

John Davis White's Sixty Years in Cashel

By Denis G. Marnane

Introduction

It is a commonplace that elderly, intelligent, lively individuals with long years of active engagement in particular communities are told that they should "put pen to paper" and leave some account of personalities known, events witnessed and changes experienced. Such suggestions are rarely acted on.

Cashel is unusual in that there are several such first-hand accounts, of varying length and quality but all of interest.¹ The most substantial such published anatomy of a nineteenth century Tipperary provincial town is John Davis White's *Sixty Years in Cashel*.

White was born in county Kilkenny in 1820 and moved with his family to Cashel when he was eleven years old.² In 1838 he left Cashel for a few months to work in Limerick but was unhappy and returned to Cashel where he remained for the rest of his life. His employment in the office of the diocesan registrar began a lifetime association with the Church of Ireland diocese of Cashel and gave him access to local historical records.

In the 1850s he made his first venture into printing and in May 1864 launched a weekly newspaper, the *Cashel Gazette*. Unlike most newspapers of the era, White's pages were more likely to be filled with items of antiquarian and historical interest than politics and polemics. With his own printing press, White published a variety of items of historical interest, most commercially obvious, *A Guide to the Rock of Cashel*, and in 1892 a compilation of much of the historical material he had published over the years, *Anthologia Tipperariensis*.

There were few aspects of non-political life in Cashel untouched by some degree of involvement by White. Perusal of contemporary commercial directories, for example Slater's of 1870, reveals the name of John D. White under such headings as "Agents", "Attorneys", "Banks", and under "Miscellaneous" the reader is informed that White, apart from printing



John Davis White (1820-1893).

1. Apart from White's work, examples include Martin O'Dwyer (ed.), *Cashel Memories by Francis Phillips* (Cashel, 2000); Henry Stone, "Reminiscences of Cashel Eighty Years Ago", published in the *Cashel Sentinel* 1908-1915 and a series of articles 'Reminiscences of a Journalist', which began in the *Tipperary Vindicator* on 9 Nov. 1866, written by its editor Maurice Lenihan and which includes material of Cashel interest.
2. For a more detailed treatment of White's life and work, see D. G. Marnane, John Davis White of Cashel (1820-1893) in *T.H.J.* (1994), pp 97-104 and D. Woodworth, John Davis White and the Cashel Library in *T.H.J.* (1989), pp 149-53.

and publishing his newspaper (every Saturday), was also commissioner for oaths and registrar of marriages for the diocese.

He was also secretary of the local infirmary. During his time he served on the town commission and as a member of the board of guardians. Perhaps of most personal satisfaction to White was his appointment as diocesan librarian. On the ground floor of the library, he established a small museum, displaying a very eclectic collection.

John Davis White, now in his seventies, spent a great part of Wednesday 14 June 1893 showing visitors over the library and museum. The fact that he was suffering from a severe attack of "gout" did not keep him from staying late, arranging and recording the history of his exhibits. Around ten o'clock, at his home "St. Dominick's Abbey" in Lady's Well, he retired to bed but soon became very ill and died about eleven o'clock. He was buried in St. John's churchyard.³

At the time of his death, White was working on a memoir he intended to call "*Sixty Years in Cashel*". In August his widow published the material, explaining in a brief introduction to the text that "The writer of the following reminiscences died suddenly before they were entirely completed. At the request of many friends, they are now published by his widow".

The text as published, "Price 1s. 6d.", shows every evidence of her rush to print. The pagination is confusing but, more importantly, the arrangement of topics appears to follow no particular plan. There are no chapters and the whole text reads very much like an early draft, White writing down descriptions and accounts of people and events, very much as they came into his head.

In his opening paragraph White declared that his recollections "may not be all in consecutive order", suggesting perhaps that the text was in fact fairly well in the order he would have published it. He also stated his credo as an autobiographer and chronicler of his local community: "I shall be careful to avoid mention of what would be calculated to give pain to the living, I shall write only what I know to be true, or have had on good authority". White did not move to Cashel until 1831 but family members had earlier contact with the town and through their memories the writer's reach into the past is considerably extended.

White was a member of the Church of Ireland in Cashel and this perspective permeates his pages, adding to their interest. Coming through every line of his text is John Davis White's fascination with and love of every aspect of Cashel life in the nineteenth century. In the early part of his account, the human geography of the town, as it was when he first knew it, absorbs him. White was clearly one of those people who walked with ghosts.

Given the circumstances under which the text was printed, the poor quality of the paper, the lack of adequate binding and the polarised state of politics at the time of publication, *Sixty Years in Cashel* is today extremely rare and has never been reprinted. Andrew Finn in his *Cashel and its Ancient Corporation* (Dublin, 1930) made unattributed use of some of White's material.

Treatment of the Text

White's text is presented below without change, omission or correction. The original text was paginated from 1 to 12, followed by 9 to 64. This has been corrected and the correct pagination is indicated by means of square brackets. In order to make the text much more reader-friendly, White's very long sentences have been shortened and sub-headings have been added.

3. *Cashel Sentinel*, 17 June 1893.

Part One

Under this head I propose to lay before the readers of the *Cashel Gazette* some recollections of Cashel during my long residence there. They may not be all in consecutive order, but I shall endeavour to make the narrative interesting to all who are natives of the old city, or who have been residents either in it or its neighbourhood. The names of many persons now long dead and forgotten will be introduced, and incidents remembered by few but myself will be placed on record. My father's recollections of persons, places, and things, will also be introduced. I shall be careful to avoid mention of what would be calculated to give pain to the living. I shall write only what I know to be true, or have had on good authority. What I do write shall be for posterity as well as for the entertainment of my readers.

I have often thought of the great interest which ought to be taken in a narrative of the scenes and incidents which occurred in Cashel when it was taken by the Irish in 1641, and when the Rock was taken by Inchiquin in 1647. Many of my readers do not know that some account of the former was written by a gentleman named Sall, and an account of the latter by the Rev. Andrew Sall, and both can be seen in print.⁴

These, however, only give the history for two or three days, but I hope to record our local history (at least some interesting points of it) for the past sixty years. Some time ago a venerable friend of mine, who still lives, supplied me with a very interesting narrative of his school days in Cashel, which were printed in the *Gazette* at the time, but they also were very brief.⁵ I happen to have a very good memory, and have many documents and memorandums which I shall make use of in the fulfilment of my task, trusting that my readers will appreciate my motives, and make due allowances for any supposed inaccuracies. I proceed with my narrative.

Background

On the 22nd May, 1831, which was my eleventh birthday, when our family came back from services at the Parish Church of Odogh, a letter from my first cousin, the late Ambrose Going of Ballyphillip, awaited my father. It informed him of the death of his own father-in-law, Colonel Richard Pennefather of Newpark, and that as his son William Pennefather had come in for a large share of the Pennefather property, he had resigned the post of Deputy Mayor of Cashel, which he had held for some time, and that the appointment would be given to my father should he accept it.⁶[1]

-
4. There were two Andrew Salls, both Jesuits, Cashel-born and cousins. Not surprisingly, perhaps, they have been confused with each other – the *DNB* for example treating them as one individual (*DNB*, XVII, pp 69-73). Their separate identities have been clarified by Andrew Breeze, "Andrew Sall (d. 1682), Andrew Sall (d. 1686) and the Irish Bible" in *Eigse*, XXVIII (1994-5), pp 100-102. The account of 1647 may be found in R. Walsh O.P., 'A Letter about the massacre in Cashel Cathedral, 14 Sept. 1647, written by Fr. Andrew Sall' in *Arch. Hib.*, VI (1917), pp 69-74. White published a version of this in his *Cashel Gazette* (C.G.), 19 March 1881. White's reference to 1641 and Sall's account probably meant Nicholas Sall, who gave evidence in 1652 about events of a decade earlier.
 5. This may refer to some pieces in the C.G. in July 1881.
 6. Richard Pennefather, Lieut.-Col. of the Tipperary Militia and MP for Cashel, was a sixth generation descendant of a Cromwellian grantee. The family estate centred on New Park (formerly and latterly Ballyowen), a short distance north-east of Cashel. A member of the third generation of the family was MP for Cashel 1716-33.

I may here mention that under the old Corporation a new Mayor chosen from among the Aldermen was appointed every year, while the office of Deputy Mayor was a permanent one. My father (Benjamin Newport White) accepted the appointment, and shortly after proceeded to Cashel, where at that time we had several relatives and friends. Both my father and mother had known Cashel previously. He had passed through it in the year 1786, when only ten years old, and had been often there during the eventful year of 1798.⁷

In the latter year my mother was 17 years of age, her father (Newport White of Lisowen) having been fired at while at the wedding of one of his tenants (fortunately without effect). He thought it prudent to leave his residence, in the County of Limerick, and came with his family to Cashel.⁸ They lodged at one time in the large house in the Main Street, formerly occupied by the late Daniel Kyte, and at another in the house at the corner of Chapel Lane, formerly the residence of the late James Heney.⁹

Cashel Corporation consisted of a mayor and up to seventeen aldermen, constituting a self-perpetuating body. A government inquiry of 1835 (*First report of commissioners appointed to inquire into corporations* 1835 (28), xxviii, appendix, pp 459-75), declared that the reality since 1777 was that "absolute power both over the property and privileges of the corporation has been exercised by the patron, through the board of aldermen". This was a reference to Richard Pennefather who died in May 1831. The aldermen were Pennefather, family members and their connections. Corporation lands amounted to some 2,000 acres, most of which was in Pennefather's hands at a ridiculously low rent and consequently of no benefit to the people of Cashel. This packing of corporation places included Richard Pennefather's third son William as deputy mayor, this position becoming vacant when he succeeded to his father's control over the corporation. White's account provides evidence of how this network operated. Ambrose Going of Ballyphilip was William Pennefather's brother-in-law and White's first cousin.

7. "My father remembered riding up the Main Street, Cashel behind his mother, in the year 1786, when he was ten years of age, on a journey from Kilmoylan to Ballyphilip, to see her daughter Mrs. Going". (J. D. White, *History of the family of White etc.* (Cashel, 1887) – not paginated.) Mary White married William Going in May 1784 and died in 1833. (For White family, see *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London, 1976), pp 1205-09.)
8. John Davis White's father, Benjamin Newport White, married Catherine Elizabeth White in 1814. They were both descended from the Rev. Newport White (1694-1759) who was the second son of John White of Cappaghwhite. Benjamin Newport White was his grandson and Catherine Elizabeth his great-granddaughter. Catherine Elizabeth's father was Newport White of Lisowen in County Limerick. Leaving Lisowen for the reason stated, he settled in Borrisnafarney in North Tipperary. Newport White's wife (John Davis White's grandmother) was Harriet Davis.
9. What is striking is the difference between these two houses. Kyte's premises at 37 and 43 Main Street was the centre of a large range of business, medical preparations, bakery, stationers, china and earthenware dealer, coal merchant, corn dealer, grocery, drapery, livery stables, perfumers, timber merchant and whitesmith. (*Slater*, 1856). These premises were valued at £46. On the other hand, Chapel Lane was notorious for its over-crowding (*Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission* (Ireland), 1877 (C 1787), xl, part III, p. 329. Most of the houses in the Lane were held from William Bayly Upton, a very well-known Cashel character. Even portions of rooms were let and rent was collected each Monday morning. One source noted sixty persons in one of these houses, a building of four rooms. (*Tipperary Vindicator*, 14 Dec. 1866). White's grandfather was fortunate to lodge in one of the few houses not held by Upton, but nevertheless the valuation was around £2.

Arrival in Cashel

But all this is mere introduction. On the 14th October, 1831 I, together with my Aunt Harriet, brothers Newport and Henry, and sister Harriet, made our "Exodus" to Cashel.¹⁰ It was 26 long Irish miles from Conahy, our place in the county of Kilkenny. When about half way, at Leigh, we alighted from our vehicle to take our lunch, and set down by the side of the road, around the head of the chestnut mare.

While she partook of her feed of oats, unfortunately my brother Newport put a bone of a duck into her mouth; she reared up, put one of her forelegs upon him, and made for the ditch, breaking one of the shafts of the vehicle. Fortunately a rope was found, with which the shaft was mended, and we proceeded on our journey.¹¹ At Leith we met the late James Darby Scully, and his sons the late Denis and Jerome, who were shooting in the bog at Leigh, where Mrs. Scully held some property.¹² We had to pay sixpence for turnpike to a man named Kickham at Leigh, and we got from him a ticket which freed us through the turnpike at Grange, but we had to pay another sixpence just at the entrance to Lady's Well Street.¹³

It was dark when we arrived at Cashel, but a cheerful fire awaited us in the old house behind the iron gate in Lady's Well Street, which is now ruinous, and where the family lived for 27 years after. Our landlord was Mr. Edward Ryan; he lived in a house which stood partly before the one which we occupied. We paid £48 a year for this house, with a small garden to the rear, and three acres of land which lay within a short distance of the town, between the Thurles and Ardmayle roads.

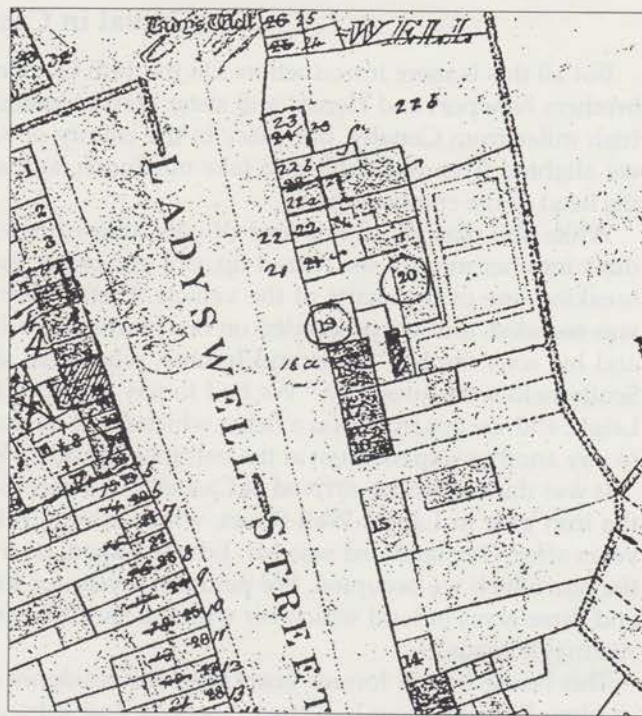
This house had in former years been the residence of a Mr. John Bowes (to whose daughter or niece Edward Ryan had been married), and subsequently was the residence of the Rev. Dr. Wright, Parish Priest of Cashel. I have been told that many couples were united by him in the holy bands of matrimony in the hall of this house.¹⁴

Every person and thing in Cashel was new to us; our lives heretofore were spent in the country.¹⁵ An occasional visit to Kilkenny City or to the fair of Ballyragget supplied our chief notions of what a town was. Our good and prudent mother did not allow us outside the iron gate by ourselves, and except on Sundays when we went to Church, we saw very little of its

-
10. His aunt was his mother's youngest sister, Henrietta, born 1801 and died unmarried 9 Oct. 1843. Newport Benjamin, the writer's eldest brother, was born in March 1815, became a clergyman in Cashel and Kilkenny and died in May 1870. His other brother Henry Vere also became a clergyman, in Dublin. He was born in December 1817 and died in November 1865. His great-grandson was the novelist and biographer Terence de Vere White. John Davis White's sister Harriet (Henrietta) was two years younger than him and died in May 1888.
 11. Connahy is in the barony of Fassadinin in county Kilkenny. White family tradition states that the writer's father was given a lease of land by his elder brother and that a house was built at a cost of £600.
 12. James Darby Scully of Tullamore was born in 1779 and died at Cashel in 1853. He was first cousin of Denys Scully of Kilfeakle (famous as the author of a work on the Penal Laws). His two sons, mentioned by White, were Denis James, for many years Petty Sessions Clerk at Cashel, who died in March 1890 and Jerome James of Silverfort, who died in July 1879. (B. C. MacDermot, *Letters of John Scully to James Duff Coghlan 1923-1927 in The Irish Genealogist*, VI, 2 (1981), pp 233-4.)
 13. The turnpike at Leigh, where the N75 meets the N8, is still called "Turnpike". A few months after White made this journey, Charles Bianconi described this turnpike trust as well managed but that it was managed expensively. Its annual income in 1831 was £1,058 but its expenditure, mainly on road repairs, was £1,187. (*Sel. Comm., on turnpike roads in Ireland, 1831-32* (645), xvii. pp 133, xvii-xix.)

streets. Our time was principally spent in the garden [2] where fortifications were constructed with old pieces of timber, and these were attacked and defended with as much energy and determination as if the fate of a kingdom depended on the possession of the 'fortress'.

Of course the new boys were a curiosity to the boys of the neighbourhood, and some of them occasionally climbed from the 'Majors Field' to the corner of the garden wall, and looked in. On one occasion I suppose we had ordered them to leave, and they had refused to go, and accordingly a fight commenced. We threw stones at them and they threw them at us, but the battle was ended by my brother Harry hitting a boy named P.C. (who is now an old *boy*) over the eye with a stone.



An old map of Lady's Well St., showing Nos. 19 and 20 referred to by White; see footnote 14.

Factions

The pugnacity of the Irish people of all classes and ages was then and in times before it very great. Amongst the higher class there could hardly be a ball or public meeting after which there

14. This house was on the Terrace on the east side of Ladyswell and occupied by Dr. Wright and his curates. (C. Lee, *Cashel Parish Church of St. John the Baptist 1795-1995* in B. Moloney (ed.), *Times to Cherish* (Cashel, 1994), p. 19). Richard Wright, born Thurles 1747, was P.P. of Cashel 1804-21. *Griffith's Valuation* gives the landlord as Edmund Ryan and the holding as 'house, offices, yard and garden, the buildings being valued at £11. (See map.)
15. Exactly fifty years after White arrived in Cashel, he wrote an article in his newspaper (15 Oct. 1881), looking back on the experience, noting that of those who arrived in the town with him, only himself and his sister were still alive. In some respects, he opined, the past fifty years had seen a decline in the town, with the loss of its status as the seat of an archbishopric, the abolition of the corporation and the fact that the "city" no longer returned an M.P. to parliament. Then Cashel was a "good market town", whereas now it was a "big village". Then all of the houses in John Street were occupied by gentry, as were a number of houses in Main Street and in the 'suburbs'. Coaches from Dublin to Cork passed through the "city" and the journey to Dublin from Cashel took fourteen hours. Then best beef could be bought in the market for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a lb. The population had declined from about 8,000 to 4,999 (actually the figure in 1831 was around 7,000). Part of the problem was that "railways have been made around Cashel but they do not come near it". (It was another twenty years before Cashel got its railway connection.)

were not two or three duels. Faction fights often connected with feuds were of such old standing that the combatants did not know why they fought and accordingly when the citizens of Cashel had no enemy to contend with they fought amongst themselves, and as there were no 'Peelers' to interfere they were allowed to 'see it out'.

It will be here well to state that at this time Cashel was divided between two parties, 'The Lady's Well boys' and 'The Lower Gate boys'.¹⁶ Woe betide the boy of either side who ventured beyond the corner of John Street (which was the bounds) into the domain of the other party, to ask for contributions towards 'The Bonfire' or with a 'Wren Bush'. The usual battle ground was the cliffs outside the Rock; the Lower Gate boys would attack and the Lady's Well boys would defend the cliffs. I was told by a man named James Morressy (usually called 'Spenser') that on one occasion he was Captain of the Lady's Well army, and that one of the officers stationed in Cashel being a witness of the fray suggested to the Captain of the Lower Gate party that their object should be get down the leader of the opponents. 'Immediately' said Morressy 'I got a blow of a stone in the eye which knocked it out, and this ended the battle for the day'.¹⁷

Apropos of this national combative quality, I may mention that when I lived in Limerick in the year 1838, the 'Garryowen boys' and the 'Boherbuy boys' used often meet on a Sunday in a field in the neighbourhood of the City, to hold what was called a 'Battering Match'. Heaps of stones were collected at either end of the field, and these were hurled at the opponents. Again it is related that at the time of a heavy fall of snow, the inhabitants of Thurles at either side of the bridge commenced a battle with snowballs, which eventuated in one with stones, and this was only put an end to by the calling out of the military to separate the combatants.

Sanitation

But to proceed. At this time the east side of Lady's Well Street was on an elevation high above the western side; the street was what is commonly called a 'hanging level', and if you began to run from the East to the West you could hardly stop yourself. The terrace was not then built, and opposite nearly every dwelling was a 'dung hole' as it was called. In these the sweepings of the street were collected, and woe to the pedestrian who ventured to walk down the street after nightfall without a lantern; he would inevitably get 'bogged' in one or other of these receptacles.¹⁸

In these 'good old times' it was generally necessary for ladies to wear 'Pattens' to keep them

16. While White is here describing the situation in Cashel during his childhood, this factional division persisted. For example, in the general election of 1865, the two candidates for the Cashel seat, James Lyster O'Beirne (who won) and John Lanigan, were supported respectively by the 'Lower Gate Boys' and the 'Lady's Well Boys'. (C.G. 15 July 1865). Incidentally, White played his own role in formenting this factionalism, as he acted for the successful candidate in Cashel, spending money, as much as £300, garnering support in a contest where as few as around 100 votes could win the seat. (*Minutes of evidence taken at the trial of the Cashel election petitions, 1868-9* (121), xlix, evidence of White.)

17. White wrote about these two factions in C.G. 30 Jan. 1869, making it clear that his account of Morrissey's fate was not just hyperbole – he was blind in one eye thereafter. The walls of the fields at the back of the Palace were often used as a rampart, behind which stones were hurled on attackers. White commented that a man from one of the named sides of the town would consider himself "banished" if obliged to live at the other side.

out of the mud.[3] There was neither pavements or flagging at the side of the streets, and in John Street especially more than a yard of the space was taken up by iron railings before the residences of the gentry; some few of these remain still.

Church of Ireland

At this time Archbishop Laurence had his residence at the Palace, though he was very often absent.¹⁹ The Library was then at the west of the Palace; an old pensioner named Robert Tiler was the gate keeper. When the Archbishop came in before service to the Cathedral preceded only by the Verger (John Matthews), the congregation invariably stood up. He was followed by the officiating clergy, then the Vicars Choral, and then came the choir boys. This order is reversed now – the choir boys first, and the greatest in dignity last, I do not know why.

At this time the Very Rev. Samuel Adams was Dean, but he commonly resided at Northlands, near Kingscourt in the county of Cavan, and only came here at Christmas and Easter. His curate was the Rev. Jones Morris Poole, who was afterwards Rector of the Union of Athassel, and to whom the Parishioners are indebted for the railings at the street side of the Church Yard. He resided at the house next but one to the corner of Blind Street, now occupied by Mr. Kendrick. The Rev. Charles Mayne, who was Vicar General of the Diocese (son of Judge Mayne, who died in Cashel, and is buried near the east window of the Cathedral) lived a door or so lower on the same side of a house which has been long taken down, and two other built in its place.²⁰

18. The unsanitary state of the town was often discussed in White's newspaper. Within a few weeks of the paper's first appearance, a letter was published complaining about the dreadful state of the Market House (C.G., 25 June 1864). Nearly twenty years later, similar points were being made (C.G., 21 June 1882). Attacking the town commissioners with respect to these matters was to miss the point, as this body was not responsible for sanitation, responsibility for which lay with the guardians. A report of 1877 (*Parl. Papers 1877/x1*) stated that 200 of the 750 houses in the town were shared by humans and animals. On 17 Oct 1876, the town clerk could only agree when faced with the observation: 'As I came into the town this morning, I saw a couple of houses unroofed and they appeared to have been converted into public privies'. The houses had been burned some months earlier and clearly no one was taking any action about them (p. 329). The official responsible for street sanitation could only say "yes" when asked if he was aware of "the filth flowing out from the front of these houses to the road". This individual also admitted that human waste for many houses was simply pitched at their rear and where there were no backways was thrown on the streets. A particular nuisance was the pack of hounds kept in the centre of the town, for which horse-flesh was boiled for feeding them (p. 346). This same witness was pressed about keeping pigs in his own house. This was denied, except for the time he had brought a sow into his hallway because she was farrowing!

A visitor to Cashel in 1852 commented that a large part of the town "consists of poor dirty crooked streets, with long rows of wretched cottages, many of them thatched and all of them with interiors answering to the exteriors – filthy, dark, unfurnished, comfortless". (J. Forbes, *Memorandums made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852* (London, 1853, vol. I, p. 63).

19. Richard Laurence was the last Church of Ireland archbishop of Cashel (1822-1838).

20. White touches here on Trollope territory – the organization of church life around the cathedrals with its array of offices and privileges, all linked to the medieval church. The Rev. Saml. Adams was dean 1829-56 and was over the cathedral chapter though, as White makes clear, was only occasionally in Cashel, his curate holding various livings in the vicinity prior to his appointment to

The Vicars Choral or choirmen were Terence T. Magrath, contertenors Robert Linton, tenor, and John Magrath, base, on the Decant side, and ——— Pease, contertenor; ——— Scott, tenor, and Henry Dalton, bass on the Cantori side. Amongst the boys were – Newenham Magrath, Piercy Magrath, and William Jessop. The organist was Frederick Mathews, who resided in the house opposite the Church, which was long occupied by the late Denis Scully.²¹

Catholic Church

The Very Rev. James McDonnell was then Roman Catholic Dean of Cashel; he resided at Hill House. His curates were – The Rev. Mr. Cummins, afterwards parish priest of Killenaule, and a Rev. Mr. Murphy, who died of a fever, caught while attending a shopkeeper named MacLoughlin, who lived and died at the corner house now occupied by Mr. Michael O'Sullivan, MacLoughlin's widow, who was a native of Moate, in the county Westmeath, afterwards married John Hanly.

She was mother to Rev. John Hanly, at one time a curate in Cashel, and to whose memory a handsome Celtic cross is erected in the cemetery at the Rock. The Rev. James Ryan who was afterwards parish priest of Killeely succeeded Rev. Mr. Murphy, and he was succeeded by Rev. James Ryan, afterwards parish priest of Templebredin and Solohead, and to him I think succeeded "Father John" who recently died parish priest of New Inn.²²

At this time the parish chapel was a very plain building, without either cut stone front or steeple. The gate was an old and decayed wooden one, to which on Sunday mornings two old men or women, who were supposed to be lame or disabled, were drawn in boxes on wheels "to ask alms of those that entered".²³ At this time there were only five nuns in the Presentation Convent.²⁴[4]

Medical Men

The medical men in Cashel at the time were – Surgeon John Hemphill 'Junior' as he was called, Surgeon to the County Infirmary, who lived in the house now occupied by Mr. Mark

the Union of Athassel. The Rev. J. M. Poole died 18 June 1872. The Rev. Charles Mayne held another important position in the diocese, that of chancellor 1844-59 and for many years was vicar-general. He died in Killaloe in December 1873, having been ordained in 1817.

21. See note 21 above.

22. The Rev. James McDonnell, a native of Gortnahoe, was born in 1767, ordained in 1815 and spent his career in Cashel, C.C. 1815- and P.P. 1833 to his death in September 1855. The Rev. Edmund Cummins, a native of Killenaule, was born in 1794 and was C.C. in Cashel 1831-40 when he became P.P. of Killenaule. He died of Famine fever in June 1847. The Rev. Patrick Murphy was C.C. in Cashel 1824-32. The Rev. John Hanly, a native of Cashel, was born in 1835 and was a product of the school run by Martin Delahunt (1815-73) and was involved in organizing the monument to Delahunt in the catholic church cemetery. Hanly was C.C. in Bansha and died in August 1878 and was burned on the Rock (C.G., 10 Aug. 1878). The Rev. John (not James) Ryan was born in Ballinahinch in 1790 and was C.C. in Cashel 1832-41 when he became P.P. of Knockainy (not Killeely). He died in 1860. A second Rev. James Ryan, born in Tipperary and was C.C. in Cashel 1840-52 when he became P.P. of Pallasgrean. He died in September 1875. The final priest mentioned by White was the Rev. John Ryan, a native of Templemore, born in 1805 and was C.C. in Cashel 1841-55 when he became P.P. of New Inn. He died in January 1891. (W. G. Skehan, *Cashel & Emily Heritage* (1993), *passim*.).

and the Misses Russell in John Street. His wife was Barbara, one of the daughters of the celebrated Rev. Patrick Hare. Dr. John Ryan who lived in John Street, and whose wife was a Miss Keating; Dr. Heffernan whose wife was a daughter of the late James Heney; Dr. Patrick Phelan Hackett, whose wife was Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Oliver Lodge.

The apothecaries were – James Graham, whose wife was Mary daughter of John Dollard; Richard Wood, whose first wife was a daughter of Richard Lea, Apothecary, and his second, Anne, daughter of Christopher and Avice Sturdy; John O'Brien was the third apothecary; his shop was in the house now occupied by Wm. Gorman, and the fourth William Upton, whose wife was Priscilla Kent.²⁵

Hotels

The hotels were – Ryalls, usually called 'the Head Inn'. It stood where Mr. John Hanly has his shop in Bank Place and it had for a sign 'The Castle of Enniskillen'. From it the mail coaches started, and there the Corporation dinners were held. Michael Butler was long the well known and civil waiter, and he was succeeded by Tim Keane. The 'Black Lion' swung over the door of the house next but one to the Palace Gate, lately occupied by Mr. Michael Ryan. It was then kept by a Widow Bourke; her son Patrick Bourke who seemed to have nothing to do, but was 'a gentleman at large' was nicknamed the 'Black Lion'.

'The Royal Oak', over which there was a picture of King Charles hid in a tree, was kept by William Ryan (Hester) as he was called, because his mother's name was Hester, in the house now tenanted by Mr. Patrick Cunningham, T.C., and the 'Globe' over the door of which hung a painting of a globe until recently was kept by a widow Ryan. The other 'signs' which existed before my time in Cashel were – The 'Horse and Jockey' in Lady's Well, kept by Pat Grace; and the 'Cat and Bagpiges' opposite the Barracks, kept by a Mrs. Mars. There were several tin hats

-
23. Elsewhere White described this building when he first came to Cashel as having "a plain dashed front wall with an old broken timber entrance gate" (C.G., 11 March 1871). Going further back, White explained that Dr. Edmund Cormack P.P. 1791-1804, demolished the existing penal chapel near the ruined Dominican Abbey c. 1798. Cormack's plans went ahead in spite of opposition from his parishioners. White also noted that a barn on the Green served as a temporary church. (C.G., 3 Oct. 1868).
 24. White is describing the situation c. 1830. The Presentation Sisters arrived in Cashel, from Thurles, in November 1830. During the early years, there were three Sisters and two postulants. (Sr. C. Meagher, *The Presentation Sisters*, in *Times to Cherish*, pp 91-2).
 25. The Rev. Patrick Hare of Deepark (1736-1816) ran a very well known school in Cashel and features in Dorothea Herbert's *Retrospections*. His large family made marriage connections with established Tipperary families such as Taylors of Ballinure, Manserghs of Friarsfield and Roes of Rockwell. His daughter Barbara married John Hempill in 1807. He died in 1833. (LGI, 1958, pp 542-3). The Hempills were better known in the Clonmel area. John Ryan is listed as a physician of Main Street in *Pigot* (1824). Dr. Patrick Heffernan of 13 John Street (*Slater*, (1856) was attached to both the fever hospital and the workhouse. He died in May 1858. (E. Lonergan, *A Workhouse Story* (1992), pp 18-92). Three of the named apothecaries are listed in *Slater* (1856) – James Graham 67 Main Street, Richard Wood 29 Main Street and William Upton 95 Main Street (regarding whom see Note 9 above).

over the door of the shopkeepers who sold hats, and one or two golden lambs over the doors of woollen drapers. All these have departed with the march of education.²⁶

William Phelan, senior, whose first wife was a Miss Meade, second Catherine White, his sons Paul and Bernard, Thomas Pennefather and Joseph Ryall were among the attorneys.²⁷ The Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court was Rev. Anthony Edwards, his Deputy James Lorenzo Hickey. The Proctors were Michael Owens, James Hanning, and John Mathews; the Apparitor Robert Patten. The Sexton was old George Haskins, who had charge of the Rock and lived in the Moor, where Mrs. Watkin's walled garden now is, and the Sexioness Susan Mathews.²⁸

Law Officers

At this time the stipendiary magistrate was John Wilcocks (son of Sir Richard Wilcocks). He lived in the house at the Lower Gate which is rounded at the corner. His wife was Maryanne, daughter of Ambrose Going of Killeens, best known as 'Cornet' Going. Her mother was a Miss English; the 'Cornet's' second wife was a daughter to Robert Moore Lane.

Our police officer was Mr. Francis Eager; his wife had been a Miss McGillicuddy, they have three sons, Thomas, who died while a police officer in Tipperary;[5] Eusebius, who emigrated to some one of the colonies, and Francis who was for many years Governor of Limerick Prison. It is not long since I had a letter from him asking some particulars of events which occurred during his early days in Cashel. They lived at Woodbine Cottage, where Mr. Joynt recently lived and died. As well as I remember Maurice Stack was the head constable.²⁹

-
26. The royal mail coach left from Ryalls for Dublin each day at 2.15 a.m. and from Dublin was due at the hotel at 10.15 p.m. With regard to the sign, apart from the representation of Enniskillen Castle, the words "J. Ryall 1801" appeared under it. Oral tradition recorded by White explained this sign as a 'complement' to the Fermanagh Militia when stationed in the town. (C.G., 6 June 1874). The "Black Lion", 75 Main Street, is reputed to be the house where Dr. John Lanigan (1758-1828) was born, his parents having been evicted from the Maude estate in Dundrum. He wrote a four-volume ecclesiastical history of Ireland (1822). White stated that Lanigan's father taught in Old Chapel Lane. (C.G., 13 Oct. 1877). Opposite was the "Royal Oak". The "Globe" was at Lower Gate. Other shop-signs mentioned by White were a "Cat and Bagpipes" opposite the military barracks, and a "Horse and Jockey" in Lady's Well, though these, he stated, were before his time.
 27. William Phelan had his office in Canopy Street. His second wife was a member of the Golden Hills family. Thomas Pennefather lived at Maryville and was one of the Pennefathers of Marlow. He was married (1818) to a daughter of Vere Dawson Hunt of Cappagh (LGI, 1958).
 28. Up to 1857 and the passing of the Probate Act (20 & 21 Vict., c. 79) the Church of Ireland in each diocese had responsibility for wills through its consistorial court. John Davis White, at a later time than he is referring to in this text was himself a proctor, a kind of ecclesiastical lawyer. (Where property was spread across more than one diocese, Armagh took responsibility for such a will.) In C.G., 30 Nov. 1878, White noted that a lodge was about to be built for the Rock caretaker, the site being the old ecclesiastical pound where "tithe pigs" were kept, land which had been an open waste for many years. In 1867, a Mr. Haskins guided Maurice Lenihan over the Rock.
 29. In his time, Richard Willcocks was the most famous policeman in Ireland and had a particular link with Cashel. In 1814, with the creation of a new police force ("Peelers"), they were first put into operation in the barony (Middlethird) of which Cashel is the main town. Willcocks was in charge. In 1827, he was knighted on his retirement. (S. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland 1780-1850* (Cambridge, 1988), pp 203-4.) The essential point about a stipendiary magistrate was that he

Big House

At this time Indaville was the residence of the Lockwood family. It was then a larger house than the Palace, and the Depot of the 9th Foot was quartered in it while some companies of another regiment were in the barracks. It was called Indaville after the wife of a Mr. Lockwood who was named Indiana. I believe she had been a Miss Carden.³⁰

Maryville was occupied by Thomas Pennefather, who was a solicitor and Recorder under the Corporation. His wife was Mary, daughter of Vere Hunt of Cappawhite.³¹ Rockabbey was occupied by William Phelan, Solicitor. It had been some years before held by Thomas Henry Coppinger, who had taken it in exchange for Killenure Castle. His wife was the beautiful Catherine White (my mother's first cousin), who was celebrated in a lampoon called 'the Paroquet' under the name of the 'ringdove', while Mrs. Matthew Pennefather was called 'the Paroquet' and Mrs. Hemphill 'the Jay'.³²

Richmond was held by Richard Butler Hamilton Lowe, Esq., then owner of Ballinahinch, Lowegreen, Drangan, and other properties.³³ The Race Course was the residence of Avary Jonlan, Esq.,³⁴ Ballinamona of William Murphy, Esq.³⁵ Newpark was occupied by Matthew Pennefather,³⁶ Rockview by Samuel Cooper,³⁷ Killenure Castle by William Cooper,³⁸ Dualla by

(Slater, 1846). C.G., 28 Dec 1878 carried a notice that Mr. Joynt was to open a select school at Woodbine Cottage for boys and girls.

30. Richard Lockwood and Indianna Carden married in 1775 (Cashel and Emly Marriage Licence Bonds, National Archives). Richard Lockwood, "the oldest J.P. for County Tipperary", died at Cashel in 1777. His son William married a daughter of Hamilton Lowe in 1761 and died c. 1799. (*The Irish Genealogist*, V, 4 (1977). Hamilton Lockwood, married to another member of the Carden family, was part of the Cashel Yeomanry involved in the "Battle of Toberadora" in 1798, an engagement in which several of John Davis White's ancestors took part. (C.G., 6 Aug. 1864). The family held the townland of Rathordan (843 acres) from the diocese of Cashel (C.G., 17 Feb. 1866; *Griffith's Valuation*).
31. See note 27 above. This house, off Boherclogh Street, was valued at £20 (Cashel Palace was valued at three times that figure) and in 1850 was leased by the representatives of Thomas Pennefather to Dr. M. Heffernan.
32. Catherine White was a daughter of Benjamin White of Limerick. Thomas Henry Coppinger was only son and heir to Michael Coppinger of Cork who died in 1794 leaving a large estate including £4,000 for investment in more land. By Thomas Henry's will of July 1823, his estate was left to his wife for her life (they had no family) and thereafter to his sister. He died 15 Oct. 1824 and his wife (Catherine White) died 17 April 1827. Following her death, the estate was inherited by Helen Coppinger who was married to Robert Usher. They lived in Cashel for some years. She died in Dublin 1 Feb. 1845 and her husband died 18 Oct. 1847. The estate was divided between their five daughters: Catherine (b. 1819) married Patrick James O'Kearney of Cashel in 1838; Emily (b. 1820) married W. H. Wayland of Ballywalter in 1847 and emigrated to Australia, John Davis White being appointed receiver of their estate; and Eleanor married Vernon William Russel in 1847. He was an M.D. and lived at Rockabbey, where he died 23 June 1894. (J. M. Masters, *The Ushers of Birr in The Irish Genealogist*, V, 5 (1978), pp 606-42; also 1854/18/79, Reg. of Deeds, Dublin). Coppingers sold Killenure to William Cooper in 1746, Cooper was Diocesan Registrar to Archbishop Price at Cashel. In the 1850s Rockabbey, with a valuation of £35.75, was occupied on lease from the representatives of Robert Usher by Capt. George Minchin, whose mother was probably a daughter of Thomas Lockwood. Minchin died in Jan. 1878 at the age of 96.
33. Richard Butler Hamilton Lowe was a descendant of David Lowe of Knockelly (d. c. 1730) and owned land at Ballinahinch and Rosegreen (Lowesgreen). He died 19 Aug. 1821 aged 79 and is

John Scully,³⁹ Meldrum by Rev. Richard Lloyd,⁴⁰ Ardmayle by Thomas Price,⁴¹ Rathclough by Charles Minchin,⁴² Longfield by Richard Long,⁴³ and Gaile by Samuel Phillips, Esq.⁴⁴

Schools

The parish school was taught by John Taylor, whose mother and brother Robert lived in Lady's Well. The latter had a farm on the Common. The school was for some time held in the market house, as it was then called (now the Town Hall). The school in Agars Lane was taught by old Tom Kirby, whose successor was Mr. Edward Costigan who was also chapel clerk; he was uncle to David Dee, now of Bansha.⁴⁵ Mr. George Crawford Holmes had a classical school in the house which was occupied by the late John Arthur, and the one which adjoined it. Here my brother Newport received the rudiments of a classical education, while next door above it James Doheny and his brother the after celebrated Colonel Michael Doheny had another classical school, and of course between the boys attending these rival academies there were frequent skirmishes and pitched battles.⁴⁶ I never went to school even for one day in Cashel. We had visiting tutors, the first of whom was Mr. John McCormack, who recently died in Dungarvan, then William and Henry Dalton, and lastly in later years Mr. Philip Upton, the only real teacher I ever had, and from whom I learned in six months more than I had learned in six previous years.

He was a conscientious competent teacher, and to him some of the ladies of Cashel owed much of their education, while many of the young men who are prosperous in different parts of

Ballinahinch. (Fr. W. G. Skehan, Extracts Minutes Fethard Corp. in *The Irish Genealogist*, V, 1 (1974), p. 85). Briefly, in the very late 1840s as a result of the Famine, this property was rented by the Cashel PLGs to accommodate paupers, some 350 in early 1851. The valuation of the house at the time was £30.25. By the mid-1850s it was the residence of Dr. Michael Cormack. The Christian Brothers later occupied this site. Cormack died in December 1882.

34. The townland of Racecourse Demesne, 150 acres, was held by Avary Jordan from Cashel Town Commissioners. The house was valued at £35. In the unreformed town government, Jordan was able to take advantage of this position as town clerk, for example getting control of the town tolls. In the early 1850s the commissioners had to do a deal with him; in return for his surrender of his rights with respect to tolls, they gave him a 31-year lease for 167 acres (Irish) at a rent of £120 p.a. (*Parl. Papers*, 1870/x1). Avary Jordan died 27 April 1861, aged eighty-two, leaving a substantial estate to his widow Eliza. (C.G., 1 May 1861).
35. When in 1876, evidence was taken in Cashel with respect to the local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission, there was a row between Murphy and Dr. Thomas Laffan. The latter complained about the "deep cesspool" that constituted a danger to health. Murphy admitted that this was on his land "in a field off the public road and in the same condition for several years" and that there was "very little solid stuff in it" and what there was "is deodorized by throwing turf mould into it and cleaning it out occasionally". (*Parl. Papers*, 1870/x1). Murphy held under 100 acres. Murphy was the eldest son of Edmond Murphy of Grange who died in 1826. His mother was a daughter of Francis Wayland of Kilmore and he was born in 1816. (*Walford*, 1881). He died in 1890.
36. Matthew Pennefather (b. 1784) was M.P. for Cashel in the 1830s. The Newpark estate was sold to Henry Davies in 1852, just over 1,000 acres for £12,465. In 1864 it was resold to the McCan family. (*T.F.P.*, 19 June 1852).
37. Later in the nineteenth century Rockview became the home of the Heney family.
38. William Cooper (1772-1850). (With respect to his father, see D.G. Marnane, "Samuel Cooper of Killenure (1750-1831) – A Tipperary Land Agent and his Diaries" in *T.H.J.* (1993), pp 102-27.)

the world owe their positions in a great measure to the soundness of his teaching. I can never think of him without feelings of the deepest gratitude."⁷[6]

Of the families who occupied houses when I came to Cashel, only a very few of these are held by persons of their name or kin. Miss Hanly holds that occupied by her father the late Matthew Hanly, William Power that occupied by his uncle Wm. Desmond, Dr. Wood that occupied by his father John; Mrs. Leary at the Lower Gate, that occupied by her mother Mrs. Hanora Dwyer. William Moloughney's son is in his father's place; and the Loobys on the Casmus Road, John Feehan upon the Green, and Mrs. O'Donnell in Lady's Well, in the house of her father James Carroll; and her cousin Cornelius Carroll at the lower gate, in the house of his father Edmond Carroll, and Miss Shea the confectioner in Canopy Street, in the same house where her aunt, Miss Hayes, resided.

There may be a few more but I don't know them. Of those who were in Cashel 60 years ago very few survive. Amongst them are James Quigley, John Mulcahy, and James Aitkins, many of those who are accounted old men and women now were then only boys and girls.

Printing

The only printer in Cashel was John Quirke, his father-in-law William Price when a student in Trinity College, Dublin, being in the habit of going into the Univesity Press Office imbibed a

-
39. William Scully of Dualla (1746-1828) was the uncle of Denys Scully of Kilfeakle. William's eldest son was the John mentioned by White. In October 1811 John married Catherine the sister of Thomas Moore the poet. Prior to his father's death John lived at Athassel and in Tipperary town. In 1815, Thomas Moore paid a visit to his sister at Athassel and noted in a letter that she had been very ill after a miscarriage. He went on to comment on the "foggy, boggy regions of Tipperary". Towards the end of 1834 Moore remarked how "Kate" had been an invalid for many years and was near death. (Lord John Russell, (ed. *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondent of Thomas Moore* (London, 1860), pp 134, 593). There were no children from this marriage and John Scully remarried. A Roger Scully was living at Dualla in the 1850s. He was John's brother. In the late 1860s the house was occupied by John McCartney Bushe, F.T.C.D. and a J.P. He was vice-chairman of Cashel Board of Guardians and died in July 1870 aged 59. (C.G., 3 Sept. 1864, 16 July 1870).
 40. Both Dualla and Meldrum were part of the estate of the Latham family. In the seventeenth century Oliver Latham married the heiress of Meldrum, a daughter of James Sall. In 1864, the Rev. Richard Lloyd was no longer living at Meldrum (C.G., 10 Sept. 1864).
 41. Prices may have been descendants of Archbishop Price of Cashel (d. 1752). Richard Price was living there in 1856 (*Slater*). Thomas was there in 1824 (*Pigot*). A Mrs. Price was there in 1870 (*Slater*).
 42. Charles Minchin was the son of Humphrey Minchin of Rathclough and was born in 1805.
 43. Richard Long was the third and last generation of his family to live here. The property was sold in 1846 to Charles Bianconi.
 44. Samuel Phillips married a daughter of Richard Long in 1823 and died in 1846. He was succeeded by his son Richard (1825-94). (M. F. Darmody, *Gaile House - Glimpses from the Past in Boherlahan-Dualla Historical Journal* (1998), pp 73-82.
 45. The *Second Reporet of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry* of 1825 (1826-27, xii) gives 19 schools for Cashel (p. 1140), four of which were protestant: the parish school referred to by White and which by 1825 was "a slated house belonging to the chapter of Cashel" and located in John Street. Its head was William Reynolds. The three others were at Lady's Well and Main Street. The Agar's Lane school was catholic and the teachers mentioned in 1825 were D. O'Keeffe and Thomas Kirby. Before Costigan took over he ran a school for infants at Lady's Well. David Dee is listed as running the boys national school at Lady's Well in 1870 (*Slater*).

taste for the business, and being a classical scholar was employed in setting up Greek work. His father-in-law whose name was Lord was also a printer.⁴⁸

There was no newspaper in Cashel until the year 1864, when the *Gazette* was started. The 'organ' in earlier days was the *Clonmel Herald*, which was printed and published in Clonmel. The Editor and Proprietor was William Bayly Upton, who resided in Cashel in a house where the National Bank now stands, and who journeyed twice a week to Clonmel in order to 'get it out'. It was supported through motives of fear rather than love. The Editor was a very Ishmael – 'his hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him'. There was scarcely a week in which there was not an article about the filthy state of the streets, or some sin of omission or commission, imputed to the Corporation officials.

The paper had originally belonged to a gentleman named George Grace. I bought the old press over thirty years ago from Terry Magrath, Mr. Upton's son-in-law, for thirty shillings, and upon it printed the first one hundred and eleven numbers of the *Gazette*. I have it yet; it is I believe of the same construction as that used by Caxton.⁴⁹

46. Michael Doheny (1805-63), though not born there, is famously associated with Cashel. His early involvement in politics was during the anti-tithe campaign of the early 1830s. Maurice Lenihan described first meeting him in 1832 – "one of the wildest looking beings I ever saw". How long the school mentioned by White operated is unclear, but according to Lenihan, in 1832 Doheny was employed as tutor in Dualla, the home of a branch of the Scully family. (T.V., 4 Jan. 1867). When Doheny gave evidence before the Devon Commission in September 1844, he was a barrister and treasurer to the reformed town commissioners. In 1837, Doheny married Jane, daughter of Morgan O'Dwyer J.P. of Cullen (Morgan O'Dwyer died at Cashel in 1842), and built a house at Charterschool-land on the Dublin Road, which he called Alla Aileen, (valuation £20.60), named, it is said, in honour of his wife's sister Ellen, who never married and went into exile with Donehy and died in New York. (G. Riordan, The Families of O'Dwyer and O'Brien of Cullen in *The Lattin-Cullen Journal*, 2 (1992), pp 15-26. Alla Aileen had twelve acres attached and Griffith's Valuation gives Miss Bridget Doheny as the occupier.

47. Philip Upton's academy was at 39 Main Street (Slater, 1856).

48. A commercial directory of 1788 in its Cashel listings gives Thomas Lord as "printer". Lord had come from Cork and was in Rosrea in 1798 when, according to White, his press was destroyed. He is remembered today for *The Ancient and Present State of Youghal* which he wrote and printed (1784). Lord's daughter married William Price and in time Price's daughter married John Quirke whose business was located at 18 Main Street (Slater, 1856; J. Power, *Irish Literary Inquirer* 23 Sept. 1865; C.G., 26 Aug. 1865). In Feb. 1838 Quirke began printing a weekly called "Genius of Erin" which ran for thirteen issues. The editor of this was Milo Burke O'Ryan. Also that year Quirke began printing and publishing *The Cashel Mirror*, which lasted about eight issues. (C.G., 7, 14 April 1866). Quirke, who had served as a town commissioner, died 7 June 1875 at his residence The Castle, Main Street, aged 73. He was buried in the Price family plot in St. John's churchyard. He was a Roman Catholic. (C.G., 12 June 1875).

49. William Bayly Upton was one of the most distinctive characters in nineteenth century Cashel. His primary business was an apothecary shop on Main Street. Over the door swung a sign in the shape of a large pestle and mortar, with these words in "glaring letters of flaming gold: Mille Mala, Mille Medicamenta" which translates more or less as "Cures for Everything". In stature he was under middle size and rotund, giving rise to the nickname "Owl Bayly" on the part of his enemies, of whom there were many because of his politics. He was a fanatical Orangeman and thus at war with the Cashel Liberal establishment. The fact that a stuffed alligator (yes, a stuffed alligator) hung from the ceiling of his shop cannot but have contributed to his reputation for oddness.

Cashel People

It may be interesting to note the names of the occupiers of some of the houses in my early memory of Cashel. No less than eleven families occupied the place upon which my house and premises in Lady's Well are built. Amongst them were Nelly Clancy, Michael Barry, Ellen Ryan, Larry Ryan, and James Luddy. The late Francis Phillips lived where his son Joseph lives; the house where Francis Phillips lives was occupied by a family named Kennedy;⁵⁰ Michael Noonan's by Dora Butler and her mother.

At the opposite side of the street lived William Fogarty, broguemaker; William Hackett, sawyer; and Pierce Hackett, slater; a Miss Kennedy where Mr. Rody Fogarty lives; Jeremiah Cahill where Richard Looby lives now. The space next to this was occupied by Michael Ryan, nicknamed 'Shruhane'. The house now occupied by Philip Carroll belonged to John O'Kennedy. Where Mr. Barry's office lately was, were premises occupied by Mrs. Sarah Jordan,[7] and her son George, the large house next door by Patrick Grace; the house now occupied by Jamieson Stewart, as a Hotel, was held by a baker named Daniel.⁵¹ It had at one time been the residence of my mother's uncle John, and there he died in 1818. Alexander Stinson lived at the corner house.⁵²

The house now occupied by Dr. Laffan is Bohermore, was occupied by a Miss Kyffin, who afterwards married a Mr. Thomas Pennefather (who died of locked jaw). She afterwards married Mr. Henry Hunt.⁵³ The house now held by Dean Kinane was in the possession of the celebrated Frank O'Ryan, whose first wife was Ellen the beautiful daughter of William Phelan.⁵⁴

He appears to have been active against the rebels in 1798, managing somehow to shoot himself in his leg. In the early 1820s, he took over the Clonmel-based Tory newspaper the *Clonmel Herald*, which ran until 1840 in a political climate increasingly unsympathetic to Tory politics.

At the time of the Young Ireland rising, William Bayly Upton was one Dublin Castle's informants about events in Cashel. "Doheny ... has just now organised a Club in this town ..." (W. Nolan, *The Irish Confederation in County Tipperary in 1848* in *T.H.J.* (1998), p. 12).

Upton's role as a tough middle landlord in Cashel has been referred to above in Note 9. Prior to 1836 when the National Bank opened a branch in Cashel (almost opposite where Friar Street meets Main Street), was situated Upton's residence, "a neat house where he lived with his wife and family". His business however, seems to have been conducted in Main Street, a few doors the other side of Cashel palace from his residence. In 1870 a Priscilla Upton was still running an apothecary business in Main Street. (*T.V.*, 7, 14 Dec. 1866; J. C. Hayes, *Guide to Tipperary Newspapers 1770-1989* in *T.H.J.* (1989), p. 5).

50. White's "early memory of Cashel" covered the 1830s, whereas the first comprehensive picture of who lived where in Cashel dates to c. 1850 and *Griffith's Valuation*. Francis Phillips is listed as an occupier in Lady's Well Street. See his namesake's *Cashel Memories* (Cashel, 2000).
51. Jamieson Stewart died in July 1896. His hotel was on the site of Halla na Feile. Prior to Stewart's arrival from Dublin, the hotel was run by James Dunne (information from Mrs. Betty Toomey, Tipperary town, Jamieson Stewart's granddaughter). The "Uncle John" referred to by White was married twice, first to a Smithwick, then a Sadlier. He served in the Cashel Yeomanry and took part in the "battle of Tubberadora".
52. *Pigot* (1824) lists Alexander Stinson esq. for John Street.
53. Dr. Thomas Laffan (1842-1918) is remembered for his *Tipperary's Families being the Hearth Money Records for 1665-6-7* (Dublin, 1911).
54. Dean Kinnane was born near Tipperary town in 1835 and was P.P. of Cashel 1888-1913. He acquired the parochial house in John Street, but Fr. Walter Skehan's statement that John White (the owner in

The large house held by Mr. Cahill was the residence of 'honest Barney Phelan', solicitor; the lower window which faced Lady's Well was one of the last of the former fashionable 'bows' which are still so common in the town of Mallow.⁵⁵

Shoemakers named Cooney and Tubridy lived in Canopy Street, as did also old William Mills, a tinman, who was married to a sister of the late Daniel Kyte. His son John's widow was married after his death to John Scott. They emigrated to Ballarat, Australia, where they succeeded well.⁵⁶ The house now occupied by Miss Dargan was kept by a man named Jeremiah Dunn, it was called the 'Travellers home'. Coming home late at night in the dark he knocked against the back of a dray which stood behind the 'middle row' and was killed.

The house held by Andrew Dunphy was a cloth shop, kept by Donogh Hill. He and Robert Stritch, his opposite neighbour, used on Sundays to occupy together the stall next to the pulpit in the Cathedral, before the alterations were made. The house where Richard Grace resides was held by Walter Bourke, who kept a public house there. In 1836 it was the first office of the National Bank, and its first Manager was Mr. Richard Keating, and its first cashier Mr. Patrick Heney. The house now occupied by Going & Smith was held by the representatives of the Very Rev. Dean Ryan, the immediate predecessor of Dean McDonnell. It had at one time been the residence of Mr. Weldon Jordan, elder brother of the late Mr. Avary Jordan, and before him of a Mr. Peter Angier, who was a French Wine Merchant.

Peter Connolly's house is a new one built where I think one Daniel Perdrian (a nephew of Angier) lived. The next house now held by Patrick Condon was occupied by William Upton, Apothecary, it was the property of Richard Lockwood (trooper), who was one of Lord Ligoniers Guards, otherwise the 'Black Horse'.⁵⁷ The house at the other side of the entry was held by a man named Neal and he had as lodgers Christopher Waglin and his mother Lucinda. A number of new houses are built upon the site of old ones. John Kyte (brother of Dan) shoemaker, lived in one of them,⁵⁸ and he was succeeded in occupation by Frederick Judge whose brother Matthew was married to Sarah Kyte. John Walsh had some tan pits at the rear of the house now occupied by Miss Morressy.⁵⁹

I cannot remember the names of the persons who occupied the houses at the back of the shambles⁶⁰ at the time I came to Cashel, but I know that at one time one of them was occupied by Timothy Kirwin, a hardware merchant, and afterwards by the wellknown Corney Farrell. The house which formerly stood where Connors has the victuallers stall was at one time held

fee) promoted evictions on the Smith-Barry estate, seems doubtful. The house was valued at £30.25. (Skehan, *Cashel & Emily Heritage*, p. 92). This John White was not the author of *Sixty Years*. William Phelan of Canopy Street was a lawyer. Frank O'Ryan who had been educated at Oscot was remembered as being fond of a drink (or two). (*T.V.*, 14 Dec. 1866).

55. Perhaps a reference to the lawyer William Phelan, whose address in 1824 was Canopy Street.

56. Only Griffith's Valuation reference for Canopy Street is Anne Mills who occupied a house worth £4.80. See Note 9 above for reference to Kyte.

57. John Louis Ligonier (1690-1770), a protestant exile from France served in the British army, being second-in-command for example at the famous battle of Fontenoy. In 1762, he was created Viscount Ligonier of Clonmel (*Complete Peerage*, VII, pp 654-7).

58. John Kyte, shoemaker of Canopy Street (*Pigot*, 1824).

59. John Walsh, leather seller, 89 Main Street (*Slater*, 1856).

60. The shambles, as was usually the case, was centrally located. In Cashel, adjacent to the Town Hall/Market House. *Slater* (1856) lists twenty-three 'buthers attending the shambles'.

by Tom Cuddihy, who was nicknamed 'Bad Bread'.⁶¹ Where Mr. William Power carries on the tobacco manufactory, was occupied[8] by his Uncle William Desmond (and called Lomasney's after his brother-in-law) who was I believe the original proprietor. Michael Marnane had a public house where Mrs. Dwyer resides; and Richard Lester a bakery, where Mr. Corby carries on business.⁶² At the rere of this Methodist meetings were held before the chapel was built. At this time the preachers did not call themselves 'Reverends', but as soon as the chapel was completed they donned the title.⁶³

Mr. Michael Power had a grocery and spirit establishment in the house which is now shut up before he built the distillery at Holycross; Tom Best was his shopman.⁶⁴ The house next door, which was lately occupied by George Miller Caparn, was then held by Mrs. Avise Sturdy, and her son John. The house occupied by Mrs. Maher was formerly the residence of Richard Lee, Apothecary; but I don't remember who was the occupier in 1831.

But it was at one time held by the late Patrick Ryan, who was called 'Pat the Port' and he pressed hurts or fraughans, blackberries, and elder berries, had them 'rectified' in Dublin, and they came back 'port wine'; afterwards by John Arthur. I once attended there a gathering of Presbyterians who were addressed by a Col. Smith, who was an elder of that Church. The next house where the Bank is, was (as I before stated) occupied by William Bayly Upton, and I understand that before him it was occupied by Mr. Thomas Holmes, father of the late Avery Holmes.⁶⁵

The house where Mr. McKeogh carries on business was formerly part of the residence of Colonel Judkin, but was at this time the pawnbroking establishment of Patrick Lyttleton.⁶⁶ Next door where the Club is now, was occupied by Mrs. Pennefather, who had been a daughter of Anthony Dwyer. Her husband was I believe the head of the Pennefather family in Ireland, and owned Ballylanagin, Clonegoose, and other lands near Mullinahone.⁶⁷ Between this and Dollards Lane there were several houses. One of these was occupied by Timothy Kelly, who had been at one time quartermaster in a dragoon regiment; he kept a billiard table. The post

61. Thomas Cuddihy, baker, Main St. (*Slater*, 1856, 1870).

62. Griffith's Valuation lists the premises of William Desmond, Michael Marnane and William Corby as contiguous (to the right of the entrance to Cashel Palace). The house valuations were respectively: £26.10, £11 and two premises for Corby, £27.50 and £19.25.

William Desmond – tobacco manufacturer is listed in *Slater* (1856) at 78 Main Street.

Richard Lester is listed in *Pigot* (1824) as having a leather business in Main Street. His name endured in "Lester's Lane", a collection of seven very poor houses, all valued around £2 each, at the rear of these houses in Main Street. All were held from a Richard Jordan.

63. An example of Established Church bias against the Non-conformists. The new Methodist Chapel or meeting-house, valuation £13.75, was built on the other side of the road from the Palace, presumably an irritant to the values represented by the latter, given the central role of the Church of Ireland in the life of the town. The site was made available by William Pennefather. Thomas Pennefather of Marlow was a member in 1871. This chapel dated from 1832.

64. Michael Power's distillery is listed in *Slater* (1856). However, the premises referred to in Cashel by White had William Power as occupier c. 1850, holding it from the court of chancery, which perhaps explains White's reference to it being "shut up".

65. These premises were to the left of the entrance to Cashel Palace. John Sturdy was the occupier c. 1850. Also, c. 1850, the house next door was occupied by Patrick Ryan or "Pat the Port". William Bayly Upton's premises were next door. Thomas Holmes died in 1846. His son Avery (a relationship with the Jordan family?) was alive in 1878 when there was a legal dispute with the Smith-Barry estate over property in Tipperary town (C.G., 19 Jqn. 1878).

office was in one of these houses in 1831, and Miss Kent, afterwards Mrs. William Ryall, was Postmistress.⁶⁶

At the corner was a high house in which at one time Mr. Charles Fitzgerald carried on the saddling business. At the back of these houses anciently was Saint Nicholas' Chantry and from it the Main Street was called Saint Nicholas Street.⁶⁹ Mrs. Margaret Dollard, widow of John Dollard, carried on business in the house which stood where Patrick Brien carries on the stone-cutting business. Her maiden name was Lacy, and she descended from William Lacy who was Mayor of Cashel about the year 1660.⁷⁰

The house at the end of the street was occupied by Michael Scott, pump maker, who had charge of the water works and fire engine.⁷¹ Commencing at the other side of the Main Street, the only houses of which I remember the names of the occupiers in the first block were Patrick Woodlock and the Misses Vaughan at the corner. Next and in from the street was the residence and offices of James Lorenzo Hickey, registrar of the diocese, from the 22nd September 1838, until all the Wills and Documents were carried away to Waterford. For a period of over 20 years I was his assistant and deputy.⁷²

-
66. Lyttleton's pawnbroking business was in operation in the 1850s (Slater, 1856), at 65 Main Street. (For some details with respect to the operation of this business during the Famine, see *Pawnbrokers Returns*, 1849 (1042), xlviii). Regarding Judkin, Dorothea Herbert in an entry for 1789, described visiting Cashel and dining once a year, "a melancholy feast" with Mr. and Mrs. Judkins (*sic*), "being an old couple immensely rich without children – they had a very fine house and garden but none dared make free in them" (p. 199). Judkin Fitzgerald, the infamous 1798 High Sheriff, was a nephew of John Judkins of Cashel. In a deed of 1720, whereby John Judkins purchased land near Cashel, the name is spelled "Judkins" (Reg. of Deeds, 49/229/31707).
67. The premises next door to Lyttleton was vacant c. 1850 (valuation £22). The club mentioned was presumably the Rock Club, established "about forty years ago" according to *Bassett* (1889). At this latter date, there were around 40 members each paying a subscription of £2 p.a. Mrs. Pennefather was Susan daughter of Anthony O'Dwyer of Cashel, who married William Pennefather in 1822. He was the eldest son of Thomas Pennefather of Ballylanigan (died 1828), mayor of Cashel in 1778. (*LGI*, p. 475).
68. Five houses according to Griffith's Valuation, one of which was vacant and one in ruins. Next to the house referred to above, the occupant was Robert Kyley (*sic*), presumably Timothy's son. The post master in 1856 was William Ryall (*Slater*).
69. A chantry was an endowed chapel. This one was associated with the Hospital of St. Nicholas, founded c. 1230 and amalgamated with Hore Abbey, founded 1272 by Archbishop David Mac Carvill, who established a chantry of three priests in Cashel for the support of the hospital. The chantry gave its name in the sixteenth century to this street – St. Nicholas Street and also to Lower Gate (Gwynn & Hadcock (eds.), *Medieval Religious Houses in Ireland* (Dublin, 1988 ed.)), p. 347; J. Bradley, *The Medieval Towns of Tipperary* in Nolan & McGrath (eds.), *Tipperary: History and Society* (Dublin, 1985), pp 42-5).
70. John Dollard, grocer and spirit dealer and stamp distributor, Main Street (*Pigot*, 1824). Family gave name to Dollard's Lane.
71. See below with regard to Cashel's water supply.
72. There were eight houses on this block facing the street. Patrick Woodlock was the occupant of the second one c. 1850. Hickey's house was valued at £22.70 and c. 1850 was occupied by the Hon. Martin Ffrench, resident magistrate in Cashel 1846-82. He rented the house from James Hickey. Hickey's role as registrar, based in Cashel, is a reminder of the importance of the Church of Ireland establishment to Cashel's status.

Next to the north was the ball alley; the house which now stands to the front was built by [9] Dan Kyte and Matthew Judge. The corner house next to Blind Street (anciently Hackett's Lane, now William street) was occupied by John Mathews, and here was the Savings Bank. The only resident in this street whom I remember was Stephen Russell the tailor, who was a truly good man. The large home which was so many years in the occupation of Dan Kyte was built by my grandmother's grandfather, Moses Dawson, of Greenfield, and by his son Moses. The younger bequeathed it to my Uncle John Dawson White, who sold it to a relative of his wife, a Mr. Dexter.⁷³

The Wesleyan Chapel is built upon part of the old court house. I think Mrs. Darby Ryan and her daughter Mary Darby Ryan, occupied the next house. Terry Magrath had a bookseller's and stationer's shop in the house which was so long occupied by Mary Darby Ryan;⁷⁴ the next to it was held by Richard Wood, Apothecary.⁷⁵ At the corner house a man named Carroll had a drapery establishment; the house beyond Mat Hanly's was occupied by a Mr. Looney, and from it Bianconi's cars started.⁷⁶

I do not remember who lived in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Patrick Phelan, or who held the large part of Mr. Mullin's concern; but I know that a Miss Dorothea Hickey lived in a small portion of it to the north. It was afterwards occupied by a man named Flood, boot and shoemaker. Miss Hickey was aunt to James Lorenzo Hickey. She used to tell how a pedlar had called to her, and again called after an interval of ten years, 'why' said he, 'when I was here ten years ago you were Miss Hickey', and now you are Miss Hickey still', 'well', said she, 'if you come here in ten years' time and I am alive, you will find me Miss Hickey still.'⁷⁷

I don't remember who occupied the next three houses. The Castle was held by John Feehan, a tobacconist, the next house by Mr. Patrick O'Kearney, the next I believe by William Mockler. The house at the south of Hayden's Lane was Thomas Hayden's bakery. Between that and the house then occupied by William Francis Jackson and now by Thomas Walsh were the houses of

-
73. There were seven lots on Main Street between Hickey's recessed house and William Street, the first of which was occupied by Daniel Kyte c. 1850. Kyte also occupied the large house between William (Blind) Street and the vacant space in front of the Methodist Chapel. Its valuation was £30.25 and included a weighing machine (37 Main Street according to *Slater*, 1856). Kyte held this property from Joseph Dexter. White's mother's brother John Dawson White (1778-1829) married 1801 the daughter of Christopher Dexter. Moses Dawson of Greenfield or Cappaghowwhite (1673-1756) is buried in Toem churchyard, as is Henry Davis (1707-56) (Aine Ryan, *Toemverig* (Cappawwhite, 1992), p. 35) Stephen Russell, tailor Blind Street (*Slater*, 1856). His house, valuation £4.10 was number six in a row of fifteen.
 74. White's memory lets him down here. A Miss Mary Ryan occupied a house four lots along from the Methodist Chapel. She had a grocery business.
 75. The house above was rented from Richard Woods, whose own business was next door.
 76. "Waterford - from Mr. William Looney's, Main Street, Bianconi's Car through New Inn and Clonmel at seven in the morning and returns at half-past five in the afternoon" (*Pigot*, 1824). This appears to have been the second house along from the John Street-Main Street interaction.
 77. Next door the occupier was Patrick Phelan c. 1850 (*Slater*, 1856 and 1870) at 24 Main Street. John Mullins at 21 Main Street. Each with a similar business, grocery and off-licence.
 78. White previously mentioned John Quirke, a Cashel printer who operated from the Castle. Feehan is listed in *Pigot* (1824) as a grocer and spirit dealer. William Mockler's premises was several doors away from the Castle. The other houses referred to here were between the Castle and Mockler. Mrs. Davern's house was unoccupied c. 1850. It is unclear why White here makes reference to Hayden's

a Mrs. Davern, John, James, and Stephen Hogan, and Dan Ferris. The next above Jackson's was the shop of John Loughlin. Here Anthony Dwyer had a cloth shop formerly. The corner house (as before stated) was held by McLoughlin; in the front of these houses was the silk market.⁷⁸

Friar Street

I remember in Friar Street, John Cooke, Thomas Brennan, Henry Stone, James Gorman, John Quirke, the Misses Fogarty and Thomas Carew. The Misses Fogarty lived opposite the chapel wher George Squires resided afterwards.⁷⁹ The house in which the late Andrew Mulcahy had the coal store was occupied by William Cusack. This house had been built by a Mr. Sherlock, before 1641, and was at one time a hotel, kept by Cornelius Clarke, father-in-law to the late Robert Linton.⁸⁰

Richard Herbert lived next to Mrs. Matilda Scott, who was daughter to Trooper Lockwood before named. The house next to her was held by Robert Charters, who was agent to the mail coaches, and married to a daughter of William Bayly Upton. The house now held by William Quinlan (lately William Moloney), was occupied by Mr. Wm. Corby. In the vacant space above stood the house of a man named Fennessy, whose wife was a daughter of Timothy Ryan of Lady's Well, hatter.

In the house now held by Michael Dargan, lived the Misses Mary and Harriet Phelan. I was[10] told that their father Paul Phelan had at one time an illicit distillery in the cellar of this house, which was supplied with water by a spring well which was there, but the men in his employment being refused an increase of wages gave information to the Excise, and the fine which was then imposed took away the profits of years.⁸¹

Lane, which was perpendicular to the point where Canopy Street and Bohermore meet. Hayden had a house a few doors from the Castle (13 Main Street in *Slater*, 1856). For O'Kearney, see Note 32 above.

79. Several of these people are listed in *Griffith's Valuation*. Apart from being in occupation of three lots on the Main Street side of Friar Street, Carew was also a middle landlord of eight small houses, none valued over £4. Stone and Brennan lived on the opposite side of the street (close to Main Street). George Squires taught music and was the Church of Ireland parish clerk. For Stone, see Note 1 above.
80. Here, White casually ranges over a considerable period of time. The reference to a hotel takes White back to the eighteenth century. Robert Linton cut a dash in the Cashel Yeomanry, he was reputed its best swordsman at the close of the eighteenth century. (*C.G.*, 6 Aug. 1864). He was still alive in 1824.
81. Matilda Lockwood married John Scott in 1803. The property in question was probably on the catholic church side of Friar Street, just beside Catheline's Lane, which lots (seven) were held from the representatives of Mrs. Scott. Houses immediately adjacent to the Scott property (on the church side) were held from Phelan and Upton respectively.
82. Agar's Lane is a reminder of the role of Charles Agar in the history of the town and diocese., a member of the Kilkenny family who managed to use political patronage to advance his career in the Church of Ireland. In 1768 he was made bishop of Cloyne. In 1779 the viceroy commented in a letter how the Agar family reacted to the promotion of someone else to the archbishopric of Dublin. "Yet it appears to me that the favours of government have rather been lavished upon them". Even though Charles Agar was sure of getting Cashel, he was "discontented". In July 1779 Agar was made archbishop of Cashel. He was made a peer in 1795, advanced to the rank of viscount in 1800 and in 1806 created earl of Normanton. In December 1801 he was transferred to Dublin as archbishop of

John Street

In John Street the house next to Agare Lane⁸² was occupied by John Magrath, with whom the choir boys were lodged. It came out on a level with the other houses in the street, but when the Rev. Henry Atlantic Sadlier rebuilt it he put it and the male parish school back some feet.⁸³ Next house was the residence of Godfrey Taylor. It had been formerly that of the Rev. Patrick Hare, where his celebrated school was kept, next to Captain George Evans, maternal uncle of James Lorenzo Hickey. I don't remember who then lived in the house next below Dr. Hemphill, but that next to it was held by Miss O'Kearney, whose nephew was Patrick James O'Kearney.

The next houses were held by Doctors Hacket and Ryan. I cannot remember which occupied either. The house which stands by itself was Mrs. Linton's. Ben Lockwood and Mrs. Anne Kennedy lived next door, and Houlihan, the watch maker, had a little shop between that and Hanly's Corner.⁸⁴

The first two houses in the upper row were not then built; the highest here was held by Captain Brown, who was the last husband of Mrs. Beasley. Next to him lived Mrs. and Miss Grace. I think a Mr. Doherty occupied the house in which John Phelan was murdered.⁸⁵ Delahunty lived next to John White's garden. John White's house was not then built. John White's mother and sisters occupied the houses now held by Mrs. Maguire, and the mayor's office was at Betty Cushen's next door.⁸⁶

In the middle row, the place where Dr. Coyle's house stands was held by William Price (better known as Boney). This house was held by William St. John, apothecary, in 1780. Laurence Mahony had a cloth shop, and John McGinn a cutler's in this place. Thomas Connery had also a stationery establishment at one time. Michael Dolan held the house occupied by Dolan Hackett & Co., next to the shambles.

that diocese. He died in July 1809. (HMC *Marquis of Lothian*, London, 1904, p. 343). One long-term consequence of Agar's time in Cashel was the control exercised by his family over Cashel diocesan lands (Reg. of Deeds, 1873/10/241).

83. Henry Atlantic Sadlier (1807-80), so-called because he was born at sea – his father was paymaster of the 99th Foot and served overseas – was curate in Cashel 1841-47.
84. For Hare, see Note 25 above. The house a few doors down from the corner was occupied by Dr. Robert Russell c. 1850, a property let by Charles Hemphill. The house at the corner of Main and John Streets was held by Matthew Hanly, who also was the immediate lessor of the three small houses at the end of John Street and which were vacant c. 1850. Next to these three houses was Thomas Houlihan and next to him was Benjamin Lockwood, and next again the residence of Miss Mary Ryan.
85. The brutal murder of John Phelan on the night of 1 Feb. 1882 shocked Cashel. He was a unmarried cattle-dealer, around 60 years old and lived alone. Phelan was battered to death, the motive being robbery. (C.G., 4, 25 Feb. 1882). His house was the fourth from the corner at the top of John Street opposite the Cathedral.
86. White's house was opposite Dr. Russell's and was the most highly valued private house on the street, £30.25. It has 1.75 acres of ground. Thomas Delahunty had an interest in two of the houses immediately adjacent, together with a large garden.
87. William St. John, apothecary (1788). White is here referring to the few houses in the middle of Main Street; c. 1850 William Price was the occupier of the first house as one approached from Canopy Street. Price was the immediate lessor of the next house, which was in 'ruins'. He had a drapery business. Coyle was an apothecary. The shambles was located between Michael Dolan and the market house.

The space under the town hall was occupied by a number of standings, where women sold calicoes, muslins, checks, etc. The stocks stood at the corner of the town hall near the 75 mile-stone, the niche in the wall being a permanent seat for delinquents. I never saw anyone in the stocks.⁸⁷

Corporation

Some account of the 'ould' Corporation, will no doubt be acceptable to the readers. In the year 1831 Daniel Connor of Manch in the county Cork, Esq., was 'head' Mayor. He was a cousin to Captain Mathew Pennefather of Newpark, and Mrs. Pennefather was his sister. In the years 1832, '35, '36, and '38, Ambrose Going, whose wife was Margaret Pennefather, was head Mayor, and the last who held that office. In 1883, '37, and '38, Sir John Fitzgerald Baronet (whose wife was another of Mathew Pennefather's sisters) was Mayor, and in 1834 the office was held by Counsellor Nicholas Mansergh.⁸⁸

There should have been 18 Aldermen,⁸⁹ but I can only find the following as being alive in 1831:-

Rev. John Pennefather,	admitted in 1776	Edward Pennefather	"	"
Mathew Pennefather Jacob	" 1804	Richard Connor	"	1829
Ambrose Going	" 1819	Thomas Pennefather	"	"
William Pennefather	" "	Mathew Jacob	"	1889
Daniel Connor	" 1823	William Lloyd	"	"
Nicholas Mansergh	" "	Lt. Col. Thomas Bourke	"	1881 ⁹⁰
Sir John Fitzgerald	" 1825			

88. White is here returning to a topic touched on earlier in his text. (See Note 6 above). Mathew Pennefather of New Park was married to a daughter of Daniel Connor of Ballybricken, Co. Cork. Ambrose Going (1785-1857) of Ballyphilip, married 1811 Margaret, daughter of Richard Pennefather who died in 1831 (Mathew Pennefather's father). Sir John Fitzgerald (1787-1860), the son of the infamous Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, married Elizabeth Pennefather in 1816. Nicholas Mansergh's (1789-1865) – a grandson of Nicholas Mansergh of Grenane, near Tipperary town – mother was Pennefather. Cashel Corporation was dissolved by act of parliament in 1840.

89. According to the official inquiry of 1835 (*Parl. Papers*, 1835, xxviii), Cashel Corporation consisted of the mayor, a maximum of seventeen aldermen, two bailiffs, and an unlimited number of commons. The officials of the Corporation were: mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, town clerk, two sergeants at mace, swordbearer, crier and treasurer. The mayor was elected by the aldermen on 29 June. Aldermen were self-perpetuating, electing replacement/s from among the freemen. Once elected, an alderman retained his position for life. Fifteen of the aldermen were non-resident. The recorder was the law officer. The bailiffs were nominated by the aldermen and elected (chosen) from the freemen. They were paid £11.7½ p.a. plus fees. The crier was paid £2 p.a. The aldermen decided who were to be freemen and residence in Cashel was not a qualification. The Pennefather family, through a network of family-based patronage, controlled the aldermen and thus the Corporation.

90. Rev. John Pennefather, rector of St. John's Newport, Co. Tipperary, uncle to Mathew Pennefather of New Park. The mother of this same Matthew was the daughter of Mathew Jacob of St. Johnstown. William Pennefather was Mathew's brother. The Connor of Ballybricken connection was indicated above. One of Mathew Pennefather's sisters married into a Lloyd family.

The Corporation used to meet on the 29th June (Saint Peter and Paul's day), at the mayor's office in John Street, and they marched in procession from thence to the Court House, in the following order:- First came Tom Cauty, the fiddler, playing upon his instrument to the best of his ability; next came old George Murray, the bell man, bell in hand; next John Jephson and Thomas Cormack, mayor sergeants, bearing silver maces upon their shoulders; then David Upton, sword bearer, with the Corporation sword; next William Bayly Upton, and his son Bayly, who were bailiffs until 1834, when they were succeeded by William Ryall and John Sturdy, they each bore an ash wand in their hands; next came the Mayor and Deputy Mayor, each having a wand, and after them came as many of the aldermen as happened to be present, and other officials such as the Recorder and Town Clerk.

In the court house the name of one of the aldermen was proposed as Mayor; his election was confirmed on the ensuing 29th of September, when there was a like procession. The Corporation then returned in the same order to the mayor's office, and the 'Mayor's Feast' was at Ryalls Hotel on every 29th June.

The Jurisdiction of the Mayor was limited, and it did not extend as far as Mr. Roger Fogarty's in Lady's Well, or beyond the Moor Gate near St. Dominick's Abbey. He had power as far as the river Carrigeen, near Rockwell, on the Cahir road, to the same river where it forms the bounds between the Corporation lands beyond Lyonstown on the Clonmel Road; to the Mile Stream on the Fethard Road; and to the stream called in ancient documents 'the Rover Maddock' which crosses the Thurles Road at Kyle-na-dra (or the wood at the Bridge); and the Ardmayle Road, near the Freighduff Racecourse.

A man might be arrested for debt under a town action warrant at the corner of the house occupied by Richard Loody in Lady's Well, while he might snap his fingers at the bailiffs at Mr. Fogarty's corner, which is only about 3 feet distant.

In these days if a creditor had reason to believe that his debtor was about to leave the city without paying his debts, he could go to the mayor and make an affidavit of the facts, and the mayor could issue a warrant for the seizure of the debtor or his goods, until the debt was satisfied. If the debt was disputed the matter was decided at the Court Baron, at which my father presided, assisted by the Recorder or Deputy Recorder.⁹¹

My father had his office at Betty Cushion's; she lived some few doors up from the corner of John Street at the right hand side as you go up. He went to his office every morning at ten, when all delinquents who were put in Bridewell on the previous night for offences committed within the borough were brought before him. His Clerk was a young man named John Darcy, who was a nephew to the aforesaid Betty Cushion.

I am able to quote from memory some few lines of a valentine or rather lampoon, written to him or upon him by Milo Bourke O'Ryan, who was a young man of some talent, and whose mother was one of the Bourkes of Currabaha, near Borrisoleigh:-

'The head Mayors chief clerk's high praise I'll extol,
The 'Court, Baron' puppet, Aunt Betty's 'gra gal'.

* * * * *

91. Cashel Corporation acted under a royal charter of 1640, confirmed by a royal document of 1690 from William III. Such corporations basically represented the mercantile interests of the settlement and the court referred to by White was a manifestation of this. The 1835 Inquiry stated that the court met each Thursday and could deal with cases not involving amounts in excess of £20.

The nephew of Betty, that virulent hag,
Is street walking Darcy the poor little gag,
With his 'hand-me-down' coat, and his calico shirt,
And his pallid face marked with disease and with dirt.

* * * * *

When the holy St. Patrick from his blessed isle,
Banished Serpents and Toads, and each plague of the soil,
He forgot that such coxcombs as you might be born,
Too mean for chastisement, but meriting scorn,

* * * * *

Your presumption I hate, your conceit I deride,
Through your Valentine now, I may yet be your Bride'.
B—— D—— sister-in-law of William Jackson disbanded Peeler'

This Betty Cushion must have been a handsome woman in her time; she was well acquainted with all the ancient and modern scandal connected with the city, and was a good retailer of it. She had an elder sister Kitty, who was far from good looking; their mother was in '98 the professional attendant upon ladies, and she was privileged to go at all hours to and from all places in the City, her name being her passport.

In these troublous times there was a sentry placed at the corner of every street, and ladies who remained out late at a friend's house over a friendly cup of tea, were often put to their wit's end to pass the sentries.

The late John White's mother (whose maiden name as Sarah Sadlier), who is remembered by some old people as the kindest and best of women, was at least 5 feet 10 inches in height, while James Lorenzo Hickey's mother, whose maiden name was Eliza Evans, was hardly four feet 8. They each were obliged to use the password on different occasions, in answer to the challenge of the sentry of "who goes there", and a soldier who was placed at the corner of John Street, exclaimed "My eyes! "what kind of a woman is this Mrs. Cushion, one night she is a great tall woman, and another a very small one".

(To be continued)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to Marian Ryan, Cashel and Mary Guinan Darmody, County Library, Thurles.

The rainbow is gone, that vibrant sign
Of peace and joy, the good life's sign
With the sun's down, and the clouds are
And the world is dark and cold and dim.

When the day is dark, the night is dark,
The world is dark, the night is dark,
The world is dark, the night is dark,
The world is dark, the night is dark.

Through the night, the night is dark,
Through the night, the night is dark,
Through the night, the night is dark,
Through the night, the night is dark.

The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark.

The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark.

The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark.

The night is dark

The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark,
The night is dark, the night is dark.