his holiday lasts. She will then go to sea with little Pam, Sophia and Lucy.¹¹²

On 25 August, Emily informed Lucy that ‘Mrs. Pitcairn has taken a house in Jermyn Street for six months she expects Mr. Pitcairn in Nov[ember].’¹¹³ How Pamela financed her accommodation is unknown and why she did not stay at the home of one of her relatives raises an interesting question. She appears to have run up substantial expenses, with Miss Dean, a governess employed to teach Pamela English, a French governess for Lucy, a lady’s maid and a coach and coachman.¹¹⁴ Emily Fitzgerald also took this time to bond with her eldest granddaughter, Pamela: ‘I have had Pamela here these last 3 or 4 days reading ... poems on imagination and a new volume of Genlis, she has been very pleasant and made Ciss

¹¹⁰ Pamela Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 28 July 1806 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,004(13)).

¹¹¹ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 7 Aug. 1806 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/163).

¹¹² Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 13 Aug. 1806 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/164).

¹¹³ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 25 Aug. 1806 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/165).

¹¹⁴ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 390.

and I laugh very often.’¹¹⁵ The English press noted Pamela’s appearance in England, particularly given the length of her stay:

The relict of the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald ci-devant the celebrated Pamela, is married to a Mr. Pitcairn and now once more a resident in the vicinity of London. This lady, who has known so many reverses of fortune is said to have become the protégé of the Duchess Dowager of Leinster in absence of her husband Mr. P. who was abroad.¹¹⁶

By 1807 Pamela began to look ill and there was no news on the arrival of her husband at all.¹¹⁷ When her lease agreement ended, Pamela remained on in England, choosing to stay with Sophia for the remainder of her time in the country. Her health did not seem to improve as time passed: ‘Pamela is in high spirits but very ill I think, Pitcairn seems to think her liver is attack’d but this I also think seems to be the case now with everybody.’¹¹⁸ This was the first indication that Pitcairn had actually followed his wife to England and met her former relations.

It can be presumed that Pamela remained in England with the Fitzgerald family for almost two years, although she is not mentioned again in correspondence until 1808. However, finally, Pamela’s financial troubles created a crisis. Pitcairn was no longer going to finance her stay in England and she was eventually sought after by creditors.¹¹⁹ As a result, Pamela left England with her eldest daughter, Pamela. Not willing to return to her husband in Hamburg, though he proposed it, she intended to return to France in search of the annuity she

¹¹⁵ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 6 Oct. 1806 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/168).

¹¹⁶ *Belfast Newsletter*, 6 Oct. 1807.

¹¹⁷ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 7 Jan. 1807 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/178).

¹¹⁸ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 25 Feb. 1807 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/187).

¹¹⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 391.

had been promised by the Orléans family.¹²⁰ Pamela wrote to Madame de Genlis, who had been living in Paris since 1802, before her arrival in France in March 1808.¹²¹ She had been provided with accommodation in the Arsenal on the basis that she would produce literary material favourable to Napoleon.¹²² Madame de Genlis feared that Pamela's arrival would compromise her and remind both Napoleon and French social circles of her former connections to the Orléans family and, as a result, she strongly advised Pamela to return to her husband in Hamburg.¹²³ However, Pamela disagreed and soon left for France with her daughter and her daughter's governess, Miss Dean.¹²⁴ A newspaper described the rather adventurous trip Pamela encountered as she fled from creditors to France. Dressed entirely in disguise as a sailor, Pamela boarded a ship, hiding in the carriages of a Prince Esterhazy to avoid capture.¹²⁵ Casimir Baecker, the adopted son of Madame de Genlis, whom she renamed after her own deceased son, wrote to his mother on encountering Pamela while on his way from England to France:

En revenant en France, il trouva à Douvres Pamela logeant dans la même auberge; Casimir étoit avec le prince d'Esterházy, qui le ramenoit en France sur un paquebot à lui. Le soir de son arrivée à Douvres, Pamela fit prier Casimir de passer chez elle ; il y alla et la trouva en larmes : elle lui dit qu'elle étoit poursuivie par des créanciers qui l'arrêteroient, la forceroient de retourner à Londres, où elle retrouveroit d'autres créanciers et d'horribles embarras.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 350.

¹²¹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, pp 330-1.

¹²² Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 330.

¹²³ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 393.

¹²⁴ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 393.

¹²⁵ *Stamford Mercury*, 19 Feb. 1808.

¹²⁶ Madame de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 5, pp 223-4.

On returning to France, he found Pamela in Dover lodging at the same inn; Casimir was with the Prince of Esterházy, who was taking him back to France on his liner. The evening he arrived in Dover, Pamela begged Casimir to come to her house; he went there and found her in tears: she told him that she was being pursued by creditors who would arrest her, forcing her to return to London, where she would find other creditors and a great deal of horrible embarrassment.

Pamela arrived in France in March 1808, a fact reported to the minister of war:

Monsieur, j'ai reçu de Madame de Genlis et j'ai l'honneur de transmettre à notre excellence une réclamation relative à une dame Pitcairn anglaise qui est récemment arrive à Calais.¹²⁷

Sir, I have news from Madame de Genlis and I have the honour of passing on a complaint to our Excellency relating to an English lady, Pitcairn, who recently arrived at Calais.

Prior to this report, a Dublin newspaper had commented on her arrival in France:

Lady Pamela Fitzgerald was arrested at Calais on her arrival from Dover. She was informed that there was an order not to permit her to land, notwithstanding the passport she had obtained in the name of Madame Du Port. She had the address however to soften the police, so far as to procure leave to remain under arrest until they could send to Paris for instructions.¹²⁸

Pamela had not been in France since 1792. Madame de Genlis had written to the French government in Pamela's favour, hoping that it would exempt her from being targeted by the

¹²⁷ The Minister of War to the War Division, 11 Mar. 1808 (A.N, Affaires Politiques, Ministère de l'Intérieur, F/7/6521).

¹²⁸ *Dublin Evening Post*, 3 Mar. 1808.

government. The extent to which Pamela feared arrest can be seen in her attempts to hide her identity. She arrived in Calais: ‘sous le nom de Dufour’.¹²⁹ A document describing her arrival also claimed that: ‘Et se disant épouse d’un Américain qu’elle se prépose de rejoindre à Hambourg./ And claiming to be the wife of an American that she intended to re-join in Hamburg.’¹³⁰ However the author of the letter strongly believed that Pamela had other intentions:

Mais rien n’annonce encore qu’elle ait le projet d’aller rejoindre ce dernier à Hambourg. Du moins jusqu’à présent elle n’en a pas fait le demande et j’ai quelque lieu de croire au contraire qu’elle a le projet d’aller en Allemagne. Ou sur plus je ne pense pas qu’elle doive être traitée comme Anglaise puisqu’il est certain qu’elle a été élevée en France.¹³¹

But there is nothing to indicate that she plans to re-join him in Hamburg. At least, she has not so far requested to do so and I have some reason to believe, on the contrary, that she intends to go to Germany. And what’s more, I do not think that she should be treated as an Englishwoman since it is certain that she was raised in France.

Madame de Genlis quickly wrote to her adopted daughter on her arrival, hoping to convince her to travel on to Hamburg.¹³² However, ‘malgré toutes mes exhortations, elle arrivoit. / In spite of all my urgings, she arrived.’¹³³ Madame de Genlis was willing to let Pamela stay with her under one condition ‘qu’elle ne recevoit que les personnes de ma connoissance. Elle

¹²⁹ Le Sénateur Ministre de la Police to Unknown, Mar. 1808 (A.N, Affaires Politiques, Ministère de l’Intérieur .F/7/6521).

¹³⁰ Le Sénateur Ministre de la Police to Unknown, Mar. 1808 (A.N, Affaires Politiques, Ministère de l’Intérieur , F/7/6521).

¹³¹ Le Sénateur Ministre de la Police to Unknown, Mar. 1808 (A.N, Affaires Politiques, Ministère de l’Intérieur , F/7/6521).

¹³² Madame de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 5, p. 224.

¹³³ Madame de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 5, p. 224.

refusa toutes ces offres. / That she would receive only people of her acquaintance. She refused all these offers.¹³⁴ Madame de Genlis arranged for other lodging for Pamela and her daughter, at a small apartment, near the Arsenal, in the Palais Royal.¹³⁵ Travelling in Europe during the Napoleonic wars was difficult and dangerous, especially for the supposed daughter of the duke of Orléans who was also suspected of being involved in the Irish rebellion of 1798. The relationship between Pamela and Madame de Genlis became strained. The latter wrote to her daughter, Pulcherie Valence, on the subject:

D'ailleurs dans tout ceci, Pamela s'est si mal conduite et avec si peu de tendresse et de respect pour moi, ne daignant même pas répondre à mes lettres que je suis moins que jamais disposée à faire une imprudence pour elle.¹³⁶

Incidentally in all this, Pamela behaves so badly and with so little tenderness and respect for me, even not deigning to reply to my letters that I am less than ever disposed to make imprudence for her.

The manner of Pamela's departure impacted on the Fitzgerald family. Emily Fitzgerald wrote to Lucy on 28 March 1808: 'after what passed on her leaving England in the disgraceful manner she did, it is however very interesting and will amuse you, whether we are to believe all she says in it is another question.'¹³⁷ Evidently Emily was more concerned about the Fitzgerald name, which in previous years had already come under scrutiny because of Pamela. Emily also expressed the hope that she could find a way to obtain guardianship over her eldest granddaughter:

¹³⁴ Madame de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 5, pp 224-5.

¹³⁵ Madame de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, vol. 5, p. 225.

¹³⁶ Madame de Genlis to Pulcherie Valence, n.d., cited in Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 316.

¹³⁷ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 28 March 1808 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/213).

Thank God our precious little Pamela is well! You are not singular in your wish to have her dear little angel! Her mother did promise to send her back in two years but we know too well how little that is to be depended on, we mean to watch whatever there can be any way best upon to recover this little treasure.¹³⁸

Emily's letters underline the fact that her primary concern was Edward's children rather than Pamela. Her attitude towards Pamela's promise to return her daughter to her in two years is revealing. The relationship between Pamela and Emily had clearly changed drastically.

The Fitzgerald family did not comment on Pamela's abrupt departure again until 19 April 1808. Emily revealed that none of the family had heard from Pamela since she had left: 'There is no account come of Mrs. Pitcairn or dear little Pamela which is very uncomfortable.'¹³⁹ Upon meeting Henriette Matthiessen who was visiting her aunt in Paris, Pamela agreed to accompany her to Vienna.¹⁴⁰ Henriette had divorced her husband in the summer of 1801 and married Henri de Finguerlin who was involved in the wool trade in the Austrian capital.¹⁴¹ In a letter to her grandmother, young Pamela claimed that she and her mother had arrived in Vienna on 13 May 1808.¹⁴² By this stage a correspondence between Emily Fitzgerald and her granddaughter had evidently commenced. On 29 June 1808 Emily Fitzgerald had heard from her eldest granddaughter, Pamela, rather than Pamela herself:

I have had a letter from our precious little Pamela, she says they are very well but I do not like the date, Vienna they are there she says for three or four months and then

¹³⁸ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 28 March 1808 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/213).

¹³⁹ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 19 April 1808 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/238).

¹⁴⁰ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 398.

¹⁴¹ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 316.

¹⁴² Pamela Fitzgerald (junior) to Emily Fitzgerald, 19 May 1808, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 398.

return to Paris, her Mama joins her in love to all the family, desires me to tell her brother and sister that she like Madame de Genlis very much.¹⁴³

With no financial aid from either the Fitzgeralds or her husband Pitcairn, Pamela was once again left on her own to provide for herself and her daughter.

On Pamela's relationship with her husband, Joseph Pitcairn, little is known following her arrival in Vienna. Given her financial status in England and rumours surrounding her intentions in Vienna, it can be presumed that Pitcairn did not agree with Pamela's refusal to return to Hamburg.¹⁴⁴ News had spread of Pamela's arrival in Paris with the help of Prince Esterhazy and the fact that they had travelled together to Vienna also encouraged rumours that Pamela had eloped with the prince.¹⁴⁵ While no correspondence between the couple is extant, relatives of Pitcairn claimed that she had left Pitcairn for Esterhazy and that his wife had eventually died in a convent in Vienna.¹⁴⁶ As a result, Pamela's marriage ended, although it seemed neither Pitcairn nor Pamela pushed for a legal divorce, perhaps because of Pamela's Catholicism.¹⁴⁷ Pitcairn maintained custody of their only surviving child, Helen. Pamela and her eldest daughter stayed in Vienna for the winter of 1808-9, along with their governess Miss Dean.¹⁴⁸ At the same time that Pamela arrived in Vienna, Austria was in the midst of a war with France, with the French emerging victorious at the Battle of Wagram in July 1809.¹⁴⁹ This also proved to be a turning point in the war for France. Soon after it appears that Pamela had obtained permission to return to France from

¹⁴³ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 29 June 1808 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/221).

¹⁴⁴ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 399-400.

¹⁴⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 399-400.

¹⁴⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 400.

¹⁴⁷ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 238.

¹⁴⁸ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 401.

¹⁴⁹ Sperber, *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 193.

Napoleon, at the hands of General de Lawoestine, Madame de Genlis' son-in-law.¹⁵⁰ When Pamela arrived in France she was determined to obtain the annuity that had been promised to her by the Orléans family, however the family themselves had no claim to any money. Pamela 'therefore hired a flat which was rather close to the Arsenal', along with her daughter Pamela who often visited de Genlis.¹⁵¹ Contact with the Fitzgerald family was minimal and almost a year after their arrival in Paris it seemed that they were unaware of Pamela's and her daughter's departure from Austria.¹⁵² In a letter to Emily Fitzgerald, on 18 March 1810, her son Henry claimed to have heard from a Mr. Collard who knew Pamela in Vienna.¹⁵³ It is understandable that the Fitzgerald family were concerned as to Pamela's whereabouts; their main worry was her eldest daughter Pamela. Due to her financial difficulty Pamela accepted an offer made by Madame de Genlis' daughter, Pulcherie, Madame de Valence, to stay at their home in Romainville.¹⁵⁴

By 1811 Pamela had no choice but to send her eldest daughter Pamela back to the Fitzgeralds in England. Financially she could not provide for her upbringing and her education, while simultaneously finding a safe and secure place to live. When Emily Fitzgerald had heard of an arranged marriage planned by Madame Valence for young Pamela, who was then just fifteen, Emily implored her mother to send her back to England to finish her education.¹⁵⁵ Despite her reluctance to part with her daughter, Pamela agreed 'preferring the sacrifice of her own happiness to the possibility of an unhappy future for her beloved

¹⁵⁰ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 402.

¹⁵¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 403.

¹⁵² Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 408.

¹⁵³ Henry Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 18 March 1810, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 408.

¹⁵⁴ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 409.

¹⁵⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 413; Brian Fitzgerald, *Emily Duchess of Leinster 1731-1814: a study of her life and times*, (Rochester, 1949), p. 283.

child by an ill-assorted marriage.’¹⁵⁶ On 18 May 1811, Pamela’s fifteenth birthday, her mother wrote her a letter on the emotional pain she felt in parting from her:

Il est cinq heures ma bien aimée, ainsi je renonce encore aujourd’hui un bonheur de te voir et de te donner ma bénédiction. Reçois là donc de loin ma bien aimée, ainsi que tous les vœux que je forme pour ton bonheur !¹⁵⁷

It is five o’clock my beloved, so once again I will give up on my happiness of seeing you and giving you my blessing. I send this to you, my love, as well as all my hopes that you would be happy.

On 26 May, Pamela finally sent her daughter to England.¹⁵⁸ Monsieur de Valence accompanied Pamela to Holland, where she was to meet her first cousin Henry Fitzgerald, the son of Henry Fitzgerald, Edward’s brother, and then travel to England to be reunited with her grandmother.¹⁵⁹ Pamela had sacrificed her last child in her company in favour of their own upbringing. Her daughter had been her constant companion since she had left Ireland in 1798 and, consequently, this separation was especially challenging for Pamela.

At the age of thirty eight, Pamela was in almost alone in her new residence in Malbary, France.¹⁶⁰ She had once again found herself in trouble with creditors and, in a letter she wrote to her eldest daughter Pamela in 1811, she expressed her fear at being caught.¹⁶¹ ‘Eh bien, je ne te verrai que lorsque les créanciers seront un peu apaisés, puisque tu crains que cela ne me fasse découvrir, ainsi j’attendrai. /Well, I will only see you when the creditors

¹⁵⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 414.

¹⁵⁷ Pamela Fitzgerald to Pamela Campbell, 18 May 1811 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,015).

¹⁵⁸ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 414.

¹⁵⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 415.

¹⁶⁰ Madame de Genlis to Casimir Baecker, n.d., cited in Henry Lapauze (ed.), *Lettres inédites de Mme de Genlis à son fils adoptif Casimir Baecker (1802-1830)*, (Paris, 1902), p. 192.

¹⁶¹ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, pp 235-236.

have been somewhat appeased. You fear it will only lead them to me, so I will wait.’¹⁶² From letters between Madame de Genlis and her adopted son, Casimir, it appears that Pamela remained hiding in from her creditors:

P[amela] est toujours cachée; grâce à nos précautions, cela ne fait nul bruit et n’est pas su. Elle sera force d’aller passer trois ou quatre ans dans un petit coin de la Suisse. Ah ! Quelle horrible folie de ne pas compter et de faire des dettes!¹⁶³

Pamela is still in hiding; thanks to our precautions, there is no rumours and is not known. She will be forced to go and spend three or four years in a small corner in Switzerland. Oh! What horrible madness not to count and make up debts!

From a letter exchanged between Emily Fitzgerald and Lucy, it appears that Lucy had paid a visit to her sister-in-law on 28 September 1811: ‘I hope Pamela has scolded you for me for your venturesome tricks frisking about the French coast and getting yourselves shot at and bombs breaking over your head.’¹⁶⁴ This visit is not mentioned in other letters of the family or by Pamela herself. Previous evidence suggested that Pamela and Lucy had very little contact with each other after Edward’s death. However, this visit prompts the opinion that correspondence between Pamela and Lucy may simply have been lost.

By 1813, Pamela had resumed a correspondence with Emily. In these letters, Pamela revealed the extent to which she felt the loss of her children:

Oh! Maman que vous êtes heureuse, moi hélas je n’ai point ma Pame[la] pour me consoler, mon sacrifice a été grand mais j’espère que le Bonheur de cette chère bien

¹⁶² Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. 236.

¹⁶³ Madame de Genlis to Casimir Baecker, n.d., cited in Henry Lapauze (ed.), *Lettres inédites de Mme de Genlis à son fils adoptif Casimir Baecker (1802-1830)* (Paris, 1902), p. 192.

¹⁶⁴ Emily Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 28 Sep. 1811 (P.R.O.N.I., Strutt Papers, T3092/2/312).

aimée fille et l'estime de mes amis en seront la récompense, cette idée seule peut adoucir les souffrances d'un aussi pénible sacrifice.¹⁶⁵

Oh ! Mother, you are so fortunate As for me, I do not have my Pamela to console me, my sacrifice has been great but I hope that the happiness of this beloved daughter and the esteem of my friends will be my reward, this idea alone can soften the blows of the suffering caused by such a painful sacrifice.

Despite the obvious tension that was evident between Pamela and Emily during the former's last visit to England, their overall relationship remained strong, as indicated by Pamela's letter:

Adieu chère Maman ménagez bien votre précieuse santé et recevez avec votre bonté ordinaire les assurances de ma vive tendresse et de mon profond respecte, votre fille
Pamela Ed. Fitzgerald.¹⁶⁶

Goodbye dear mother, take good care of your precious health and receive with your usual kindness assurances of my deepest affection and deep respect, your daughter
Pamela Ed. Fitzgerald.

Significantly, Pamela signed using Edward's name, despite her marriage to Pitcairn. From this point until her death, Pamela continued to use the Fitzgerald name. Despite the complex relationship that Pamela maintained with the Fitzgeralds, she still saw herself as a member of their family. Emily Fitzgerald died on 27 March 1814 and this had an important impact on Pamela.¹⁶⁷ Pamela's eldest daughter was then placed in the care of Sophia Fitzgerald,

¹⁶⁵ Pamela Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 4 March 1813 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 40,242 (26)).

¹⁶⁶ Pamela Fitzgerald to Emily Fitzgerald, 4 March 1813 (N.L.I., Conolly-Napier Papers, MSS 40,242 (26)).

¹⁶⁷ Fitzgerald, *Emily Duchess of Leinster 1731-1814*, p. 284.

alongside her sister Lucy. As a distance began to grow between Pamela and the Fitzgerald family once again, so did their correspondence.

Pamela also resumed contact with her estranged husband Pitcairn in 1813, despite the deterioration in their relationship. Pamela often wrote to inquire about her daughter, Helen, and her upbringing. Pitcairn had remained in Hamburg, while their daughter Helen was with relatives in Scotland. Pamela requested assistance from her husband, who agreed to provide her with a yearly allowance of 3,000 francs.¹⁶⁸ In relation to Helen, Pitcairn disapproved a correspondence between the mother and daughter, stating that she was too young to understand their separation and ‘when her reason is more matured on her 16th or 17th birthday, if you wish it and desire it I shall inform her of your existence’.¹⁶⁹ In 1813, Pitcairn harshly told Pamela to refrain from writing to Helen: ‘You have done right in sending away one daughter, you will do still better in leaving the other in repose – without disturbing her mind with questions, no way increasing her happiness and perhaps dangerous to hers.’¹⁷⁰ The overall tone of Pitcairn’s letters conveys a distinct sense of contempt for Pamela. Helen resided in Edinburgh at the time, for her education, She would later re-join her father in Hamburg before their departure for America in 1824.¹⁷¹ Helen’s first marriage, to a Baron Cirsovius in New York, was not a happy one and, following his death, she married a Scotsman called McCorquodale in 1846.¹⁷² Pitcairn, in 1813, outlined his financial involvement with Pamela and revealed the extent of the debts she still owed. Her finances were to be left in the care of Alexandre Pieyre, a private secretary of Mademoiselle Adélaïde,

¹⁶⁸ Joseph Pitcairn to Mr. Brodie, n.d., cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 422-423.

¹⁶⁹ Joseph Pitcairn to Mr. Brodie, n.d., cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 423.

¹⁷⁰ Joseph Pitcairn to Pamela Fitzgerald, February 1813, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 423.

¹⁷¹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 426.

¹⁷² Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 426.

her childhood companion.¹⁷³ Pitcairn was cautious about leaving any sum of money in Pamela's control as he feared that she would renew her old tendencies to live beyond her means: 'M. Pieyre dissuades putting much money at Lady Edward's disposal, as she might thus have renewed that vanity which has been so injurious to her.'¹⁷⁴

Following a series of military defeats, Napoleon was forced to abdicate as emperor of France and was exiled to island of Elba in 1814.¹⁷⁵ Mademoiselle Adélaïde and the duke of Orléans returned to France once their cousin, Louis XVIII, was restored to the French throne.¹⁷⁶ Pamela was eager to reclaim the annuity that was promised to her and travelled to the Palais Royal. However, the duke was not willing to pay the entire amount and, instead, he decided 'to pay her allowance to her as from the 1st of January, 1815, with the exception of 2,000 francs a year, which Pamela resigned in favour of Madame de Genlis'.¹⁷⁷ As noted in chapter one, it seems that Madame de Genlis was determined to prove that Pamela was not, in fact, her daughter in order to distance herself from her during this period. She had obtained an act signed by Mary Sims and Nathaniel Forth in 1784 that proved that Pamela was obtained in return for a small sum of money, on which Pamela signed stating: 'Moi, Pamela Syms (Lady Edward Fitzgerald), je reconnais avoir reçu de Mme la comtesse de Genlis l'original de cet acte. Paris – le 8 janvier 1815.'¹⁷⁸

As her eldest daughter, Pamela, was fifteen years of age when she had left her mother in Paris, she was of age to keep up as consistent correspondence. While not all of the letters they exchanged are extant, it can be assumed they often wrote to each other. An unknown author, in a letter to Pamela Campbell, informed her of a letter she sent to her

¹⁷³ Ferdinand Philippe, duc d'Orléans, *Souvenirs 1810-1830*, (Paris 1993), p. 94.

¹⁷⁴ Joseph Pitcairn to Mr. Brodie, 1815, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 425.

¹⁷⁵ Sperber, *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 203.

¹⁷⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 419.

¹⁷⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 420.

¹⁷⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 417.

mother: 'votre lettre pour elle est parti / your letter for her has left.'¹⁷⁹ Although Pamela was no longer in extensive contact with the Fitzgerald family, she was occasionally mentioned in the letters and diaries of other relatives. During a visit to Paris in 1815, Lady Caroline Fox wrote of meeting and dining with Pamela: 'We dined with Lady Edward and met there the Count of Ponte Coulant who talked a great deal on the subject of French politics and his conversation was interesting and curious.'¹⁸⁰ Evidently Pamela continued to engage in political discussion. In fact, there is significant evidence that Pamela had come under surveillance by the French government on account of her previous radical links. According to a government report, by 1816 Pamela still had some serious financial problems which had forced her to seek refuge in a convent the Abbaye aux Bois, on the rue de Sèvres in Paris:

Madame Fitzgerald (Pamella) âgée d'environ 40 ans, demeurant à l'Abbaye aux Bois depuis 6 mois, qui est, dit-on fille naturelle du duc d'Orléans, a été élevée avec les enfants de ce prince par Madame de Genlis qui vient quelquefois la voir à l'abbaye.¹⁸¹

Madame Fitzgerald (Pamela) around 40 years of age, living in the Abbaye aux Bois for 6 months, who is, as one says the natural daughter of the duke of Orleans, was raised with the children of the prince by Madame de Genlis who comes to see her sometimes at the abbey.

News of Pamela's financial difficulties had even reached the government: 'elle ne peut payer sa pension à l'abbaye, elle y en outre des petites dettes criardes et est harcelée par des créanciers qu'elle a en ville. / she is not able to pay her pension to the abbey; she also has small debts which make themselves loudly known despite their size and she is harassed by

¹⁷⁹ Unknown to Pamela Campbell, 10 Aug. 1815 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Papers, MSS 35,015 (18)).

¹⁸⁰ Diary of Lady Caroline Fox, 1 Sep. 1815 (Bodleian Library, Napier Papers, MSS Eng. Misc. e. 604).

¹⁸¹ Attribution du Ministère, 21 Nov. 1816 (A.N, Affaires Politiques, Ministère de l'Intérieur, F/7/6521).

the creditors that she has in the town.’¹⁸² Financially broken and dependant on a convent, Pamela found herself becoming more reclusive as her health deteriorated: ‘Madame Fitzgerald, presque toujours malade d’un rhumatisme à la tête, sort très rarement et ne reçoit presque personne. / Madame Fitzgerald, almost always sick from rheumatism of the head, leaves very rarely and receives rarely anyone.’¹⁸³ In fact, government officials had marked Pamela as a potential radical as a result of her Orleanist and revolutionary connections. The people she associated with were watched and noted. In 1818, for example, a government correspondent commented that she: ‘recevrait dans sa demeure, rue St. Lazare, plusieurs personnes connues pour leurs mauvaises opinions politiques. / received in her home, Rue St. Lazare, several peoples known for their bad political opinions.’¹⁸⁴

It appears that Pamela’s relationship with her former companion Adélaïde Orléans had deteriorated. In a letter to Casimir, Madame de Genlis accounted for the hostility between the two:

M. Pieyre m’écrit quatre pages de fureur contre P[amela], tout à fait démasquée. Mlle d’Orléans, indignée (dit-il) de tous ses mensonges qui lui font connaître beaucoup de calomnies, ne veut jamais la revoir ni entendre parler d’elle, et le lui a fait dire.¹⁸⁵

Mr. Pieyre has written me four pages of quite undisguised fury against P[amela]. Mademoiselle d’Orléans, offended (he says) about all her lies which have caused **her** much defamation. He never wants to see her or hear of her again and has told her as much.

¹⁸² Attribution du Ministère, 21 Nov. 1816 (A.N, Affaires Politiques, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F/7/6521).

¹⁸³ Attribution du Ministère, 21 Nov. 1816 (A.N, Affaires Politiques,, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F/7/6521).

¹⁸⁴ Unknown, 6 Oct. 1818 (A.N, Affaires Politiques, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F/7/6521).

¹⁸⁵ Henry Lapauze (ed.), *Lettres inédites de Mme de Genlis à son fils adoptif Casimir Baecker (1802-1830)*, (Paris, 1902), p. 325.

It is not clear what gave rise to Adélaïde accusing Pamela of lying but it was obviously serious enough to end their friendship. However, despite the antipathy between them Adélaïde paid for Pamela's funeral after her death in 1831.¹⁸⁶

Pamela's relationships with her adult children varied. In relation to her eldest son, Edward, there is no significant evidence to suggest the pair maintained a correspondence. Edward Fox Fitzgerald left Eton College in 1809 and attended military college at Marlow where he eventually became a lieutenant in the 10th Hussars.¹⁸⁷ In 1813 the young lieutenant was posted to the Peninsular war and, in 1818, visited his mother in France.¹⁸⁸ With little or no correspondence with Edward for much of his childhood and adolescence, it is understandable that this visit would have been difficult for Pamela. He was recalled to England to the army in the spring of 1819.¹⁸⁹ In a letter between young Pamela and one of her closest friends, Emily Eden, around the time of Edward's departure, the agony at leaving his mother is evident: 'I had a letter from Edward a few days ago, written from the Slough of Despond; he has joined his regiment at Lichfield and you may imagine the transition from Paris poor darling. I would give the whole world to go and comfort him.'¹⁹⁰ By the summer of 1819 Pamela's children had successfully made a claim against the Act of Attainder against their father, Edward, and hoped to restore his title.¹⁹¹ In 1821 Pamela also started a correspondence with her youngest daughter, Lucy, whom she knew least out of all her children. From her daughter Lucy's letters, it became clear that a proposed arrangement for Pamela to have her children visit her in France was planned in 1821.

¹⁸⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 472.

¹⁸⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 418.

¹⁸⁸ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 436.

¹⁸⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 439.

¹⁹⁰ Violet Dickinson, *Miss Eden's letters*, (London, 1919), p. 33.

¹⁹¹ *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 4 July 1819.

Ma tante et moi, nous espérons partir pour Paris dans les premiers jours de mars et je crois que ma sœur, Sir Guy et leurs chères enfants nous suivront bientôt ainsi, j'espère de vous trouver établi à Paris.¹⁹²

My aunt and I hope to leave for Paris in the first days of March and I believe that my sister, Sir Guy and their dear children will follow us then, I hope to find you settled in Paris.

Pamela's eldest daughter Pamela had married Sir Guy Campbell, a prominent army officer, on 21 November 1820.¹⁹³ From the final words of Lucy's letter, the relationship between Pamela and Madame de Genlis seems to have been on good terms: 'dites mille choses aimables de ma part à Madame de Genlis / Give my best wishes to Madame de Genlis.'¹⁹⁴ While they originally planned to meet Pamela in France at the end of 1821, it was not until May 1822 that Pamela and Sir Guy Campbell arrived in France.¹⁹⁵ Pamela was finally reunited with her children, Edward, Pamela and Lucy, all at once in the small French town of Arques on 15 June.¹⁹⁶

This reunion would have been significant for Pamela and her children. Pamela had not seen her daughter Lucy since her departure from England in 1808 and her eldest daughter since 1811. Lucy wrote to her aunt Sophia Fitzgerald and exclaimed her joy at seeing her mother: 'she set off and it was 9 o'clock yesterday morning 14th June that I broke that horrid

¹⁹² Lucy Fitzgerald to Pamela Fitzgerald, 18 Dec. 1821 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(2)).

¹⁹³ H. M. Stephens, 'Campbell, Sir Guy, first baronet (1786–1849)', rev. James Lunt in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁹⁴ Lucy Fitzgerald to Pamela Fitzgerald, 18 Dec. 1821 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(2)).

¹⁹⁵ Note made by author, 1821 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,016(2)).

¹⁹⁶ Note made by author, 1821 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,016(2)).

absence of 13 whole years!¹⁹⁷ While the details of their trip are unknown, it lasted almost one month. Pamela herself was overwhelmed by their arrival: ‘poor soul, she says she is so delighted to find all her 3 children round her that she cannot sleep when we all leave her, she thinks so much of us all.’¹⁹⁸ On 16 July 1822, Pamela Campbell wrote to her good friend, Emily Eden, sister of Lord Auckland, of her departure from France: ‘Mama has made us a comfortable visit but alas! Cannot stay any longer and conceive my joy.’¹⁹⁹ Pamela described her plans to encourage her to leave France: ‘I am much pleased with what I have seen off Mama and Guy likes her and I hope to persuade her to leave France in some time.’²⁰⁰ However, she would not be successful in convincing her mother to leave France and this visit would be the last Pamela saw of her children together. While it was difficult for Lucy to part from her mother, she quickly resumed her correspondence with her:

I will not say what I felt when I thought of our parting that miserable evening the 13 of this month heaven grant we may meet before another year but you know near or absent nothing can be stronger than my love for you.²⁰¹

The separation was difficult, not only for Pamela but her children also. While they may not have questioned the life they were born into, Pamela had the constant reminder that her life had drastically changed since the 1798 rebellion in Ireland.

Financial challenges continued to present a problem for Pamela, even in the final years of her life. Her quick departure from her children in Arques was due to her lack of

¹⁹⁷ Lucy Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 15 June 1811, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 458.

¹⁹⁸ Lucy Fitzgerald to Sophia Fitzgerald, 24 June 1811, cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 459.

¹⁹⁹ Pamela Campbell to Emily Eden, 16 July 1822 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,016 (3)).

²⁰⁰ Pamela Campbell to Emily Eden, 16 July 1822 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,016 (3)).

²⁰¹ Pamela Fitzgerald to Lucy Fitzgerald, 25 July 1823 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(2)).

finances and the expense of travelling to them. On 6 October 1823, in a letter to her mother, Lucy criticised the lack of support from the Orléans: ‘Je trouve que ces riches Orléans sont bien misérables avec leurs 4000 francs. Oh ! La petitesse d’âme de ces gens !!! / I find that these rich Orléans are so miserable with their 4000 francs. Oh! The pettiness of the soul of these people.’²⁰² The news of the cold relationship between Pamela and the Orléans had reached her children but it seemed Pamela was not willing to explain the entire story. The repeal of the act of attainder of Edward Fitzgerald passed through the British parliament in the summer of 1819.²⁰³ As a result it was agreed that the Fitzgerald family would provide Pamela with £100 a year from 1819.²⁰⁴ However, it appears that a pension from the Orléans family, a yearly annuity from the Fitzgerald family and a pension from Pitcairn as of 1816 were still not enough to keep Pamela from the brink of poverty.²⁰⁵

In 1820 Pamela struck up a relationship with the family of Louis-Joseph Nompar, duke de La Force, a prominent soldier and politician.²⁰⁶ While living in the convent the Abbaye-aux-Bois she became acquainted with the duke’s wife, the duchess de la Force and her sister-in-law, Mademoiselle Jacquette Renee de la Force, who lived nearby.²⁰⁷ The duke de la Force would play an important role in the final ten years of Pamela’s life. In summer 1820, Pamela accepted an invitation from the duke and duchess de la Force to accompany them for the summer at their home in Montauban.²⁰⁸ At their request, Pamela took up a few rooms on a property bought by the duke who did not wish to inhabit the house but rather use

²⁰² Lucy Fitzgerald to Pamela Fitzgerald, 6 Oct. 1823 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009 (2)).

²⁰³ Draft copy of ‘An Act restoring Edward Fox FitzGerald and his sisters Pamela and Lucy FitzGerald to their blood’, 1819 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,013(3)).

²⁰⁴ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 445.

²⁰⁵ Joseph Pitcairn to Mr. Brodie, n.d., cited in Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 422-423; Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 404.

²⁰⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 448.

²⁰⁷ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 446-7.

²⁰⁸ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 448.

the stables.²⁰⁹ Rumours soon circulated that Pamela was having an affair with the duke: ‘après avoir été enlevée de l’Abbaye-aux-Bois, par le duc de la Force./After having been removed for the Abbaye-aux-Bois, by the duke de la Force.’²¹⁰

Pamela maintained some contact with her children. In May 1824, her daughter Lucy passed on news of Lucy Foley: ‘J’ai vu le chère tante Lucie à Thames Ditton le jour avant hier départ oh comme nous avons parlées de vous ma mère, elle sait comme je vous aime. / I saw dear aunt Lucy in Thames Ditton the day before yesterday’s departure, oh how we talked of you my mother, she knows how I love you.’²¹¹ As noted already, this comment suggests a stronger bond between Pamela and Lucy than has previously been understood. Pamela’s daughter Lucy also sent her frequent updates of Pamela’s own children and her grandchildren:

La petite Pammy parle si bien avec tant d’esprit elle est bien grandie sa taille toujours parfaite ses yeux trop touchants, non jamais je n’ai vu enfant aussi gentille que celle-là. Edouard est beau comme le jour gros taille.²¹²

The little Pamela talks so well with so much intelligence, she is well grown her size always perfect her eyes so touching, never have I seen a child as lovely as that one. Edward is as handsome as the day grows long.

On 5 September 1825 Lucy Fitzgerald married Captain George Lyon, a naval officer.²¹³ Shortly after the marriage Lyon was commissioned to a position in Mexico and the young

²⁰⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 450-1.

²¹⁰ Ange Achille Charles, Comte de Neuilly, *Dix années d’émigration. Souvenirs et correspondance du comte de Neuilly*, (Paris, 1865), p. 140.

²¹¹ Lucy Fitzgerald to Pamela Fitzgerald, 9 May 1824 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009 (2)).

²¹² Lucy Fitzgerald to Pamela Fitzgerald, 9 May 1824 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009 (2)).

²¹³ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 462.

couple were expected to sail together.²¹⁴ However, as a result of poor weather conditions, Lucy was forced to return to harbour and had to wait to join her husband.²¹⁵ Lucy was left lodging with her sister Pamela until then.²¹⁶ Lucy wrote to her mother on 23 January 1826 on the situation:

Mais le fatal le plus terrible jour de ma arriva, le 6 de ce mois voilà quinze jours hier, de désolation et de misère qui sont écoulés depuis que je l'ai vu partir avec ses beaux yeux baignés de larmes.²¹⁷

But the inevitable occurred on the day I arrived, the 6 of this month that is a fortnight ago, the desolation and misery which I have felt since I saw him leave with his beautiful eyes bathed in tears.

Distraught at being separated from her husband Lucy looked to her mother for courage: 'chère mère donnez-moi un peu de courage et de consolation. / dear mother give me a little courage and consolation.'²¹⁸ Lucy would soon return to Thames Ditton to wait for her husband and to help her sister Pamela with the confinement of her child and to wait out the arrival of her own child.²¹⁹ Lucy went into confinement in September of that year but did not survive; she gave birth to a daughter, but she died of scarlet fever.²²⁰ While Pamela would have heard the news from her eldest daughter, Pamela Campbell, her son Edward it seemed did not bother to correspond with her: 'What news of our mother?' he wrote to Pamela

²¹⁴ Elizabeth Baignet, 'George Francis Lyon' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004).

²¹⁵ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 462.

²¹⁶ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 462-3.

²¹⁷ Lucy Fitzgerlad to Pamela Fitzgerald, 23 Jan. 1826 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(2)).

²¹⁸ Lucy Fitzgerald to Pamela Fitzgerald, 23 Jan. 1826 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(2)).

²¹⁹ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 464.

²²⁰ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 464.

Campbell on 9 November 1826.²²¹ Edward was married the following year to Jane Dean Paul, the daughter of a wealthy banker and later took his new wife to see his mother.²²² Pamela and her eldest daughter had a constant correspondence and despite the fact that these letters are undiscovered, her children confirmed their existence.²²³

In the final years of her life, Pamela was on good terms with Madame de Genlis, partly as a result of the help of a friend, Anatole de Montesquiou-Fezensac. In a letter to Madame de Genlis, Anatole wrote:

Faite ma commission a Lady Edward littéralement comme je vous l'ai donnée si vous y changer un mot l'effet est manquée si vous répéter juste comme j'ai dit-, elle rira. Mais peut être qu'au moment où je vous écris, la lettre, dans laquelle ma commission est prescrite est au diantre, ce qui vous gênera un peu pour le retrouvez.²²⁴

Make my commission to Lady Edward literally as I have spoken it. If you change even one word, the effect will be lost. If you repeat it just as I spoke it, she will laugh, but perhaps when I write the letter my commission will be recommended and go to hell, which will make it difficult for you to recover it.

Evidently Anatole attempted to heal the now-hostile relationship between the pair. Pamela frequently appeared in the correspondence between the pair leading to the presumption that their once complex relationship was mended in the final years of both their lives. Anatole attempted to reconcile the estranged women and, in his letters, he attempted to abate any

²²¹ Edward Fox Fitzgerald to Pamela Campbell, 9 Nov. 1826 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers MSS 35,015(3)).

²²² Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 465.

²²³ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 466.

²²⁴ Anatole de Montesquiou-Fezensac to Madame de Genlis, 17 Jan. 1827 (A.N, Fonds Montesquiou-Fezensac, 349/AP/33).

worries Madame de Genlis had of Pamela not replying to her letters: ‘mais alors il faut que Lady Fitzgerald ait eu le jour de lui s’écrire comme elle vous la promis. / But then Lady Fitzgerald must have had a chance to write, as she promised you.’²²⁵ In the final years of her life, Pamela had become something of a philanthropist, despite her own lack of income. For example, she supported Madame de Genlis’ niece Georgette Ducrest, after the death of her father:

À la mort de mon père je restai avec une rente viagère fort minime ; Pamela voulut contribuer à l’éducation de mes filles et me força d’accepter tous les ans trois cents francs destines à cet usage qui me furent exactement payes jusqu’à sa mort ; cependant elle n’était pas riche !²²⁶

Upon the death of my father, I was left with a very small life annuity; Pamela wanted to contribute to the education of my daughters and forced me to accept every year 300 hundred francs destined for this purpose, which were paid to me exactly until her death, however she was not rich!

Indeed, Pamela’s benevolence was highly praised in the village of Chambord where she resided in the final years of her life.²²⁷

On 3 February 1831, Pamela received her final letter from her daughter Pamela. Madame de Genlis had recently died, on 31 December 1830, at the age of 84.²²⁸ Her daughter understood the despair Pamela felt at the death of Madame de Genlis: ‘c’est toujours une perte que tu déploreras longtemps mais pour elle-même on ne peut regretter le terme de la vie

²²⁵ Anatole de Montesquiou-Fezensac to Madame de Genlis, 25 Mar. 1827 (A.N, Fonds Montesquiou-Fezensac, 349/AP/33).

²²⁶ Georgette Ducrest, *Chroniques populaires; mémoires sur l’Impératrice Joséphine sur la ville, la cour et les salons de Paris sous l’Empire*, (Paris, 1855), p. 27.

²²⁷ Ducrest, *Chroniques populaires*, p. 27.

²²⁸ Broglie, *Madame de Genlis*, p. 465.

elle a vécu assez longtemps / It is always a loss that you will lament for a long time, yet in her case we should not be saddened by the length of her life as she lived long enough.²²⁹ Not long before her death, Madame de Genlis saw her former pupil, the duke of Orléans, ascend the throne after the French Revolution of 1830.²³⁰ Not long after de Genlis' death Pamela also began to show signs of illness. Upon a visit made by a doctor he 'assurait qu'il n'y avait aucun danger, et croyait à la prochaine éruption de la rougeole. Cette maladie ne se déclara pas, et le vingt et unième jour Pamela se sentit si mal, qu'elle voulut voir un prêtre./ He asserted that there was no danger, and believed in the next eruption of measles. This disease did not declare itself, and on the twenty-first day Pamela felt so ill that she wanted to see a priest.'²³¹ Georgette Ducrest, Madame de Genlis' niece, was with her in her final days at Hôtel Danube, in Paris, and noted Pamela's death in her journal on 7 November 1831.²³² Pamela was buried at Montmartre at the expense of Adélaïde.²³³ Pamela Campbell was devastated at her mother's death but there was no other mention of Pamela's death in the correspondence of the Fitzgerald family. In 1880 her remains were removed from Paris to a graveyard in Thames Ditton by her grandson Sir Edward Campbell, after an Irishman, John Patrick Leonard, had informed the family that her grave had been almost destroyed.²³⁴ Her death was reported by newspapers from the end of 1831 well into 1832. Many of the newspapers took her death as an opportunity to again comment on the issue of her birth:

Lady Fitzgerald's birth was a subject of mystery, which was never clearly explained.

Of the various statements which were circulated at the period when Pamela's charms and accomplishments began to attract attention we shall refer only to that which is

²²⁹ Pamela Campbell to Pamela Fitzgerald, 3 Feb. 1831 (N.L.I., Lennox/Fitzgerald/Campbell Papers, MSS 35,009(2)).

²³⁰ Sperber, *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 353, *Evening Mail*, 16 Aug. 1830.

²³¹ Ducrest, *Chroniques populaires*, p. 27.

²³² Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, pp 470-471.

²³³ Ellis and Turquan, *La Belle Pamela*, p. 472.

²³⁴ Madden, *The United Irishmen*, vol. 2, p. 548.

sanctioned by Madame de Genlis herself, though it is probable that she, more than anyone else was interested in veiling the truth.²³⁵

The newspapers circulated various opinions on the matter of her birth, with many citing the story Madame de Genlis had recalled in her memoirs. However, it is evident that many were willing to question the truth of Madame de Genlis' story.²³⁶

In 1834, almost three years after Pamela's death an inventory was carried out on her belongings at the time of her death. The reasons for delay in drawing up the document are not known. The total sum of her Pamela's material belongings amounted to 779 francs at the time of her death.²³⁷ A lot of her personal belongings were described as being 'en très mauvais état/in very bad state'.²³⁸ The inventory also considered the documents that remained in Pamela's possession at the time of her death. One such document discussed the issue of Edward Fitzgerald's properties, which had been passed on to his children, and noted how 'lad.[ite] dame [Pamela] Sims n'a rien touché de lad.[ite] succession et que tout espoir de ce côté semblait perdu pour elle./ the aforementioned lady [Pamela] Sims did not touch anything of the aforementioned succession and that any hope in this respect seemed lost for her.'²³⁹ Other documents confirmed the payment of a pension by the Orleans family: 'récits viagères qui lui étaient paye par le Duc d'Orléans aujourd'hui roi des français et par Mad.elle. Adélaïde d'Orléans et d'une pension de quatre mille francs qui lui faisait passer Mr. Pitcairn./ which was paid to her by the duke of Orleans, now king of the French, and by Mademoiselle Adélaïde d'Orleans and a pension of four thousand francs which made to her through Mr.

²³⁵ *Connaught Telegraph*, 4 Jan. 1832.

²³⁶ *Northampton Mercury*, 3 Dec. 1831; *Tipperary Free Press*, 3 Dec. 1831; *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, 28 Nov. 1831; *The Pilot*, 28 Nov. 1831.

²³⁷ Inventaire après le décès de Madame Veuve Pitcairn, 2 Aug. 1834 (Archives Nationales, ET/MC/RE/XCIII/11).

²³⁸ Inventaire après le décès de Madame Veuve Pitcairn, 2 Aug. 1834 (Archives Nationales, ET/MC/RE/XCIII/11).

²³⁹ Inventaire après le décès de Madame Veuve Pitcairn, 2 Aug. 1834 (Archives Nationales, ET/MC/RE/XCIII/11).

Pitcairn.²⁴⁰ Despite both of these financial contributions, Pamela was residing in apparently impoverished circumstances at the time of her death.

This chapter has reconstructed Pamela's life after 1798, a period which has not received scholarly scrutiny until now. The evidence presented here contradicts many assumptions made about Pamela's relationships following the 1798 rebellion, especially with the Fitzgerald family. To a certain degree Pamela was still politically involved. The radical image she acquired prior to the rebellion remained with her until her death and she was noted to have engaged with radical figures in both Hamburg and France. Her remarriage, while it may not have been successful, was required in order to ensure Pamela and her children's financial survival. The correspondence of these years provides further evidence on the situation of female figures associated with Irish radicalism in the 1790s and the Rebellion of 1798. The effects of the rebellion, especially on women can be seen in Pamela's correspondence and experiences in this period. Pamela, ultimately sacrificed her entire family and security in order to support Edward's cause in the rebellion. Pamela led a challenging life in the early nineteenth century, and she struggled to come to terms with political and financial issues. At the same time, this chapter illustrates the complex life that Pamela led after leaving Ireland and England in 1798.

²⁴⁰ Inventaire après le décès de Madame Veuve Pitcairn, 2 Aug. 1834 (Archives Nationales, ET/MC/RE/XCIII/11).

Conclusion

This study of Pamela Fitzgerald provides a case study of one woman's life in Ireland, England and continental Europe in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Drawing on a range of correspondence, including manuscripts sources made available recently, the dissertation understands Pamela in the context of scholarship on women's history, incorporating her activities in both the domestic and political spheres. Indeed, the dissertation pays attention to overlooked aspects of Pamela's domestic life, as wife and mother, but also highlights aspects of her political involvements.

One of the most perplexing aspects of Pamela's life was her origins. Previous historians offered two prevailing theories: that Pamela was of English birth or that she was the illegitimate daughter of Madame de Genlis and the duke of Orléans. This thesis has drawn together all of the available evidence relating to Pamela's birth and, while no birth certificate has been located, the research presented here leans heavily towards the opinion that Pamela was of English birth. It is not just the mystery of Pamela's birth that is of historical importance, but understanding why the theory that Pamela was an illegitimate child of Madame de Genlis has persisted through time. As the work of Campbell, and Ellis and Turquan, illustrated, the theory that Pamela was an illegitimate Orléans proved romantic and entertaining. Despite the evidence tending to the contrary, it is clear that Pamela's relatives were desperate to maintain the illegitimacy.

As this dissertation has shown, the political events had a huge impact on Pamela's life and her biography provides an important insight into the female experience of politics, revolution and war in the 1790s and beyond. Pamela had direct experience of the French Revolution, the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and the Napoleonic wars. This thesis has argued that although previous historians have depicted Pamela in a passive female manner, especially in

relation to Irish radicalism, where historians have emphasised her place as a dutiful wife and widow, in reality Pamela played a more active political role. The testimony of Thomas Reynolds and the attitude of the British and Irish governments after the 1798 Rebellion indicate that she was considered an active radical in her own right. Pamela is a pivotal example of the transition of a woman from the confined domestic and private sphere, to the political and public sphere, in part through writing. Therefore, there is significant evidence to suggest that Pamela was more actively involved in the United Irishmen than previously thought. The Fitzgerald family insisted that Pamela was not involved in radical politics and that her interaction with the United Irishmen was confined to that of a loyal wife to Edward. However, they were determined to portray Pamela as a victim of the rebellion rather than an active radical. As previously stated, Campbell wanted to clear Pamela's name of 'ill-natured comment on account of supposed irregularities in her conduct'.¹

The dissertation also examined the relationships and networks that Pamela developed throughout her life. Her relationship with the Fitzgerald family has always been perceived as a complex one. While the Fitzgeralds were apprehensive about Pamela's Orléanist and radical links, she was generally accepted by her in-laws. However, it was largely assumed that after Edward's death the Fitzgerald family disowned Pamela, due in part to her quick remarriage. This thesis demonstrates that correspondence within the Fitzgerald family indicates otherwise. In fact, Pamela visited the Fitzgeralds in England for almost two years in the early 1800s. Nevertheless, the evidence does highlight the emergence of tension between Pamela and her extended family, largely relating to her financial situation. Her relationship with Madame de Genlis, which prior to 1800 had been one of affection, but this had turned sour after Pamela's arrival in Hamburg in 1799. Again, the issue of finance and Pamela's place within the Orléans family were the reasons behind this. Madame de Genlis

¹ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, p. viii.

was concerned about Pamela's links to Irish radicalism, which remained even after her husband's death. From 1800, until Madame de Genlis' death in 1830, their relationship was often strained, however they reconciled their differences despite this. Pamela's marriage to her second husband was the subject of much speculation, and although they never officially divorced, they separated and Pamela resumed using the name Fitzgerald. The precise reason for their separation is unknown.

A comparison of Pamela's case with that of Matilda Tone is instructive. The two women married radical men and, on their deaths, Pamela and Matilda found themselves exiled from Ireland with few economic prospects. They both remarried. However, while Matilda Tone was viewed as a virtuous wife and surviving reminder of her husband's dedication and sacrifice to the Irish cause, Pamela – in contrast – was often depicted as a diminished figure, quick to forget her husband after his death. This thesis attempted to understand how it was that Pamela was not given the same status and praise as other female relatives of United Irish leaders.² Pamela's role in the rebellion and her reputation in both Ireland and England prior to 1798 were contributing factors. Along with Edward, she was implicated in revolutionary activity for her involvement in the United Irishmen, although it was possible that her gender had saved her from criminal charges, as the case was made that no crime could be committed by a wife who was carrying out her role as a dutiful spouse. As this study has noted Pamela had cultivated a certain image of herself in European society. Her link to French radicalism and her marriage to Edward Fitzgerald were contributing factors that led to Pamela becoming a symbol of radicalism.³ As a result, after Edward's death, she was blamed for his United Irish commitments.⁴ Pamela's political activity and her quick remarriage in 1800 to Joseph Pitcairn did not fit the image of a loyal widow, who lived only

² Kennedy, 'What can women give but tears', p. 303.

³ Tillyard, *Citizen Lord*, pp 158-9.

⁴ Campbell, *Edward and Pamela Fitzgerald*, pp 54-8.

to keep the memory of her late husband and, as a result, these factors denied Pamela her own accurate historical study. This work moves Pamela's biography beyond the romantic genre which marked the work of Campbell, and Ellis and Turquan.

While this thesis may have not answered all of the questions surrounding Pamela's life, it has attempted to provide the most comprehensive biography to date. This research has drawn on the widest range of Irish, French and British sources. Moreover, it has rooted Pamela in recent historiographical developments, both in the study of 1790s Ireland and Irish women's history. Essentially, by assessing the historical importance of an overlooked female figure, the dissertation offers a contribution to women's history in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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