

Charlotte Brontë's Kilkee Honeymoon

I - The Brontë Background

Let me begin with a story. In Banbridge town, in Co. Down, lived in the early 18th century a Catholic farmer, one Red Paddy McClory and his beautiful daughter Alice. McClory intended that, in time, his daughter would wed a fellow Catholic. However, Alice met and fell in love with a Protestant named Hugh Prunt (or Prunty). McClory, by all accounts, was a hard-drinking, irritable, violent man who wielded a big stick and chased away any would-be suitors. When he learned of Prunt he became irate but invited him to his house, where he offered him drink. Prunt, who was abstemious, refused the libation, so McClory in a rage, with some of his sons and relations, beat him up and sent him packing.

McClory now decided that Alice should be married quietly and quickly to a local Catholic farmer named Byrne, a neighbour. The banns were called and the wedding arranged to take place in the McClory home, as was then the custom. It was then usual for the bridegroom, in the north of Ireland, to ride with his friends to meet his intended bride at her home. There drinks would be waiting and the man who drank the first cup would become the bridegroom. So his friends allowed Byrne to reach the house first. When he arrived he learned that Alice had fled. She had last been seen, by her neighbours, riding over the bogs in her wedding dress with a stranger on a black horse. Byrne, with McClory and the wedding party, set out in pursuit, but they never overtook Alice. On their return home, they found a note inviting them to drink the health of the bride, who was by then Mrs. Hugh Prunt (or Prunty). Hugh later changed his name to Bruntée (or Branty), and his wife, Alice, changed her religion.¹ They had 10² or 12³ children and continued to farm in northern Ireland. Here Patrick Bruntée (or Branty) - the future father of Charlotte Brontë - was born in 1777. He later changed his name to Brontë when he went to Cambridge.

Patrick Brontë was a remarkable man,⁴ who first began earning his living at a very early age as a blacksmith and later as a linen-weaver. He was largely self-educated and at sixteen became headmaster of a small school at Drumgooland, Co. Down. He later became tutor to the sons of a Methodist clergyman. Having saved as much money as he could he entered the University of Cambridge as a sizar at the age of twenty-five, receiving financial

by Thomas J. Byrne



Charlotte Brontë.

Photo: Courtesy Audrey Hall.

assistance on the grounds of poverty. Taking his degree (1806),⁵ he was ordained a clergyman of the Church of England. While he was curate at Hartstead in 1812 he married the Cornish-born Maria Branwell, who died in 1821 after bearing six children. They all died rather young - their average age at death was 25 years. These were Maria, born 1813, Elizabeth, born 1815 - both died in 1825 due to the rigid discipline and discomfort of a private boarding school at Cowan Bridge; Charlotte, born at Thornton, near Bradford (Yorks.), 21st April 1816, author of several novels including *Jane Eyre* (1847), *Shirley* (1849), *Villette* (1853), under the pen-name of Currer Bell; Patrick Branwell, born 1817, who died in 1848 aged 30, having drugged himself on laudanum and drink and God knows what else, including a one-sided involvement (unreciprocated) with his employer's wife. However, Patrick Branwell was, in many ways, a much maligned man. The younger daughters were Emily Jane, born 30 July 1818, authoress of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* and *Poems* (all published in 1846 under her pen-name of Ellis Bell) and Anne, born 1820, authoress of *Poems* under the pen-name of Acton Bell. Of these six children, Charlotte, Emily and

Anne were, in their short lives (none lived beyond 39 years) to write some of the most popular and widely read novels of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Their father, the Rev. Patrick, an "eccentric" character by his own account, stands out as a man of remarkable will and stamina, who drove himself (despite his stern, sober and off-putting character) to overcome great hardships and achieve fairly ambitious goals. It is now generally forgotten that he wrote and published two volumes of poems, two narratives, several pamphlets on a wide variety of subjects, many sermons and most of these were printed before his marriage (1812). Whether or not his expectations were satisfied we do not know. When he was appointed Rector of Haworth (W. Yorks.), he seems to have settled down to a quiet existence as a country parson. Haworth was then an important place, as David Wilson has pointed out in his excellent essay on Emily Brontë,⁶ in the industrial revolution and its attendant social unrest which later resulted in the Queen's proclamation of the Riot Act against the rebellious workers of the West Riding of Yorkshire during Charlotte's lifetime. On his wife's death her sister travelled north from Cornwall to Haworth, with her baggage and her Methodism, to act unselfishly as a stern but just housekeeper and surrogate mother to the young Brontë children.

The Rev. Patrick struggled hard to free himself of Ireland and all things Irish to become a respectable Anglican clergyman, graduate of one of the 'two' ivy-league English universities, and Vicar of Haworth. The Yorkshire Brontës had all the Victorian English prejudices against Ireland and the Catholic Irish in abundance. They had all the fanatical fervour of the newly converted, forgetting their Catholic great-grandfather, who had written in Irish at least one poem on the then Catholic Archbishop of Armagh; they conveniently forgot or pretended to forget and ignore their Banbridge grandparents; they overlooked their Irish Protestantism and their Irish Catholicism alike. They also forgot or pretended to forget that their father, by birth if not by temperament, was Irish. Yet, like the other Yorkshire Brontës, Charlotte was Irish in many ways, not least in her literary genius, as one of her editors has correctly intimated: "Has it ever been sufficiently recognised that Charlotte Brontë is first and foremost an Irishwoman, that her genius is at bottom a Celtic genius? The main characteristics indeed of a Celt are all hers - disinterestedness, melancholy,



Postcard of Moore's Hotel, posted in 1905.

Limerick Museum.

wildness, a wayward force and passion, forever wooed by sounds and sights to which other natures are insensible - by murmurs of the soul, that speak of the Celtic sense as to no other ... Then, as to the Celtic pride, the Celtic shyness, the Celtic endurance, - Charlotte Brontë was rich in them all."⁷ In *Shirley* (1849), Charlotte had pilloried the "typical" Irishman as "boisterous, vain, and mean; pressed, she would also admit to believing the Irish shiftless and dirty."⁸ These prejudices would remain with her until her only visit to Ireland, when they were partially allayed. Her sisters, Emily Jane 'a greater poet than Charlotte' as Virginia Woolf has astutely pointed out,⁹ and Anne demonstrate many characteristics of their Irishness in their poetry.

In 1846 the Rev. Arthur Bell Nicholls was appointed curate to the Rev. Patrick Brontë at Haworth. Now the Brontës had the opportunity of observing another Irishman at close quarters, for the new curate was born at Tully Farm, Co. Antrim, in 1818, the son of a farmer, William Nichols, as the name was then written. When Arthur and his brother, Alan, were young both their parents died and the children were reared by their maternal uncle, Dr. Alan Bell¹⁰ (d.1839) and his wife Harriet Lucinda (née Adamson), at Cuba House, Banagher, King's County, now Co. Offaly. Here the young Nichols were educated by their Uncle Dr. Bell in his famous private school, where Dr. (later Sir) William Wilde and his brothers were educated. Cuba House was the home of the Royal School, a large three-storey Georgian house, now unfortunately long since demolished; here Charlotte stayed on her honeymoon and was 'agreeably surprised by its splendour'.¹¹ It is clear that the young Nichols brothers were reared in much greater opulence than the young Brontës were at Haworth, but the Rev.

Arthur never spoke of it due to his natural diffidence and good breeding. Dr. Alan Bell was headmaster of this outstanding school and from there, in July 1836, Arthur Bell Nichols, then aged 18, entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner (of Dr. Bell) and graduated BA in the spring of 1844.¹² He was duly ordained a priest of the Church of England and, by the time of his marriage, had spent eight years as curate at Haworth and was by then well acquainted with the vagaries and life-styles of the Brontë family. Charlotte dismissed him originally as one of the 'highly uninteresting, narrow and unattractive specimens of the coarser sex'.¹³ At the same time (July 1846) she had denied a report of an engagement to Nichols.¹⁴ However, this may have been a case of the lady protesting too much as the Irish curate is alluded to in her novel *Shirley* (1849) as the 'true Christian gentleman' who had succeeded the three curates.

In December 1852 Nicholls proposed marriage to Charlotte, declared his love, was referred to her father and although she then returned his affection, her father considered his curate unworthy of his, by then, famous daughter. Charlotte was therefore forced to refuse him at her father's dictation. There seems also to have been some financial consideration, as Charlotte was now sole heir to her father, who may have considered Nicholls as an opportunist. At any rate, Nicholls was now in an intolerable position and resigned his curacy, leaving Haworth. Later the Rev. Patrick relented his unreasonable indignation when he saw that his daughter's health was suffering. According to Charlotte (writing in April 1854) the reconciliation took place as follows:

"Mr. Nicholls came on Monday, and was here all the week. Matters have progressed thus since July [1853]. He renewed his visit in September, but then

matters so fell out that I saw little of him. He continued to write. The correspondence pressed on my mind. I grew very miserable in keeping it from papa. At last sheer pain made me gather courage to break it. I told all. It was very hard and rough work at the time, but the issue after a few days was that I obtained leave to continue the communication. Mr. Nicholls came in January [1854], he was ten days in the neighbourhood. I saw much of him. I had stipulated with papa for opportunity to become better acquainted. I had it, and all I learnt inclined me to esteem and affection. Still papa was very, very hostile, bitterly unjust.

*"I told Mr. Nicholls the great obstacle that lay in the way. He has persevered. The result of this, his last visit, is, that papa's consent is gained, that his respect, I believe, is won, for Mr. Nicholls has in all things proved himself disinterested and forbearing. Certainly I must respect him, nor can I withhold from him more than mere cool respect. In fact ... I am engaged ..."*¹⁵

On Thursday, 29th June 1854, the Rev. Arthur Bell Nicholls was married to Charlotte Brontë 'wearing a black satin dress, white bridal mantle and white bonnet trimmed with green leaves ...'¹⁶ in Haworth Church. The bride was suffering from a cold and the Rev. Patrick, in a last momentary fit of pique refused to attend the service, affecting illness. The ceremony was performed by the Rev Sutcliffe Sowden, a friend of Nicholls. The newlyweds came in mid-July 1854 to Kilkee, Co. Clare, for the greater part of their honeymoon.

Kilkee, 1854

In July 1854 Kilkee was little more than a village of no more than 419 houses, of

which 314 were occupied, and a total town population of a little over 1,869.¹⁷ In summertime when visitors arrived the population doubled, or trebled at most, depending then, as now, on the weather.

Visitors first began to frequent Kilkee in reasonable numbers as early as 1794, mainly from Limerick city and county, when the small local population rented their tiny homes or 'salt-water lodges',¹⁸ as they were usually called. From the late 1790s to the 1820s and afterwards, visitors continued to arrive in ever increasing numbers, with the exception of a number of years during the Napoleonic wars, when for some reason, increased prosperity perhaps, they seem to have deserted Kilkee for Miltown-Malbay. However, a map of Kilkee in 1811 shows that there was a little cluster of houses, 12 in number, on the present Carrigaholt Road, about one mile from the beach.¹⁹ This map shows the MacDonnell residence, Kilkee House, then in a ruinous state, on the western side of the bay. The MacDonnells were extensive landlords of the western side of Kilkee. Atlantic Lodge, later enlarged and called Atlantic House, the residence of the local middleman to the Marquis of Conyngham, George Studdert of the Clonderlaw family, is shown on the north-eastern side of the bay. Sandhills stood where Kilkee now stands.

The MacDonnells had left Kilkee House in the middle of the 18th century for New Hall, Killone, Ennis, though it served as a dower house for a widow of that family until her death in April 1788.²⁰ It then appears to have been sold, or perhaps let, to Michael Comyn of Corbally, north of Kilkee, the father of the famous parish priest of the same name, immortalised by Charles Lever in some of his works. Fr. Comyn was pastor of the then united parishes of Kilfearagh (Kilkee) and Killard (Doonbeg) when Charlotte honeymooned there, but it is most unlikely that they ever met. Kilkee House was advertised in June, 1793,²¹ as available for the bathing season. By 1800 it had 'almost gone to ruin.'²²

The Studderts were early visitors to Kilkee. George was there in 1794²³ with other members of his family, and shortly thereafter built Atlantic Lodge. He and his son, Jonas, acted as middlemen for the Lords (later Marquis) Conyngham, the owners of much of west Clare, including the eastern portion of Kilkee, up to the latter's death in 1859. Visitors dropped off during the Napoleonic wars, but from 1813 onwards 'Sea bathing Lodges' at Kilkee were advertised from time to time, and one of that year offered 'the accommodation of Vegetables' as an inducement.²⁴ In early October of the same year 'three young gentlemen' who were 'amusing themselves on the rocks' - probably at the Duggera breakwater - were surprised by the incoming tide and timely saved by a resident, John Kennedy, who risked his own life to save them.²⁵ By 1815 'several most excellent Lodges' had been erected 'for the reception of respectable Families' and these were advertised in a Limerick



The West End Hotel (centre distance) c.1855, from J. Ruddock's lithograph of the Town and Bay of Kilkee. National Library of Ireland.

newspaper; the same advertisement noted that 'A Butcher and a Baker have been established at Kilkee.'²⁶ Mason, in 1816, described Kilkee as a 'remarkable for a fine bathing strand, and many neat salt water lodges, on the interesting shore of the Atlantic Ocean' and added that George Studdert 'has erected several other houses round the White Strand.'²⁷ The 'White Strand' here referred to is the strand of Dough, as Kilkee (the eastern portion in particular) was then generally named. Mason observed that the Protestant Church at Kilfearagh served 'a large congregation in the summer time.'²⁸

By 1821 Kilkee had a population of 409 (83 families) living in 81 houses. There were 30 uninhabited houses, while 9 others were being built.²⁹ The census of that year stated that it 'was resorted to by the citizens of Limerick in the bathing season' and that George Studdert had established 'tepid baths' there.³⁰

Writing in 1867, the local curate, Fr. Sylvester Malone (in a letter to Gladstone) gives a very interesting account of the early development of Kilkee as a seaside resort:

'... To what precise event Kilkee owes its fame as a watering-place is not known. Perchance some adventurer in Ireland or from England, in quest of the grand and the sublime in nature, followed the romantic windings of the Atlantic shore, as each turn developed its varied charms, was smitten by its loveliness. There it was, a vision of beauty, with lovely bay and sweet white strand, contrasting pleasantly with the dark cliffs and swarthy land. The tourist returned to home and reported on Kilkee; its fame spread. Seekers of health visited it. Their expectations were fulfilled ...'

Fr. Malone adds: 'Visitors were generally from Limerick in the beginning, and short

as the journey was, it was not performed without much fatigue. There was no other means of conveyance than a turfboat. On that account a week was required for performing that which can be gone through now in a few hours.' Malone further added:

*'Just fifty years ago, Kilkee, consisted of a smithy and two huts on either side of it. Prophets' ken was necessary to see it expand into its present dimensions. The rudest shed satisfied the inviolated visitor. Shells of ocean were the cups from which he drank sweetest beverage. And as the building was improvised on a sandy foundation it not infrequently fell. This circumstance, together with the taste imparted with the strangers, urged the native resident to essay a more solid and tasteful house. The profit of the lodge in each year was laid out in its enlargement or improvement. In one season the clay floor gave way to the boarded one. In another, the chinks through which the cranny-ing wind crept was stopped with plaster. By and by the front was rough-cast or divided off with the trowel into blockwork. The profits of another season were devoted to preparing the bedrooms. Instead of placing the fire on a stone in mid-floor, a cast-iron grate was procured. So, too, instead of awnings to catch the falling soot, a nice ceiling was attempted. Again, instead of a small four-paned immovable sash, there succeeded a large window on pivots, admitting a flood of light and air into the apartments, nice partitions were thrown up and bedrooms were multiplied ...'*³¹

These houses usually consisted at first of but one single small room. About 1820 Cathy (or Kitty) Fitzgerald, owner of a low thatched house, opened it up as a hotel and for nearly 40 years, until her retirement due to blindness, she catered for her



The old West End Hotel, Kilkee, 1998. The small one-storey building at right was the old Kilkee Post Office. Photo: T. Byrne.

clients simply but effectively. An account of Fitzgerald's hotel as it was about 1820 has survived:

Visitors to Kilkee once on a time were glad to procure a thatched "lodge" or cottage, which in winter became the residence of the labourer or small farmer himself. We remember once a Lancashire cotton spinner being horrified at the barbarism of one night in such a hovel, as he termed it, though various friends in it were as merry as larks; one of the guests knew Kilkee when there were but about ten houses in it; yet in a perilous craft, half turf-boat and half boat for smuggling, he used yearly go and carry his family to Kilkee from Limerick, solely for the benefit of the sea air, the straw thatched hostelry or hotel of C—— F—— delighted one set of men, to the others it was a hovel.³²

By 1824 Limerick visitors were reported as annually expending a sum of £2,000 at Kilkee.³³ Improved navigation on the Lower Shannon³⁴ between 1812 and 1822 greatly helped the advancement of Kilkee as a seaside resort. The rising population reflected the increasing popularity of Kilkee. In 1831 it had risen to 1,051 and consisted of 200 families living in 141 houses, while another 5 were uninhabited and 7 were building.³⁵ The churches, Catholic and Protestant, were both situated outside the village at Lisdeen and Kilfearagh respectively, and were a cause of great inconvenience to Sunday worshippers, especially in bad weather. An indication of the increasing numbers of visitors is found in the following entry in the Church of Ireland minute book,³⁶ which describes a vestry meeting held on the 7th of April 1828: '... and that four pounds twelve shillings be assessed for 23 seats between the pews in the Aisle of Kilfearagh Church - To be erected for the accommodation of strangers.' In 1831 a Catholic chapel was opened in the town (replaced by the present building in 1963), and this was followed by the Protestant church dedicated to St. James. This latter

opened in June/July 1841 and was consecrated on August 9th 1843. In 1836 a Parochial School was opened for the education of the Protestant youth of the district and later a National School for Catholic boys and girls was opened by February 1845. A police barracks, a coastguard station and a post office were all established there by 1831.

Such was the town of Kilkee when Mrs. Margaret Shannon, recently widowed, came there with her four young daughters³⁷ shortly before 1828 from Kilrush. Born Margaret McMahon (c.1790) in Kilrush, the daughter of John McMahon, described as a 'Merchant' of that town,³⁸ she married Patrick Shannon of 'Kilforby' (modern Kilfearboy) at Kilrush towards the end of July 1814.³⁹ In May 1818 she established a Board and Lodgings house at Kilrush 'for the receipt of Ladies and Gentlemen' and added that families 'going to Kilkee' would be accommodated on reasonable terms.⁴⁰ Her husband seems to have died young, for by June 1812 Mrs. Shannon and her daughters had moved to Francis Street (modern Grattan St.) Kilkee. Here she opened her 'Kilkee Boarding House'.⁴¹ She was also the post-mistress of Kilkee. This 'Boarding House' changed its name to the 'Kilkee Board and Lodging House' by June 1831,⁴² which changed again to 'Kilkee Hotel' in 1832,⁴³ and like the two other hotels in the resort charged 25 shillings per week for full board in 1830.⁴⁴ A letter headed 'Bubbles From Bathing Places' in a Limerick newspaper in 1840 stated: 'Katty Fitzgerald and the widdy Shannon have commodious an' cleanly accommodation, no doubt. Moderate charges an' great civility ...'⁴⁵ This hotel in Francis St. was later taken over by a Michael McNamara of Limerick as a public house.⁴⁶ By May 1841 Mrs. Shannon had moved to the West End, Kilkee, where she had built a large house (now occupied by Mr. Gubbins of Limerick and Mrs. Jim Frawley of Kilkee). Here, with her daughters, she ran the 'West End Boarding House' which name she later, in 1844, changed to the 'West End Hotel'⁴⁷ - not to

be confused with the later and larger building of the same name nearby. She continued as post-mistress until September 1854. This post-office stood on the Dunlicky Road adjoining the hotel. The drawing-rooms of her hotel were described as 'large and comfortable' and the bedrooms were 'spacious and airy'.⁴⁸ The *Limerick Chronicle* was able to state: 'Mrs. Shannon's new Hotel, or West End Boarding House, as well from its accommodation as its beautiful situation on the cliffs over the enchanting bay, and commanding a view of the village promise every comfort to be desired at this delightful resort.'⁴⁹

By the summer of 1843 she had 'made great and extensive improvements'⁵⁰ and in 1844,⁵¹ 1845,⁵² 1847,⁵³ and 1848,⁵⁴ built several additional rooms 'which with the entire Establishment are fitted up with the greatest elegance and comfort'.⁵⁵ These new additions later formed the nucleus of her private residence after 1870, and is now called 'West End House' (now owned by Mrs. Maureen McMahon of Limerick). In Charlotte Brontë's time it was part of the West End Hotel. Here Mrs Shannon supplied her guests with brandy, genuine malt whiskey, ale and Guinness's porter, 'all of the purest and best quality' and her terms were 'extremely moderate'.⁵⁶

Also of the best quality were her guests. It had an illustrious clientele, including in the summer of 1846 alone, Monsieur Le Baron De Falconneur,⁵⁷ Lord Lord John Manners MP - the future Duke of Rutland,⁵⁸ Lord S. Compton,⁵⁹ Hon. Windham-Quin,⁶⁰ Colonel Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant (commander of the troops at Limerick) and Lady La Marchant and family, Augustine Stafford O'Brien MP,⁶¹ and John Fraunceis Fitz-Gerald, Knight of Glin⁶² and many others. One gets a glimpse of hotel life with Mrs. Shannon (at her Francis St. establishment) from an Englishman, Jonathan Binns. He complained that the 'eggs obtained here are not always the best; tea and coffee are both very poor; good ham or bacon is difficult to find, though in a country overrun with pigs, the fowls are



McDonnell's Terrace, Kilkee. Postcard by Bothwell, Kilkee, posted in 1912.

Limerick Museum.

more skin and bone than flesh; mutton may by chance be got pretty good, but the beef is scarcely fit to eat.⁶³ However, Binns wrote that Mrs. Shannon 'treated me with the utmost kindness and civility; and had I taken up my abode there at a time when visitors generally come, I doubt not many of the deficiencies I complain of, would have been supplied.'⁶⁴ It is interesting to note that Binns' complaint of the fowls being 'more skin and bone than flesh' was echoed by a later visitor to Kilkee - the future Poet Laureate Alfred Austin (who stayed at Moore's Hotel, Kilkee, in the spring of 1894) who carped at 'its lean chickens, its imperfect soda-bread; and its lack of vegetables save the national potato.'⁶⁵ One later visitor to Mrs. Shannon's West End Hotel, another Englishman, William Whittaker Barry, who came in September 1865, wrote: '... I ordered some dinner at the West End Hotel - anything that would be forthcoming. First came some fresh herrings - a good beginning; but the dinner suddenly collapsed. Not a chop, steak or bit of fresh meat of any kind could be got in the town; there was only some salt meat, which I declined. The waiter, however, with considerable naïveté, promised that I should have a chop in the morning. Fancy the hungry pedestrian having to wait until the next morning for his second course!'⁶⁶

Some further information on the West End Hotel is gleaned from some notes left by the Dowager Lady Charlotte O'Brien of Dromoland Castle (a regular visitor with her daughter, Grace, to Kilkee) who stayed at the hotel while Charlotte and her husband were on their honeymoon. Lady Charlotte, the mother of William Smith O'Brien, the patriot, was a discerning visitor and an able planner of journeys. She noted that for the relatively short journey from Dromoland to Kilkee, about 33 miles but over a very poor road, arrangements were made for a change of horses at Fanny O'Dea's.⁶⁷ She also found

out the circumstances and the prices charged at the better lodges and hotels at Kilkee, including the one she and her daughter decided to stay in - Mrs. Shannon's. This entry of Lady O'Brien's is not dated but very clearly refers to 1854:

'Mrs. Shannon's boarding House. Terms.

*Board and Lodgings per week - £1 10s. Sitting room £1 extra. beds for persons not living in House - 2. each - per night. [This refers to bed-and-breakfast guests]. for persons partly boarding in it - 1..6 each - do [per night] board by day only - Dinner 2s. Break[fast] and Tea 1s..6d each. No charge for Servants.'*⁶⁸

Lady O'Brien added:
*'Mary Frawley Kitchen Maid very good. Butler - Helper - smart boy.'*⁶⁹

These were the staff (as well as Mrs. Shannon's then unmarried daughters) at the West End Hotel when Charlotte Brontë stayed there.

III The Honeymoon at Kilkee

On the evening of their wedding day, Charlotte and her husband journeyed to Conway, near Llandudno in Wales, and stayed overnight. She wrote: '... The evening is wet and wild, though the day was fair chiefly with some gleams of sunshine.'⁷⁰ From Conway they planned to travel to Bangor on Friday, June 30th or Saturday, 1st July, sailing from Holyhead to Dublin on the steampacket on the night of Monday July 3rd. They arrived in the Irish capital on July 4th (Tuesday). In Dublin the newly-weds were met by Arthur's brother Alan, who was manager of the Grand Canal from Dublin to Banagher, and two first cousins of his - Joseph Bell,⁷¹ a student of TCD who had just gained three premiums, and his sister

Mary Anne Bell, then aged 24 years, whom Charlotte described 'as a pretty lady-like girl with gentle English manners.'⁷² What they thought of the famous English authoress, who had so predictively chosen their family name for her nom-de-guerre, is not recorded. After touring the main sights of Dublin, especially Nicholls' old university, its library and museum and chapel - 'and should have seen much more - had not my bad cold been a restraint upon us.'⁷³ they travelled with Arthur's cousins by train (surprisingly, considering Arthur's brother's position) to Banagher. Here they spent one week (probably from Friday July 7th to Wednesday July 12th). At Cuba House, Banagher, they met other Bell cousins including the Rev. James Adamson Bell. Charlotte described Cuba House as 'very large and looks externally like a gentleman's country-seat - within most of the rooms are lofty and spacious and some - the drawing room - dining room &c. handsomely and commodiously furnished.'⁷⁴ The then owner was Arthur's aunt, Mrs. Harriet Lucinda Bell (née Adamson) who had married Dr. Alan Bell (d.1839) in 1818. 'Mrs. Bell is like an English or Scotch Matron' wrote Charlotte 'quiet, kind and well-bred.'⁷⁵ She added that Mrs. Bell had been brought up in London. Since her husband's death (he had been Master of the famous Royal College of Banagher) she had lived at Cuba House with her second son, the Rev. James Adamson Bell, who had succeeded his father in the Mastership (1848-1865); he later became Rector of Banagher. In 1854 he was only 28 years old.

Why did Charlotte and her husband choose Kilkee for the greater part of their honeymoon? It is clear from a letter written by Charlotte at Banagher to Miss Wooler that Kilkee was to be the intended destination: 'We go in a few days to Kilkee, a watering place on the South-West Coast. The letters may be addressed, Mrs.



West End, Kilkee, 1998. The old West End Hotel is in the centre, just beyond the white house. Photo: T. Byrne.

Arthur Nicholls, Post-Office, Kilkee, County Clare, Ireland.⁷⁶ I suggest the following. In August 1846 the names 'J. Bell, Esq. and Mrs. Bell' appear among a list of visitors to Mrs. Shannon's West End Hotel.⁷⁷ I suggest that these were Mrs. Harriet Lucinda Bell and her son, James Adamson Bell, then aged 20 years. We know that Mrs. Bell kindly nursed Charlotte back to health 'fatigue and excitement had nearly knocked me up - and my cough had become very bad'⁷⁸ - and it seems more than likely that Arthur's aunt and cousin would have enthused about their earlier visit to Kilkee and would have recommended the very hotel where they had been only 8 years before. It is highly unlikely that either Charlotte or her husband would have seen the following advertisement which appeared in the *Limerick Chronicle*, 5 July 1854 (Wed.)

WEST END HOTEL,
Kilkee

MRS. SHANNON begs leave to acquaint her friends and the Public, that she has fitted up her Hotel, in very superior Style for the accommodation of Tourists and Visitors to that beautiful watering place.

From the long Patronage Mrs. S. has received from her Friends, she expects a continuance of their support. Families requiring private apartments can be accommodated by application at Cruise's Royal Hotel, Limerick; or at the West End Hotel, Kilkee.

☞ This hotel commands a magnificent view of the Cliffs, Bay, and surrounding scenery.

After spending about a week at Banagher, the newly-weds travelled along the banks of the Shannon and Lough Derg to Limerick, where they took a boat - either the *Erin-go-Brath* or the *Garryowen* - to Kilkee. The *Koh-i-noor* steamer was then out of commission, having met with an accident near Foynes.⁷⁹ From Kilkee on Tuesday, July 18th, 1854, Charlotte wrote to Catherine Wooler, her former teacher:

'My Dear Miss Catherine, - Your kind letter reached me in a wild and remote spot - a little watering-place on the South West Coast of Ireland' and she gave her a

synopsis of her honeymoon tour in Wales and Ireland, adding: *'I had heard a great deal about Irish negligence &c. I own that till I came to Kilkee - I saw little of it. Here at our Inn - splendidly designated 'the West End Hotel' - there is a good deal to carp at if one were in a carping humour - but we laugh instead of grumbling - for out of doors there is much indeed to compensate for any indoor shortcomings, so magnificent an ocean - so bold and grand a coast - I never yet saw. My husband calls me -'*⁸⁰ Dr. Barker remarks of this letter: 'It was a very long time since Charlotte had written anything so light-hearted as this careless valediction or, indeed, enjoyed the intimacy of shared humour.'⁸¹ The air at Kilkee adds to humour a quality of its own.

Later in the same month, Charlotte wrote again about her Kilkee experience, which had greatly impressed her, in a letter to her friend, Catherine Winkworth. In her enthusiasm for Kilkee, Charlotte gave only the briefest account possible of her honeymoon (and strangely omits all reference to Banagher): *'after a short sojourn in the capital - went to the coast - such a wild iron-bound coast - with such an ocean-view as I had not yet seen and such battling of waves with rocks as I had never imagined.'*

*'My husband is not a poet or a poetical man - and one of my grand doubts before marriage was about 'congenial tastes' and so on. The first morning we went out on to the cliffs and saw the Atlantic coming in all white foam, I did not know whether I should get leave or time to take the matter in my own way. I did not want to talk - but I did want to look and be silent. Having hinted a petition, licence was not refused - covered with a rug to keep off the spray I was allowed to sit where I chose - and he only interrupted me when he thought I crept too near the edge of the cliff. So far he is always good in this way - and this protection which does not interfere or pretend is I believe a thousand times better than any half sort of pseudo sympathy ...'*⁸² I like to think that Arthur and Charlotte stood or sat near the Amphitheatre watching the great rollers of the Atlantic coming in, in wild white fury with their foam caps iridescent with a green colour not to be found elsewhere, and a light spray blowing landwards, tasting of salt.

Nor was Arthur the unpoetic soul that Charlotte wrote of. In a letter to the cleric who had married them (Rev George Sowden) Arthur wrote on his return to Haworth: *'We had a delightful tour over nearly the same ground as you and your brother travelled, only we took the Shannon in our progress to Limerick: we also diverged to Kilkee, a glorious watering place, with the finest shore I ever saw - Completely girded with stupendous cliffs - it was most refreshing to sit on a rock and look out on the broad Atlantic boiling and foaming at our feet.'*⁸³ Kilkee, as Winifred Gérin has pointed out, was the longest stop during a fortnight's tour through the south-west of Ireland and from Kilkee they went to Tarbert, from Tarbert to Tralee and Killarney, which Charlotte decided: 'I will not describe it a bit.'⁸⁴ At a dangerous point in the Gap of Dunloe she had a near intimation with death when her horse seemed to go mad 'reared, plunged' and threw Charlotte on the stones right under her. 'I was lifted off the stones neither bruised by the fall nor touched by the mare's hoofs,'⁸⁵ Charlotte added gratefully.

From Killarney they travelled to Glengarriff, then turned eastwards to Cork, and finally returned to Dublin, from which place Charlotte wrote to Martha Brown, the house-keeper at Haworth, that 'we shall come home on Tuesday'⁸⁶ (1st August, 1854).

Postscript

Eight months later, Charlotte Brontë died, on Easter Eve, Saturday 31st March, 1855, 'of exhaustion,' and was buried on the following Wednesday, April 4th. She had not reached her 39th year. Her husband continued as curate at Haworth caring for his father-in-law, as he had promised his wife on her deathbed - carrying out to the letter his promise to be the support and consolation of the Rev. Patrick. When the old vicar died, aged 84, on June 7th 1861, Arthur was not offered the reversion of the living.

After one or two spells of temporary work, he returned to Ireland that same year and settled down in the Banagher area, the home of his childhood, gave up the ministry and went about his father's business - farming.⁸⁸ There had been a

sale at the Haworth Parsonage after the Vicar Brontë died, but all the manuscripts and the intimate belongings of the Brontë sisters were brought to Banagher. The Brontë servant, Martha Browne, accompanied him, remained there for some time, returned to England eventually but visited Banagher at intervals. A room was called 'Martha's room' at Hill House, Banagher, where the Rev. Arthur, turned farmer, now lived. In 1864 he married his cousin, Mary Anne Bell,⁸⁹ and, as Rebecca Fraser remarked, 'rather curiously he took her on their honeymoon to Upper Bangor in North Wales, the very place he had taken his small, fiery, nervous first wife.'⁹⁰ Certainly he never forgot her. And curiously he appears to have stayed, in August 1867, with some Banagher friends, at the West End Hotel, Kilkee.⁹¹ His wife's name is not listed, however.

In June 1906, Mrs Harriet Lucinda Bell died, aged 101 years,⁹² and six months later her son-in-law, the Rev. Arthur, died aged 90 years.⁹³ (2nd December, 1906). He had lived a life of deliberate obscurity, farming in the Banagher area for many years, so unknown generally that people in England wondered whether he was alive or dead. In 1892 one contributor to *Notes & Queries* enquired: 'NICHOLLS: BRONTË - Will any contributor to *N. & Q.* kindly tell me whether the Rev. Arthur Nicholls is still living ...?'⁹⁴ That same year Nicholls' name and entry re-appears for the first time in many years in Crockfords without the postal address.⁹⁵ His widow, Mary Anna, died aged 85 years on February 27, 1915.⁹⁶

Besides the two carte-de-visite photographs of C.B. and A.B.N. taken somewhere in Ireland, Limerick or Dublin perhaps,⁹⁷ the only other item which has survived from their honeymoon is 'a book of dried ferns'⁹⁸ which Charlotte gathered and pressed in the Irish countryside - probably at Kilkee or Banagher. A sad memento of a sad short life. Mrs. Shannon continued to advertise her hotel and in the winter of 1855-1856 she was 'induced to keep her extensive establishment open for the winter, as several sporting gentlemen and families were disappointed last winter and spring at not having a respectable hotel prepared to receive them.'⁹⁹

An unfortunate murder took place at her hotel in the autumn of 1860,¹⁰⁰ which cast a gloom over her establishment. Early in the following March, Mrs. Shannon decided to sell her hotel,¹⁰¹ but did not succeed in the end and advertised it again in 1861 and in 1863 and continued to do so until the mid-1870s, when she sold the main body of the hotel [now Gubbins' and Frawley's] to Henry Keane¹⁰² and she went to live in the former part of the hotel, facing Wellington Square (now West End House), where she died c.1897 at a very advanced age. Her daughter, Mrs. Dillon, lived at West End House until her death in 1902.

Readers may be interested in the following table which shows what the weather was like in West Clare during Charlotte's honeymoon. These accounts

WEATHER REPORT JULY 1854

Date	Day	Account of weather	Location of Charlotte & husband
7th	Friday	Changeable	
8th	Saturday	Fine, mild	
9th	Sunday	Fine, mild	
10th	Monday	Beautiful	At Banagher
11th	Tuesday	Fine	From Banagher to Limerick
12th	Wednesday	Fine	Probably at Kilkee
13th	Thursday	Changeable	Probably at Kilkee
14th	Friday	Beautiful	Probably at Kilkee
15th	Saturday	Fine	Probably at Kilkee
16th	Sunday	Fine	Probably at Kilkee
17th	Monday	Wet a.m.	Probably at Kilkee
18th	Tuesday	Bad, wet p.m.	At Kilkee - C.B. letter writing
19th	Wednesday	Fine, windy	At Kilkee
20th	Thursday	Fine, windy	At Kilkee
21st	Friday	Very wet, stormy all day	At Kilkee
22nd	Saturday	Beautiful	At Kilkee
23rd	Sunday	Fair weather	At Tarbert, Tralee
24th	Monday	Fair weather	At Killarney and
25th	Tuesday	Fair weather	Glengarriff
26th	Wednesday	Fair weather	Glengarriff to Cork
27th	Thursday	Fair weather	At Cork

appear in the diary of William Massy Blennerhassett, who was stationed at Killadysert, Co. Clare, as a sub-inspector of police.¹⁰³

ABBREVIATIONS

Barry [Barry, William Whittaker]: *A Walking Tour Round Ireland in 1865 by an Englishman*, London, Bentley, 1867.

Bassett's: *Bassett's Directory of the City and County of Limerick and of the Principal Towns in the Counties of Tipperary and Clare*, Limerick, Bassett's, 1866-7.

Binns: Binns, Jonathan: *The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland*, London, 2 vols., 1837, Vol. 2 C.F.: *Clare Freeman*

C.J.: *Clare Journal*

Fraser: Fraser, Rebecca: *Charlotte Brontë*, London, Methuen, 1988.

Gérin: Gérin, Winifred: *Charlotte Brontë: The Evolution of Genius*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967

Gordon: Gordon, Lyndall: *Charlotte Brontë: A Passionate Life*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1994

Hickey & Smith: Hickey, Des and Smith, Gus: *A Paler Shade of Green*, London, Leslie Frewin, 1972 [cf. McClory, Kevin: *At the Gates of Ealing*.]

Hogan (1842): [Hogan, Hugh]: *A Directory of Kilkee in the County Clare, On the Western Coast of Ireland, with a Map shewing the situation and number of Lodges ...*, published by and for Hugh Hogan, Proprietor of the Kilkee Baths. Limerick, G.M. Goggin, Printer, 34 George-Street [n.d. but 1842]

Hogan (1863): Hogan, Hugh: *A Sail Down the Shannon and Visitors Hand-Book for Kilkee ...* Limerick, Guy & Co., 114, George Street, MDCCCLXIII (1863)

K.C.C.: *King's County Chronicle, The* Lane: Lane, Margaret: *The Brontë Story ...* London and Toronto, Heinemann, 1953.

L.C.: *Limerick Chronicle*.

L.E.P.: *Limerick Evening Post*.

L.M.: *Leeds Mercury*.

L.R.: *Limerick Reporter*.

Longford: Longford, Elizabeth (Countess of): *Eminent Victorian Women*.

Peters: Peters, Margot: *The Unquiet Soul: A Biography of Charlotte Brontë* (1975)

Pinion: Pinion, F.B.: *A Brontë Companion, Literary Associations, Background and Reference*, London, M. [The Macmillan Press] 1975.

S.C.: *Southern Chronicle*.

Shorter: Shorter, Clement K.: *Charlotte Brontë And Her Sisters*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1905.

Transactions: *Brontë Society Transactions*.

Ward: Ward, Mrs. Humphrey, in Preface to the Haworth edition of the *Life and Works of Charlotte Brontë And Her Sisters*, with introduction by Mrs. Humphrey Ward and C.K.S. Shorter, 12 vols, 1899.

Wise: Wise, Thomas J.: *An Account of her Honeymoon*, By Charlotte Brontë: In a letter to Miss Catherine Winkworth [with an introduction by T.J. Wise, and with portraits] Leeds, Botherton Library, n.d. (One of an edition of thirty copies printed for private circulation, 1930s)

W. & S.: Wise, Thomas J. and Symington, J.: *The Brontës, Their Lives, Friendships & Correspondence*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, Shakespeare Head Press, (1st ed. 1933) Reprinted by Blackwell in 2 vols. 1980, Vol. 2.

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1. Hickey & Smith, 126-7; Pinion, 385
2. Vogler, Thomas A. (ed): *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Wuthering Heights. A Collection of Critical Essays*, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., Eaglewood Cliffs, 1968 (introduction by Vogler), 1.
3. Hickey & Smith, 127
4. Lock, John & Dixon, Canon W.T.: *A Man of Sorrow. The Life, Letters and Times of the Rev. Patrick Brontë (1771-1861)*, London, Nelson, 1965.
5. *Graduati Cantabrigienses sive Catalogue .. A.B. Anno MDCLIX usque ad decimum diem Octobris MDCCCXXIII*, Cantabrigiae MDCCCXXIII (1823) 65 (has 'Bronte, Patr... Joh ... A.B. ... 1806'.)
6. *Modern Quarterly*, Miscellany No. 1. (1947)
7. Ward
8. Brontë, Charlotte: *Shirley*, A Tale (1849)
9. Woolf, Virginia: *Jane Eyre and Wuthering Heights* published in Vogler (cf. supra 2) 101.
10. The Rev. Alan Bell (1791-1839) LL.D. Headmaster of the Royal School, Banagher, 1824-1839 when he was succeeded by his second son, Rev. James Adamson Bell. Dr. Bell married Harriet Lucinda Adamson (1801-1902) of Dublin.
11. Cf. photograph 16c. in Fraser and Charlotte Brontë's description in W. & S. 134-5 (letter 905 (673) C.B. to Margaret Wooler, Banagher, July 10th, '54.
12. Burtchell, George Dames & Sadlier, Thomas Ulick: *Alumni Dublinensis*, Dublin, Alex Thom, 1935, 619.
13. C.B. to Ellen Nussey, 10 July, 1846, in W. & S., Vol. 2, 101.
14. Cf. article by L.S. [Sir Leslie Stephen] on Charlotte Brontë in *Dictionary of National Biography* 2 (1908) 1320.

15. C.B. to Ellen Nussey, Haworth, April 11th, 1854, in Spark, Muriel: *The Brontë Letters selected and with an introduction by Muriel Sparks*, London, Peter Nevill, 1954, 199.
16. W. & S. 133
17. *Census of Ireland For The Year 1851, Addenda to ... showing the number of Houses, Families, And Persons In The Several Townlands And Towns Of Ireland*, Dublin, Alexander Thom, 1854.
18. The term 'salt-water lodge' was used in the early advertisements from different places in west Clare, see for example, *Ennis Chronicle*, 27 April, 14 & 28 May, 29 June 1789.
19. Cf. *Third Report of the Commissioners on the Nature and Extent of the Bogs in Ireland, Pt. VIII - West Part of the County of Clare. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 28th April 1814*. The map is described: 'A Map of the Bogs in the West Part of the County of Clare District No. 10 on which are laid down proposed Drains for the Improvement of the Bogs. Levelled & Surveyed ... by Thomas Colbourne, Engineer, 1811. I am grateful to the late Monsignor Ignatius Murphy MA, DD, for this reference.
20. *Ennis Chronicle*, 1 May 1788. Cf. Murphy, Ignatius: *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century*, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1991, 163-4 and 347 (n.43)
21. *Ennis Chronicle*, June 27, 1793. I am grateful to Mr. Tom Donovan, Clarina, Co. Limerick, for a copy of this interesting reference.
22. Cf. my article *A Journey Through West Clare 1800 A.D.*, in *The Other Clare*, Vol. 5, April 1981, 38.
23. *Ennis Chronicle*, 14 & 18 August 1794.
24. *General Advertiser or Limerick Gazette*, July 23, 1813.
25. *C.J.* 4 October 1813.
26. *L.C.* 3 June 1815.
27. Mason, Wm. Shaw: *A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland*, 1816. Vol. 2, 425-6.
28. *ibid.* 468
29. *Census of Ireland 1821*, 145
30. *ibid.*
31. Malone, Rev. Sylvester: *Tenant Wrong Illustrated In A Nutshell*, Dublin, William B. Kelly, 1867, 7-9.
32. *L.R.* 26 September 1873.
33. *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 May 1824.
34. Murphy, J.: *Pre-Famine Passenger Services on the Lower Shannon*, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 16 (1973); McNeill, D.B.: *Irish Passenger Services, Vol 2, South of Ireland*, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1971, 149-51.
35. *Census of Ireland, 1831*.
36. Church of Ireland, Union of Kilrush: The Rev. Mr. Arthur's Minute Book under 7th April 1828. I am most grateful to Mr. Pádraig De Barra, Kilkee, for this information.
37. Mrs. Shannon's four daughters were Mary, who married John Kelly, Creagh, (*L.R.* 7 August 1840); Jane, who died at the West End Hotel in February 1857 (*C.J.* 9 February 1857); a daughter who died 17th June 1875 unmarried (*C.J.* 24 June 1875); and the fourth daughter, Susan Margaret, who was married to Dr. P.W. Dillon MD of Jail St., Ennis, who died 30th March 1890 (*C.J.* 31 March 1890). His widow was found dead at West End House, Kilkee, on Wednesday 15th January 1902 'aged about 70 years' (*C.J.* 20 January 1902).
38. *L.E.P.* 6 August 1814.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.* 21 May 1818.
41. *Ibid.* 20 June 1828.
42. *Ibid.* 5 July 1831.
43. *Ibid.* 19 September 1832.
44. Hogan (1842) 2.
45. *L.C.* 24 August 1840. The *Limerick Chronicle* of 30 June 1841 described the Kilkee hotels: 'but how shall we celebrate the cateresses of the hotels, Mrs. Shannon and her amiable daughters, are this year gone to "the other side of the water" where she is enabled to afford the visitors even still more of that good fare for which her former house has been always famous ...' Over the years, until she retired to West End House, Mrs. Shannon was probably the most prolific advertiser among the local hotel owners.
46. *L.C.* 15 May 1841.
47. *L.C.* 1 June 1844.
48. *L.C.* 15 May 1841.
49. *L.C.* 9 June 1841.
50. *L.C.* 10 May 1843.
51. *L.C.* 1 June 1844.
52. *L.C.* 24 May 1845.
53. *L.C.* 3 July 1847.
54. *L.C.* 17 May 1848.
55. *L.C.* 24 May 1845
56. *L.C.* 1 June 1844
57. *L.C.* 29 July 1846, where the name is incorrectly spelt 'De Fanconceur.' Perhaps the name should read 'De Fauconberg.' A 'Fauconberg' is mentioned among the dead at the Battle of Agincourt in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (Act 4 Scene 8, 104): '... of lusty earls, Grandpré and Roussi, Fauconberg and Foix ...'
58. Lord John Manners MP (later 7th Duke of Rutland). Second son of the 5th Duke, he was MP for Colchester 1850-57. His first wife, Catherine Marley of Belvedere, Co. Westmeath, had died in childbirth in April 1854. A leading Conservative, he wrote of his Irish visit (including Kilkee) in his *Notes on an Irish Tour*, (first edition 1847). Died 1906.
59. Lieut. Lord Spencer Scott Compton (1821-1855). Third son of the Marquis of Northampton. Capt. 15th Light Dragoons.
60. Hon. Windham-Quin. The Hon. Windham Henry Wyndham-Quin, second son of the second Earl of Dunraven, he was a captain Grenadier Guards. He spent a month in Kilkee with his parents in 1843. Died 1865.
61. Augustus Stafford O'Brien MP. Of the Cratloe branch of the O'Briens, he was a nephew of the Earl of Gainsborough and lived also at Blatherwyke Park, Wansford, Northampts. He was Secretary to the Admiralty (Mar-Dec 1852), MP Northampts. 1841-1857. He was a close friend of Lord John Manners with whom he came to the West End Hotel.
62. Knight of Glin, John Fraunceis Fitz-Gerald. Born 1791, he was DL, JP and High Sheriff 1830, Co. of Limerick. A fairly regular visitor to Kilkee, he died April 1854. A popular and benevolent landlord, he died of cholera which he contracted while carrying out his duties at the Poor House in Glin.
63. Binns, Vol. 2, 397.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Austin, Alfred: *Spring And Autumn In Ireland*, Edinburgh & London, William Blackwood & Sons, 1900, 8. This volume was produced from two papers printed in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1894 and 1895.
66. Barry (1867) 211.
67. National Library of Ireland Inchiquin Mss. (Lady O'Brien's notes on travelling 1844 etc. These notes (now Inchiquin Ms. 14859) begin c.1830 and continue until Lady O'Brien's death in 1856. I am very grateful to the Hon. Mrs. Grania O'Brien Weir for this reference.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. W & S. 133-134.
71. Joseph Bell, fourth son of Dr. Alan and Mrs. Bell. Born 1831. BA (1854) MA (1862) LL.D., all with honours; Rector of Banagher 1867-1872. He was elected Bishop of Meath with a numerical majority but not the essential two-thirds and the Irish bench of bishops of the Church of Ireland opposed him. In 1885 he was unanimously elected Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Died 10 Dec. 1891. (Cf. K.C.C. 17 Dec. 1891).
72. W & S. 134 (C.B. Nicholls to Miss Margaret Wooler, Banagher, 10 July 1854).
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. W & S. 135 (C.B. Nicholls to Miss Margaret Wooler, 10 July 1854).
76. *Ibid.*
77. 12 August 1846.
78. W & S. 135.
79. 8 July 1854.
80. W & S. 135 (C.B. Nicholls to Catherine Wooler - the second of the Wooler sisters - from 'Kilkee, Co. Clare, July 18th, 1854'; Gérin, 548; Fraser, 469; Barker, 760 and Peters, 398.
81. Barker, 760.
82. W & S. 137-138. (C.B. Nicholls to Catherine ('Katie') Winkworth, Cork, 27 July 1854); Gérin, 548-9; Fraser, 470; Barker, 760; Peters, 398; Lane, 273.
83. W & S. 148; A.B. Nicholls to the Rev. George Sowden (Haworth, Keighley, Aug. 1854); Gérin, 549; Fraser, 469; Barker, 759. W & S. 138.
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.* 137.
86. *Ibid.* 137.
87. *Leeds Mercury*, 7 April 1855.
88. *Transactions* (March 1907), Vol. IV, (Parts XVI-XXII inclusive. Article by H.E. Wroot) p.11 et seq.; *Ibid.*, Part LII. No. 3 of Vol. X (1942) 101; *The Times*, 6 December 1906 (obituary notice on the Rev. A.B.N.).
89. K.C.C., 31 August 1864
90. Fraser, 498.
91. *Southern Chronicle*, 7 August 1867.
92. Gérin, 546; K.C.C. 5 & 12 June 1902.
93. *Irish Times*, 4 & 5 December 1906; K.C.C. 6 December 1906; *The Times*, 6 December 1906.
94. *Notes & Queries*, 8th Series, II, 6 August 1892, 107.
95. *Transactions* April 1912, 236; *Crookford's Clerical Directory*, 1892, where the entry simply reads 'Nicholls, Arthur Bell, T.C.D. B.A. and Div. Test (2nd. cl) 1844. Formerly of Haworth, Yorks.'
96. *The Times*, 2 March 1915; *Irish Times*, 28 February, 2 March 1915; *Transactions*, Part XXV (April 1915) 120; *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. VI (May 1915) 163.
97. Cf. Audrey W. Hall's excellent monogram: *A Suspected New Photograph of Charlotte Brontë*, 1991, for a full discussion of the Brontë photographs.
98. *Transactions*, Part 64 (No. 4 of Vol. 12) 1954, 298.
99. *L.C.* 5 December 1855.
100. Cf. *Dublin Evening Mail*, 15 October 1860; C.J. 15 & 22 October 1860; C.F. 26 October 1860 etc. for the murder of a Chilean gentleman named Don Seluco Guerritz at Kilkee.
101. *L.C.* 2 March 1861.
102. The hotel was advertised in Hogan (1863) 43, but in Slater's *Directory* of 1870, Mrs. Shannon was listed as merely a 'householder.' In *Basset's Daily Chronicle* of 18 July 1879 we learn that it was now owned by Mr. Henry Keane, a brother of the infamous Marcus Keane.
103. I am indebted to Desmond Fitz-Gerald, Knight of Glin, for placing the Blennerhassett diaries at my perusal.

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