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John Davis White's *Sixty Years in Cashel*

By Denis G. Marnane

Part 3

Limerick

I now come to what may be called an Episode in this history, namely – the time that I did not reside in Cashel. I may say that I had from my earliest years a taste for commercial pursuits, and being become a 'big' boy it was time that something should be done with me, and a place being found by friends in the city of Limerick, it was decided to send me there.¹³³

And, however, my aristocratic relatives may be inclined to sneer at the idea of my being put to business, I have something to say in defence of what was then (and in time before it) a common custom. Young men were often bound to business in order that they should learn the value of money and be able to carry themselves successfully in their dealings with the world, although they might not afterwards carry on the trade which they had learned. For instance, I knew of three young gentlemen, brothers, relatives of my mother, who were each entitled to about six hundred a year in fee simple property, and their mother had them bound to business, and when they had served their regular apprenticeship they had thence forth no more to do with shopkeeping.

I may be permitted to add that what are called 'apprentice fees' had their origin in the *bribes* which some of the nobility paid to merchants in ancient times in order that they should allow their sons to be brought up as merchants. Formerly a grocer or wine merchant had to serve a regular number of years to the business, or he would be no more qualified to carry it on than a surgeon or physician could carry on his profession without a regular course of study and a diploma. Trade was then an 'art and mystery', now anyone who has money can enter into business, and the brother of the Marquis of Lorne is now in trade.

But to proceed with my narrative – On the 15th January, 1838, I left home for the first time. Bianconi's car went from the office which was a couple of doors from the corner of John Street (I believe where Mr Mullins' private residence now stands), the one horse car was driven to Tipperary, by a man named Bryan Phelan. It left Cashel about ten o'clock in the morning, and after arriving in Tipperary there was a delay of nearly two hours before a two-horse vehicle proceeded to the city of Limerick. I may say that during my stay of two hours there in the Main Street of Tipperary, there seemed to be as little stir of business as there would be now seen on any week day in the village of Golden.¹³⁴

On my journey I had the pleasant companionship of the late Mrs Ellen O'Dwyer, who with her infant child 'Kitty' was going to the residence of her father-in-law the late Morgan

133. White came to live in Cashel in October 1831 when he was eleven years of age. He here recounts his experiences between 15 January and 20 September 1838, his only sustained period of absence from Cashel between 1831 and his death in 1893.

134. This reference to the lack of business activity in Tipperary is echoed by another visitor two years later (Baptist W. Noel, *Notes of a Short Tour etc.* (London, 1837), p. 272).

O'Dwyer, Esq., of Cullen. She took compassion on my loneliness and told me the story which Sir Walter Scott tells so well in the 'Heart of Midlothian'. I was grateful for this act of kindness, and as long as my fellow travellers lived I endeavoured to show them friendship.¹³⁵

Joshua Worral Seward, Wellesley Buildings, Brunswick Street (who I believe still lives in Dublin, and is a J.P. for the county of Clare), was my master.¹³⁶ He carried on the business of grocer, wine and spirit merchant, ship chandlery, biscuit bakery, canvas, sail cloth, &c., his business being chiefly with the sea captains of what were called 'regular liners,' which brought goods direct from London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Bristol, Cardiff, Milford, and many other seaports. I remember seeing the principal quays of Limerick, with vessels three deep lying at them, and I have had to pass through two vessels to get to the third, for on occasions I was sent as a 'commercial traveller' in a small way to solicit custom.

I remember a vessel called the 'Niskinrandra' of Bergen, which came from Norway with a cargo of timber, the master spoke English well, and I remember when Mr Seward spoke to him of the superiority of these countries over Norway in many ways, his reply was 'you have not such timber as we have'.

I remember a vessel called the 'Amizade' of St. Ubes, the master of which was named De Roches.¹³⁷ It brought a cargo of Salt, and a large number of gold and silver fish. The Portuguese sailors had all golden earrings in their ears, and I remember the city of Limerick to be without a single chest of tea while there were vessels loaded with that article at Loop Head, waiting a favourable wind to bring them up the river Shannon. I remember the first steam vessel which came [31] to Limerick. She was called the 'City of Londonderry' and had a cannon on board which was fired shortly before her departure.¹³⁸ The crews of the regular liners were very jealous of this intrusion on their occupation, and as the new vessel was about to leave port I saw a little cabin boy stand upon his head upon the top of the mast of his own vessel. I once reproved a little cabin boy for smoking; his reply was 'you must do something when you go abroad'. Amongst other of my feats at this time was the measuring a cabin boy for a pair of canvas trousers, I had only to measure round the waist and take the length of the legs.

About the 15th of February the great snow fell. It was as high as the fan-light over the shop door, which was at least seven feet from the flagging, and although few people could enter the shop for days, I was on duty as usual behind the counter, shivering with cold. My hands broke out with chilblains, and so severe were they that when taking off my mittens at night some of the flesh usually came off with them, and I have to this day after an interval of over fifty-four years marks upon my hands where the flesh came away.¹³⁹

135. For the O'Dwyer family see G. Riordan, *The Families of O'Dwyer & O'Brien of Cullen* in *The Lattin-Cullen Journal*, 2 (1992), pp. 15-26.

136. By the 1870s, Seward was living in Rathgar in Dublin, though he still had property in Limerick.

137. If White is here working from memory, his facility is remarkable. According to the *Limerick Chronicle*, 15 Aug 1838, the 'Amilgade' out of 'Rocha St Ubes' arrived in the city the previous day, with a cargo of 'salt and fruit'.

138. An advertisement in the *Limerick Chronicle*, 11 Aug 1838 by the City of Dublin Steam Packet Co and the Peninsular Steam Navigation Co of London, stated that the 'City of Londonderry' steamer would leave London for Limerick on Saturday 1 September.

139. On Thursday 15 February 1838, between ten and eleven a.m. 'a perfect snow storm burst upon the city'. The storm lasted all day and the drifting snow was three to four feet thick. Business in the city was suspended. (*L.C.*, 17 Feb 1838).

I have been on occasions from six in the morning to twelve at night (except with short intervals for meals) behind the counter or at other work, and I have on some occasions gone to my dinner about four and have had so many calls from it to business that I could not finish it until after six. One morning before breakfast I fell in a faint, possibly from being a long time without food. My Master related the incident to a quaker gentleman in the course of the day who said to me 'thee don't look like a sick boy.' One of my experiences at this time was seeing a man who had sworn that he would not take drink 'either inside a public house or outside one,' stand with one foot inside and another outside the door, and take it.

Sunday was a very lonesome day. I used generally go to morning prayers at the asylum chapel, where Rev Edward Newenham Hoare (afterwards Dean of Waterford) officiated.¹⁴⁰ I have been at Saint Mary's Cathedral, at St Munchins, where a Rev Mr Duddell officiated; at St John's where a Rev Mr Elmes officiated, and I was at Presbyterian Independent and Methodist Chapels. At one of the latter a man preached for over an hour. I sat under the pulpit and like a second 'Eutycus' fell asleep, and I was at a Quakers meeting, where there were three men and two women upon an elevated place, from whence after sitting an hour or thereabouts, they descended without any sign that I could see, and without a word being spoken the congregation dispersed.¹⁴¹

The Franciscan Chapel in Henry Street adjoined Mr Seward's back concerns, and from thence I have often heard a splendid female voice, which I believe was that of the afterwards celebrated Catherine Hayes.¹⁴²

On Sunday my master and his wife invariably dined with his mother-in-law (Mrs Mullock). His brothers-in-law were John and Luke Mullock; he had a sister married to Thomas Trousdell of Patrick Street, who called himself an 'Iron Munger' and another to James McNab, a Scotchman, who lived at Mona Lodge, near O'Brien's Bridge, and oversaw the cutting of turf there for Stein Brown and Company's distillery. Generally a mutton chop was left for my dinner, and it was given to me half cooked upon a gridiron over a sea-coal fire, which has given me a dislike to mutton chops even unto this day.¹⁴³

One Sunday I and my shopmate George Roberts Crowe and another young man named Worrall went upon invitation to dine with Mr McNab; we walked nine miles and went to Church to O'Brien's Bridge, which is at the other side of the Shannon. I never saw a church so crowded, the only place we could get to sit was upon the steps outside the communion rails.

A Rev Mr Langford preached. We spent a very pleasant day, and on our way home saw the 'Leap of Doonas,' the ruins of the Castle of Castle Connell, and Anacotty where there was a paper mill from whence we got our supply of lapping paper. On arriving at Limerick after my eighteen Irish miles' walk I was tired beyond measure and could hardly drag my feet up to my garret room.

On the 5th of April my mother came to see me. Next day as we went into Todd and Burns in William Street, when and where my first hat was bought, Messrs Ned Dollard and Boney Price

140. The Rev Edward Newenham Hoare (1802-77) was a well known polemist especially with respect to national education.

141. For these buildings see Judith Hill, *The Building of Limerick* (Dublin, 1991).

142. Catherine Hayes was born in Limerick in 1825 and left in 1839 to study in Dublin and then in Europe. She made her La Scala debut in 1845. She died in London in 1861.

143. According to Slater (1846) John Mullock had a business in Thomas Street. His brother Luke's business was in Henry Street and Thomas Trousdell 'Ironmonger' was at 25 Patrick Street.

(two Cashel men) met us and informed us that on the previous day Austin Cooper had been shot¹⁴⁴ [32].

My dear Mother, as she afterwards told me, requested that my master should not beat me. He replied – ‘is it me beat that big fellow, he would be able to beat two like me,’ he was a small and very handsome man, his father James Seward lived at 50 Georges Street, and was a grocer; he was a kind old man. I remember seeing him many years after at Kilkee, blind and nearly 100 years old and married to his fourth wife.

The only relatives whom I had in Limerick were a Mrs Vokes, whose first husband had been my father’s eldest brother, Newport. Her maiden name was Bentley, my grand aunt Constance, widow of my mother’s Uncle Ben, whose maiden name was Hunt, and a Mrs Stoney who had been a Miss Going, and was first married to my father’s cousin Finch White of Fort Henry (or Kincora, near Killaloe) and secondly to a Mr Stoney. The latter lady was very kind and friendly to me.¹⁴⁵

I remember some of the ships and ship captains. The largest sailing ship belonging to Limerick at this time was the ‘Borneo,’ her master was Captain Gorman,¹⁴⁶ who had been the master of the unfortunate vessel ‘Francis Spaight,’ which was water-logged on the passage home from America with a cargo of timber. When the vessel was relieved this man was found picking the rib bone of his apprentice whom he and the crew had killed and eaten (being in a state of starvation), who was the son of a poor widow in Limerick.¹⁴⁷

His brother was Daniel Gorman of the ‘Bryan Abbs’ which was the next vessel in size to the

144. For this episode see D.G. Marnane, *Land and Violence a history of West Tipperary from 1660* (Tipperary, 1985), pp. 53-4. White is exactly correct about the date, 5 April 1838. On that morning, a small party of men were fired on near Donaskeagh while on their way to Tipperary town. Austin Cooper was killed while Francis Wayland died later. This latter was the target of a conspiracy organized by a disgruntled tenant. The attackers were caught, tried and a number of them executed. It was this episode that prompted Thomas Drummond’s famous declaration about property, duty and rights.

145. Rebecca Bentley, daughter of John Bentley of Hurdlestown, Co Clare first married Newport White, who died in 1800. All the children of this marriage died young. Benjamin White of Limerick was the fifth son of John White of Lisowen co Limerick (1720-1800) and married Constance (or Catherine) daughter of Henry Hunt of Cappaghwhite. Letitia Going daughter of Richard Going of Birdhill was born in 1771, married first in 1792 Finch White of Whitehall and secondly in 1809 James Johnston Stoney of Oakley Park, Birr who died in 1826. (Rev C.C. Ellison, ‘Going of Munster’ in *The Irish Ancestor*, 1 (1977), p. 33).

146. For a reference to Captain Thomas Gorman of the ship ‘Borneo’ see *L.C.*, 22 Aug 1838.

147. This extraordinary episode happened in December 1835. The ship ‘Francis Spaight’ (presumably owned by the Limerick merchant of the same name - for reference to whom see D.G. Marnane, ‘The Famine in South Tipperary – Part Five’ in *THJ* (2000), pp. 79-80) sailed from St Johns, Newfoundland on 25 November 1835 with an inexperienced crew of fourteen ‘more used to boats on the Shannon’, with a cargo of timber. On 3 December they encountered a storm, during which three of the crew were lost. When the storm was over, the ship was still afloat but its supply of water and provisions had been lost. On 18 December, the captain Thomas Gorman organized the drawing of straws to decide what crew members would be killed and eaten so that the others might survive. A fifteen year old cabin boy Patrick O’Brien from Limerick was killed. On 23 December, they were rescued by another ship. One account has it that when rescued, the captain was eating the liver and brains of the unfortunate O’Brien. On their return to Limerick, Gorman and what remained of his crew were tried for murder and acquitted. (*The Old Limerick Journal*, 9 (1981), p. 3; *Annual Register* 1836).

Borneo. There were a number of 'Marys', 'Janes' and 'Ellens' and one called the 'Ides,' they are all probably now as rotten as 'Noah's Ark.'

I passed over the New Thomond Bridge one day when it was merely laid with Planks, and was walking very cautiously, when a man came after me at a run and shook the frail construction, so that I was afraid I should be thrown into the river.

On the 20th of September, 1838, I bade farewell to the city of Limerick. It appeared that either I did not suit the business or the business me, and on the next day I entered the office of Mr Hickey, Registrar of the Diocese of Cashel, at the magnificent salary of eight pounds per annum.¹⁴⁸

Years after I had left Limerick, in May 1843, I received a letter bearing the Limerick post mark of May 3rd 1843. Before opening it I thought it was in the handwriting of my former master. It read as follows:

DEAR JOHN -

I have heard you are going to publish your Rhymes,
Oh! tempore mores the manners and times,
I therefore think proper to give you a hint,
If you choose, with the rest, you may pop it in print.

You cannot forget, but few years have gone by
Since at Seward's you oft heaved the cordage on high,
Methinks I behold you in apathy stand,
With a whiskey glass strained in your chilblaining hand.

Your apron was dirty, your face much the same,
Your temper and visage were both in a flame.
Though you pensively said you had no time to eat,
That visage was broad and as fat as your feet.

When on Sundays your hands, face and fingers were clean,
And you seemed altogether quite fit to be seen,
You heavily moved, at the parson to peep,
To lighten your cares and your sorrows by sleep,
Or with lack lustre eye on your Bible to pore
Mark the text with a nod, and respond with a snore [33].

Oh! had your dear Mother beheld her 'fat boy.'
Her lackrymose darling, her overfed joy;
Or had your respectable father been there,
How she's fret, how he'd fume how they'd both of them stare!
Could we ever imagine you'd turn out a Beau I
A publishing Author! oh no my John, no!

148. James Lorenzo Hickey had been appointed deputy registrar of the diocese of Cashel in 1826 and registrar in 1837. In 1859, James Henry Hickey (his son?) was appointed deputy. (*Returns from every registry in Ireland etc.* 1860 (211), lvii.) At this period the Cashel registry was in Waterford where Hickey appears to have been based. White was his Cashel town based clerk.

There's an insect produced from a dunghill we're told,
Whose wings are all radiant with purple and gold,
But when floating along mid the sun lighted sky,
It forgets those it knew when allied to the sty.

Thus you my fair Author forget I dare say
The friends you knew here in your prenticeship day;
But no matter – I'm willing to give you a hint
And those lines in your preface you're welcome to print.

Yours THIGNATHU.

Of course I was very angry at this. But about three weeks after I received it I had a letter from my brother Newport who was then curate of Enniskillen to say, 'if it was any satisfaction to me to know that it was the work of a friend. It was written by my reverend brother aided and assisted by my unworthy sister. This of course took all sting out of it.'¹⁴⁹

Careers

In my early days there was no employment under the Crown for a young man, unless he had political interest, except as a policeman or soldier. The ranks of the Police had numbers of the younger sons of gentlemen, and some of these by merit and good conduct, after many years attained to the higher rank. (Now the son of a Lord has no advantage in the race for Government employment over the son of a tinker).¹⁵⁰

My brothers Newport and Henry had grown to be young men without any fixed employment or prospect, and my father asked Counsellor Nicholas Mansergh to apply to Mr Matthew Pennefather, who had been member for Cashel, and was supposed to have some interest with the Tory party, to try and get some appointment for them. The Counsellor advised that 'they should be sent to fight for the Queen of Spain,' fortunately and providentially they were called and fitted for better and higher employment, and having both talent and energy were enabled to educate themselves for the sacred Ministry.

Mr George Crawford Holmes had set up a classical school in Cashel, and at the age of 19 my brother Newport conceived the idea of learning classics and the usual undergraduate course and entering Trinity College.¹⁵¹ Up to this time he had little knowledge of either Latin or Greek, but within a week from commencing to learn it he had mastered the Latin grammar. At this time some of his schoolmates who were reading Virgil, &c., used to come to him and ask: 'when would he be as far advanced as they were,' when before six months had elapsed these same boys had to come to him for assistance in the preparation of their lessons.

About six months after my brother Newport had begun his Latin grammar, my brother Henry began also. He was from his earliest years a devoted Christian and had always intended

149. White's brother Newport died in 1870 and in 1882, White published an edition of his brother's poems, most of which date from the late 1830s and early '40s. The poem here does not appear. Rev Newport Benjamin White (late rector of Kilkenny West diocese of Meath), *Poems* (Cashel, 1882). This is a distinctly Anglican view of patronage and one not shared by White's fellow townsman Thomas Laffan MD. (*Tipperary People*, 8 Feb 1918).

151. For a previous reference to Holmes, see Part One, *THJ* (2001), p. 69.

to become a clergyman. To this end he had offered himself to the Church Missionary Society for training in their college at Islington, but after a long correspondence his application was refused, as his health was not considered strong enough for missionary labour.¹⁵² This is not the place to write biographies of these men,¹⁵³ but I may mention that both entered College [34] in due time, my brother Newport's tutor was Dr. Toleken, my brother Henry's Dr Sadlier. My brother Newport seldom made any preparation for his examination until about three weeks before it was to take place, my brother Henry was busily engaged in studying during the intervals between each examination, morning, noon, and night, the result was that the one 'passed' (which was all he wanted), while the other was 'recommended for honours.'

Corporation

I copy the following document here, because it is of importance to all who are, or hereafter may be citizens of Cashel —¹⁵⁵

COPY OF SCHEME FOR THE APPROPRIATION OF THE CORPORATION FUNDS, CASHEL.

The Right Honorable the Attorney-General at the relation of Robert Stritch, Plaintiff; William Pennefather, Charity Maria Pennefather, his Wife, Richard Long, and the Commissioners of the City of Cashel, Defendants. To the Right Honourable Sir Edward Burtenshaw Sugden, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

Pursuant to a Decree made in this cause, bearing date the 19th day of January, 1843, whereby it was referred to me to take an account of the Rents and Profits received by the Defendant William Pennefather, out of the Lands and Premises comprised in the Lease bearing date the 13th day of September 1830, from the commencement of the said Lease to the present time; and also to approve of a proper Scheme for the appropriation of the Income hereafter to arise from the Estate in the pleadings in this cause mentioned, and of the funds which shall be paid into Court in this cause. I have enquired into the several matters so to me referred in the presence of the respective Counsel and Solicitors for the Plaintiff and Defendants, and also (with the concurrence of the Attorney-General), Counsel and Solicitors for certain of the Inhabitants of the City of Cashel. And I find that

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152. The 'Church Missionary Society' was originally called the 'Society for Missions in Africa and the East'. Founded in 1799, it was the first Anglican society to send missionaries to the native populations of Africa and Asia.
 153. Newport died 30 May 1870 and his brother Henry died 29 November 1865. See their brother's obit. notices in his *Cashel Gazette*.
 154. Toleken died in 1887 and Mahaffy, the famous provost of Trinity acknowledged his considerable debt to him. Toleken is credited with devising the first course in modern history in Trinity. (Stanford & McDowell, *Mahaffy: a biography* (London, 1971), p. 19).
 155. The placing of this material here is a prime example of the lack of structure in White's work. Matters relating to Cashel Corporation had been dealt with earlier.

the Rents and Profits of the Lands and Premises comprised in the said Lease amount to the annual sum of £600, and the several parties, Plaintiff and Defendants in said suit, having ascertained among themselves and reciprocally agreed that the Rent and Profits received by the Defendant William Pennefather out of said Lands and Premises from the commencement of said Lease to the present time, after making to him all just allowances, amount to the sum of £6,000 sterling. I find same accordingly, and the following Scheme for the appropriation of the income arising from the estate above-mentioned and which amounts to the beforementioned annual sum of £600, and of the funds to be paid into Court consisting of the above-mentioned sum of £6,000 having been submitted to me and canvassed and discussed by the Counsel of the several parties herein-beforementioned – I have, with their assent, approved thereof, to wit – “Proposed Scheme for the appropriation of the sum due for Mesne Rates and the Annual Rents and Profits of the Lands and Premises in the pleadings mentioned in pursuance of the Decree in this cause, which said Mesne Rates amount to £6,000, and which said Annual Rents and Profits amount to £600 per Annum. – **First**, That a sum of of £700 portion of said Mesne Rates shall be laid out by the Commissioners of the City of Cashel – elected pursuant to the provisions [35] of the Act passed in the 9th year of the reign of his late Majesty, King George the fourth instituted ‘An Act to make provision for the Lighting, Cleansing, and Watering Cities Towns Corporate and Market Towns in Ireland, in certain cases’ – in Paving, Flagging, and improving the Streets of the city of Cashel – **Second**, That the sum of £300 portion of said Mesne Rates, or such part thereof as may be necessary, be applied by the said Commissioners in liquidation of the Costs incurred by them in this cause and in the trial of the issues therein directed, when same shall be duly taxed and certified, and if there be any residue of said £300 after payment of said Costs, that same shall be laid out in the purchase of Clothing to be distributed to the Poor of Cashel by a Committee of the Clergy of Cashel of all denominations. – **Third**, That a sum of £2,000 portion of Mesne Rates be expended by the said Commissioners in erecting a suitable Gas House, and procuring the laying down the necessary pipes and other matters necessary for lighting the City of Cashel with Gas. – **Fourth**, That the sum of £1,000, portion of said Mesne Rates be expended by the said Commissioners in procuring the necessary supply of water for the inhabitants of said City of Cashel, by digging wells, laying Water Pipes, forming Water Cuts, erecting Fountains, and erecting such other Works as may be necessary for securing to the Inhabitants a constant supply of pure Water. – **Fifth**, That a sum of £100 portion of said Mesne Rates be applied towards the formation of a Lying-in-Hospital for the Poor of the City. – **Sixth**, That a sum of £460 portion of said Mesne Rates be applied by the said Commissioners in payment of the purchase-money of the Rev Mr Whitty’s interest in the Lands and Premises called Cotterell’s Lot, part of the Corporation Lands in the City of Cashel. – **Seventh**, That a sum of £200 portion of said Mesne Rates be applied in making a short road from said City of Cashel to the Commons of Cashel, or in repairing the present road from same to same. – **Eight**, That a sum of £420 portion of said Mesne Rates be applied in erecting a Mechanics’ Institute and Temperance Hall in said City of Cashel said several sums of £2,000, £700, £300, £1,000, £100, £469, £240, and £200, be duly accounted for by said Commissioners before the Master in this cause – **Ninth**, That a sum of £1,000 portion of said Mesne Rates be advanced to the City Loan Board, established in said City of Cashel, in connexion with and under the control of the Dublin Board. – **Tenth**, That a sum of £160 a-year portion of the Rents of said Premises be applied by the said Commissioners towards the Lighting, Cleansing, and supplying with Water the City of

Cashel. **Eleventh**, That a like sum of £200 a-year portion of the Rents and Profits of said Lands and Premises be applied towards the support and maintenance of Schools in said City of Cashel – that is to say, £180 a-year for two Day Schools, one for the education of Boys and the other of Girls, under the control of the National Board, and £20 a-year for the support of similar Schools under the control of the Protestant Ministers. – **Twelfth**, That a sum of £120 a-year portion of said Rents and Profits be applied towards the maintenance and support of the said Lying-in-Hospital heretofore mentioned – **Thirteenth**, That the sum of £40 a-year portion of said Rents and Profits be applied in the purchase of Blankets to be distributed to the poor housekeepers of Cashel of all denominations. It is further proposed, as soon as there shall be any so cumulation of the surplus Rents and Profits, to apply to The court to have same expended for any Charitable purposes which circumstances may render advisable. All which I Certify and submit to your Lordships as my Report, this 2nd day of January, 1844.

Wm Kemmis, Solicitor (Signed) E Litton-Frans. Prendergast, Re^{gr}¹⁵⁶ [36].

Marriage Licenses

As I before stated, I entered the office of James Lorenzo Hickey, Esquire, Registrar of the Consistorial and Metropolitan Court of Cashel, on the 21st September, 1838, and continued as his clerk until he was appointed Registrar of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore, and was from that time his Deputy in Cashel, until all the wills and other documents were removed to the general Record Office, which is situate at the back of the Four Courts in Dublin.¹⁵⁷

The office was at the left hand side of the hall door of the house which is opposite the barrack, and in some distance from the street. My hours of attendance were from 10 in the morning until 4 o'clock in the evening, and I may be allowed to boast that during the many years I was in Mr Hickey's employment I don't think I was on six occasions five minutes late.

Although the hours I have named were the usual hours of business, there were occasions upon which I have worked pen in hand from six o'clock in the morning until twelve o'clock at night when on occasions I have got what is called writer's cramp, or in Irish a 'Tralough'. On the year of a triennial visitation I had to write out the Visitation Books for the Archbishop of Dublin, his Vicar General and Registrar, the Bishop, his Vicar General and Registrar each of these contained the names of all the Parishes and Unions in the Diocese, the names of the Rectors, Vicars, and Curates, the names of the Patrons and the amount of Tithe Rent charge, &c. To these were added copies of the Rural Dean's Report's upon the state of each parish, and some of these came in so late that I sometimes had hard work to be ready for the visitation.

Some part of my time was taken up with entering the wills which were proved into books, or copying out the wills upon parchment to be annexed to probates, drawing out the titles to parishes upon parchment (some of these bore a stamp duty of £45) and entering copies of these titles and other documents connected with the parishes into books, drawing renewals of

156. For this scheme and a breakdown as to how the various allocations were actually spent, see *Local government and taxation of towns inquiry commission (Ireland)*, 1877 (c. 1787), xl, pp. 47-59, especially pp. 49-50. For example, the third item: £2000 to be spent on a gas supply to the town; £1992 was spent. See also Copy of papers etc relating to the finances of Cashel Corporation, (MS 17978, Quane Papers, NLI).

157. See for example 9th report deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland, appendix one.

bishops' leases, &c, while copies of wills, applotment books, and other documents, had often to be written out for the public, the filling up of marriage licenses, and attending the Surrogate in order to (have) the applicants sworn, was another of my duties.

With regard to these latter I may mention a few incidents; as some of the parties may still be alive I shall not mention names.

A young woman from a remote parish came with her cousin in order that they should get a licence for marriages. They obtained it, and he also bought a new pair of boots. On the way home (being under the influence of drink) he lost both the licence and boots, and in about three months after came for a licence to marry another young woman.

I remember an old gentleman over 70 years of age coming for a licence to marry a lady who was as old if not older. She came in the carriage along with him and waited outside while the document was being prepared.

There was a case of a young man who procured a license, and after he went home the match was broken off. When he came to the office asking to have the money returned, it is hardly necessary to say that he did not get it.

There was a case of a painful and interesting nature, which occurred probably forty years ago, when the late Rev George Lawless was Surrogate.¹⁵⁸

A young officer had taken a very young lady out of a boarding school, and after living together for some time he wished to make her his wife. They came together in order to procure a license. She was a beautiful young woman (probably not above 17 years of age.) As she was a minor a licence could not be granted without the consent of her parents or guardians. In this dilemma the question arose as to who was her father. The Reverend Surrogate took the young lady into an inner room where she told him that she was the illegitimate daughter of a person in high position whom he knew well; and that she had her fathers consent to her marriage. It was then necessary (at least so the Surrogate thought) to inform the gentleman for the first time as to the name and antecedents of his intended wife. And he gallantly refused to give her up [37].

On the Surrogate's assurance that she had her father's consent, I joined the intended husband in the necessary bond, etc., and the licence was granted. The poor young creature pressed me to take money, which I refused. I never heard anything more of the parties.¹⁵⁹

There was another case in which a license was obtained by fraud. A young gentleman whom I knew as a boy, wanted to marry an inferior, and he knew that if he came for the license it would probably be refused or delayed. The brother of this young woman came for the license, and swore that he was the intended bridegroom, and so the license was granted without further questions.

Wills

In the Registry there were about 2,500 original wills tied up in alphabetical bundles. Some of them were curious and interesting.¹⁶⁰ The oldest was that of John Cantwell, of Moycarkey Castle, Esq. dated 1606. He bequeathed his soul to Almighty God to be placed in the bosom of

158. Lawless was attached to the parish of Killoscully 1837-39. 'Surrogate': a clergyman or other person appointed by the bishop as his deputy to grant licences for marriages without banns.

159. This young lady's position was similar to that of Harriet Smith in Jane Austen's *Emma*.

160. In 1869, White used this material as the basis for articles in his *Cashel Gazette*. See 2 Jan, 5, 12 and 26 June.

Abraham, and his body to be buried in his ancestor's tomb in the Cathedral Church of Saint Patrick, Cashel.

A gentleman, whose name I will not mention, leaves his son 'thirteen pence and my curse, for he has broken my heart and shortened my days.' In contrast to this, an old clergyman left a sum of money to one of his nephews in order that he should return home to his parents in England, and adds – 'and now with this friendly farewell I take leave of him who hath all along been mine enemy without a cause whom God in mercy forgive and grant that we may meet in heaven.'

There was another case in which a man had a bad and ill-conducted son, and a good and dutiful daughter, but the daughter had given some information relative to parties who had committed a murder, so he left all his property to his son with the exception of one shilling which he left to his daughter calling her 'a contaminated informer.'

We had suits as to the validity of Wills, and the evidence was taken '*viva voce*,' and cases were often adjourned from court day to court day, in order that further evidence might be procured. Although these trials lacked legal formality, I believe that the decisions were always just, and were arrived at without one tenth of the cost which such a trial would entail under the modern course of procedure.

Some short time before I entered the office there was a case of a man who had made a will in his wife's favour, but his relations concocted another which revoked it. The witnesses gave the necessary evidence, and the forgery would have succeeded had not a little boy overheard the conversation between the parties and even the hand of the dead man put to the pen.

I remember another case where it was sworn that the wife of the dead man got inside him in the bed, and dictated a will in her own favour, 'Owny was inside him in the bed and told every word herself.'

I remember a case from the neighbourhood of Galbally, concerning a will in which the testator left to his wife only 'her bed and box.' She was a little woman and disputed the will as far as the law would go, but at last the executors gained the day and obtain probate. She, however, took the law into her own hands, and with the help of her friends beat the executors and their party, and kept triumphal possession of her deceased husband's farm and goods.

Hereafter I shall relate some particulars of cases in which I was professionally concerned, and which I doubt not will be interesting to the reader.

We had large bundles of papers, many of which were accounts of the proceedings tried in inferior Courts, from which there was an appeal to the Metropolitan Court of Cashel, the Courts of Cork, Cloyne, Ross, Limerick, Ardfert, Aghadoe, Waterford and Lismore, Killaloe and Kilfenora, were all under Cashel. Some of them were so old that they had nearly mouldered away, and it was not much loss as they contained a large amount of old scandal.¹⁶¹

I have sometimes looked into them. One contained proceedings against a young man of the labouring class, who had boasted that a certain young lady (daughter of a gentleman who had been a Colonel in Cromwell's Army) was his wife. This was called in legal terms 'a cause of jactitation of marriage'.¹⁶² In his defence he produced a number of her original love letters (written I think in 1665 or 6), in one of which she upbraids him with 'not keeping the promise which he made to her in the barn on Candlemas day,' and adds 'if you do not remember I will make you to remember it' [38]. One of her letters is written upon a piece of paper hardly three

161. Given White's professed and evident concern for the past, this cavalier attitude to historic documents is surprising.

162. 'Jactitation': false declaration in Canon Law.

inches square, to which she adds a postscript – ‘fearing you have not any paper I send you some,’ the letters generally end ‘no more at present, but I rest your very loving love R—S— until death.’ I do not know what was the result of the suit.

There was an old divorce case in which a mother-in-law (according to the evidence of a servant maid) treated her son-in-law very harshly. When he came to the house she sprinkled the sheets of his bed with water, and having met this servant woman carrying the materials for making a fire in her master’s room she kicked the coal box and kindling down stairs.

There was a modern case in which a gentleman eloped with a young lady who was under age, and her father sought to break the marriage. I had the story from Mr Michael Owens, who was the proctor employed to conduct the proceedings; from motives of prudence I suppress the names.

The Rev Charles Mayne, Vicar General of the Diocese, was the judge. Dr Stock (who was afterwards Member of Parliament for Cashel), was employed by the impugnant (as the Defendant, was called in the proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts). He refused to appear formally, but tried to prolong the proceedings and tried to intimidate the judge, by telling of a case in England, where a judge named Scott was heavily fined for giving an illegal decision. Owens on the next court day presented him with the following:—

“From a great ‘Stock’ of law we have found
That a great English lawyer and knight.
While escaping from illegal ground,
Escaped not ‘Scot’ free in his flight;
As this may be true, let me say,
Without putting one word out of joint,
That the judge who presides here to-day,
Will always observe the ‘Mayne’ point.

Before the proceedings terminated the lady came of age, and was able to marry *maugre* her father’s will.¹⁶³

There was a case which occurred in this Diocese about the year 1750. A young gentleman, heir to a considerable property, was married when under age by an unauthorized person to a girl whose name was Peggy. His father brought proceedings to annul the marriage, and a number of love letters from the young man to the young girl was produced and kept among the records. They were written in a very good hand, and every now and then there was mention of ‘my heart’ and ‘dear Peggy’. I do not know what the result of the proceedings was, but I know that the man was unfortunate and reduced to beggary, for in the year 1798 he came begging to the barracks of the Slievardagh Yeoman Cavalry (amongst whom my father was one), and he was ordered by one of the members of the corps ‘to be off for an old vagabond’, and he turned and to the gentlemen present – regarding the one who had spoken ill of him ‘gentlemen beware of that fellow, he would cut your throats with a feather of oil.’¹⁶⁴

Curious to add that just one hundred years later (1850), a young gentleman of the same christian and surname got into a like entanglement.

163. For Mayne see footnote 20. Joseph Stock was MP for Cashel 1838-46. He was born in 1787, a son of the bishop of Waterford, became a KC in 1835 and died in 1855.

164. White’s father, a private in the Slieveardagh Yeoman Cavalry, was stationed in Killenaule 1798-1803. For White’s account see C.G., 20 Dec 1873.

Tithes

There were suits for the recovery of tithes, but not in my time, and I may mention a few cases regarding these. A clergyman in this diocese sued one of his parishioners (who was either a Presbyterian or the descendant of a Presbyterian, for tithes. By some means the case was dismissed, and the clergyman (who was said to be rather demented) called at the house of the parishioner, knocked at the hall door but was told that the owner (who had gone to hide on seeing the clergyman coming) was not at home. Upon this the clergyman posted upon the door a citation which called upon the owner of the house to meet him at the bar of God and answer for the false swearing by which he had defrauded him. He then (horrible to relate) blew out his own brains with a pistol, and died upon the hall door steps.¹⁶⁵

The Rev Irwine Whitty, rector of Golden, was returning home after obtaining a number of decrees for Tithes due to him, when he was stoned to death; this occurred in the year 1832.¹⁶⁶

About the year 1826 my uncle the late William Going, of Ballyphillip, was cited, to the Bishops Court for the 'Subtraction of the Tithes of oats', he appeared (as I read in the minute book) and swore, as did other witnesses that on that year he had not even a quarter [39] of an acre of oats. Still the oath of the tithe proctor was believed and a decree granted.¹⁶⁷

Thus the impost was made distasteful even to those were well affected towards the established Church. The tithe proctors as a rule were men who were regarded somewhat in the light of the 'Publicans' named in the New Testament, who being Jews, collected taxes for the Romans. The Roman Catholic Tithe Proctors collected Tithes for the Protestant clergyman or lay impropiator, and the valuations upon which it was assessed were also made by them.¹⁶⁸

It was in a measure as if the Poor Rate or barony cess collector could value a farmer's crops, assess the tenth according to his pleasure, and demand and recover this sum.

In these days it will hardly be believed that such a system was tolerated for a moment. The Proctor, as I was told, often agreed to give the rector or vicar a certain sum, and he then possibly imagined a valuation (I have heard of a whole Parish being valued from the top of a hill.) And doubtless was often bribed to let one man off lightly and make others pay the deficiency. I verily believe that the clergy in general did not get much more than half of what was levied, but the old Proverb 'Ill got, Ill gone,' came true. I knew a man who had the

165. This is perhaps a version of the suicide of the Rev John Hussey Burgh, rector of Pallas Grean who shot himself in a Cahir hotel in 1830. (*Clonmel Advertiser*, 12 May 1830 – this reference from Noreen Higgins).

166. See footnote 110.

167. William Going of Ballyphilip (1754-1844).

168. In 1736 the Irish House of Commons passed a series of resolutions that effectively excluded pasture from tithe, so that the burden fell on tillage farming. The tithe proctors that White complains about took over the difficult and often dangerous job of collecting tithe for the Church of Ireland clergy. These individuals were committed to making a fixed return to the clergymen in question, so that it was in their own interest to extract as much as possible from those from whom tithe was due. In 1823 a reform act allowed clergymen and parishioners to negotiate a twice yearly payment without the contentious annual valuation of crops. In the early 1830s, against a background of agricultural depression and increasing catholic resistance, there was a campaign against tithes. Clergy in distress from non-payment were supported from public funds. An act of 1838 converted tithe into a charge paid by landlords and this more or less removed the issue from public debate. (S.J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 543-4).

collecting of the tithes of 14 parishes out of which he was said to have a profit of £1,400 a year, and yet he died a pauper in the workhouse.

As an illustration of what I have been stating, I will tell of what I learned from a man named John Mathews, who acted as Tithe Proctor, for the once celebrated Rev Patrick Hare –.¹⁶⁹

Mathew's had been in the commissariat department during the Peninsular war. When the war was over he returned to Cashel, and Mr Hare proposed to employ him as collector of the tithes of the Parish of Templetuohy. Mathews professed to be ignorant of the difference between wheat, oats, and barley. Mr Hare shewed him a handful of each, and instructed him as to their relative values and sent him to Templetuohy, desiring him to call there upon a man named William Rourke, of Lisdaleen, who would inform him as to further proceedings.

Mathews told me that he was standing in the village of Templetuohy, one Sunday morning after Mass, and he saw the people collecting in groups, as if consulting about him. He had a gun in his hand, and as a number of crows flew over his head, he fired and brought one down dead at his feet. He added that he bought in a valuation on the Parish and Union of £1,600, and collected every penny of it!

I well remember the commencement of the Anti-Tithe agitation in the year 1830. I know that on a certain Sunday, some of my father's labourers were absent at a hurling match at no great distance, and they said next day that they were 'Hurling down the Tithes'. The word was 'up with the Ball down with the Tithes.' I remember after that time that the tithe proctor of the parish in which I was born (Grange McComb in the Union of Burnchurch) was caught upon the Conahy Hills in the act of serving citations for tithes and was compelled to swallow them along with a certain quantity of yellow soap; after this a hole was dug and filled with furze bushes, into which he was placed with his head only above the surface, and the sods and clay trenched in. I remember hearing horns blown upon the hills at this time to call the people together.

After I came to Cashel we heard that this Drohan was stoned to death; in the parish of Burnchurch which was the head Parish of the Union, and from which we had lived fourteen miles distant.¹⁷⁰

Composition for Tithes succeeded. The clergyman and parishioners met in vestry and agreed upon a certain annual tax, and commissioners were appointed to applot this upon the lands according to the valuation, and these applotments were lodged in the Registry Office. They were based upon the average price of corn, for some years before the date of this applotment.

Apropos of this, the late Rev Richard French Laurence, Treasurer of the Diocese, told me that he had agreed with the Parishioners of Buolick upon a certain sum, but this required confirmation at a future Vestry, of which due notice was given; but the day turned out [40] to be an exceedingly wet one, and the parishioners believing that a young Englishman (as he was then) would hardly venture out on such a day, did not attend. But he was able to get enough of

169. For Hare see footnote 25.

170. White and his family moved to Cashel in October 1831. However, Michael Drohan was killed the previous March. Employed as a process-server by the rector of Burnchurch, Drohan had been serving processes near Thomastown (Kilkenny) on 21 March. During the afternoon he was followed by a crowd who pelted him with stones. He suffered a fractured skull from which he died. (M. O'Hanrahan, 'The Tithe War in county Kilkenny 1830-1834' in Nolan & Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society* (Dublin, 1990) p. 494.)

friends together to form a vestry and to confirm the assessment, which was as well as I can remember £600 a year.¹⁷¹

After this one-fourth of the composition was taken away, and the remaining three-fourths put upon the Landlords and called Rent Charge.

Presentments

There were bundles of papers in the Diocesan Registry, which related to a state of things of which we moderns have no idea because the proceedings are now obsolete.

They were called 'presentments' – according to the Ecclesiastical Canons, the Church Wardens of every Parish were obliged at each annual visitation of the Diocese to make a Presentment to the Archbishop under several specified heads, amongst which were the condition and repair of the Church, and state of the Church Yard, the Glebe or Glebes and Glebe House, the Minister and how his duties were performed, &c. They also reported the names of such of the Parishioners as had not received the Holy Communion during the year ending the preceding Easter. They also presented the names of persons guilty of any notorious scandalous crime against good morals, &c., and at the discretion of the Archbishop proceedings against the delinquents were ordered to be taken by the 'Proctor of Office' who was something like an Ecclesiastical 'Attorney or Solicitor General'.

The offender was cited to the Archbishop's Court 'for the good of his soul and the reformation of his manners.' If he appeared the case was proved and a certain penance was enjoined. If he did not appear and was 'Contumacious,' the proceedings were carried on until he was formally excommunicated. Many people have no idea of the legal disabilities under which an excommunicated person lay, amongst others which concerned his church membership and his spiritual affairs more than those of his body; he was wholly cut off from all ordinances, and in worldly-matters he was out from under the protection of the law, could be assaulted with impunity, could not sue for any debts and could not make a legal Will, &c. in fact he was *dead* in law. To escape from these penalties men performed Penances which would be now considered abhorrent to any reasonable being.

I will mention a case of which there was a Record in the Registry. As persons of the same name as the delinquent still reside on the same lands in the Parish of Kilcooly, and are probably his descendants, I shall not give his name.

In the year 1704, nearly two hundred years ago, a man who was a resident in the Parish of Kilcooly, was excommunicated for having transgressed one of the ten commandments, and proceedings having been taken against him according to the manner above named, in order to escape from the penalty, he had to perform the following penances by order of the Court.

171. The Rev Richard French Laurence was a nephew of Archbishop Richard Laurence (born 1760, appointed to Cashel 1822 and died 1838). This archbishop was an Englishman and White in his obit. notice of the Rev Richard French Laurence (who died in October 1882) made the point that 'native-born' clergy in the diocese were none too pleased when the archbishop appointed three of his relations to positions in the diocese. These were his nephew, Archdeacon Henry Cotton (see footnote 97) and the Rev Benjamin Holford Banner who was in Bansha for many years. The Rev Richard French Laurence was for fifty six years treasurer of the diocese and for fifty five years incumbent of Buolick. (C.G., 7 Oct 1882).

He was to appear at the Church door of the Parish of Kilcooly on a certain Sunday morning, half an hour before the commencement of Divine Service, bareheaded and barelegged, and clothed with a white sheet down to the knees. As the congregation passed into the church he should ask them to pray for him, and after the reading of the second lesson the Minister should bring him with the Psalm of 'Miserere Mei' in English, to the reading desk or pulpit, where he was publicly and audibly to confess his crime, and ask the congregation to pray for him, and promise with God's grace not to be again guilty of the same crime.

Next Sunday the same thing was to be done at Killenaule Church, and the Sunday after at Thurles Church. I have seen a certificate under the hands of the ministers and church wardens of the parishes of Kilcooly, Killenaule and Thurles, that their ceremony was actually gone through.

After he had performed this work, and paid the costs of the proceedings, the excommunication was removed [41].

In the Communion Service which is read on Ash Wednesday, such proceedings are spoken of as 'this godly discipline,' the restoration of which is said 'much to be wished,' but I think very few would desire to see again such exhibitions.

Another of the 'presentments' named a certain woman was a common 'scoule' or scold. In our days she would be proceeded against under the 'Town's Improvement Act' for 'riotous and indecent behaviour', then she might be condemned to the 'ducking stool' one of which 'instruments of torture' was maintained by the Cashel Corporation, and I believe delinquents used to be 'ducked' near Camas bridge.¹⁷²

I have heard of but I did not see any record of a case in which one woman was guilty of slander against the character of another woman, and she was compelled by order of the Ecclesiastical Court to do penance like to that named above at the door of Cashel Cathedral. In this case the proceedings were in the name of the party slandered; this case occurred less than one hundred years ago. In our days the remedy would be by an action in the Common Law courts.

There were also in the Registry a number of Parchment Certificates under the hand and seal of 'Michael Cashel' (Archbishop Cox) of persons having read their recantations.¹⁷³

There were a large number of returns of births, marriages, and burials, which were returned by the ministers of parishes at each visitation. Many of the old parish registries being either lost or destroyed, these are now the only records of such events in some Parishes.

Clergy

There were large bundles of Visitation Books as well as books of the Triennial Visitations; the late Venerable Dr Cotton was helped by these in the preparation of his 'Fasti'.¹⁷⁴

The particulars recorded in these books were rather dry, but I may mention some incidents which relieved their monotony. The Rev Anthony Armstrong, was so anxious to have his Glebe

172. The Towns' Improvement Act was applied to Cashel in 1855. A 'ducking stool' was a caged seat at the end of a plank overhanging a pond or river, in which people were tied and then ducked in the water. The usual victims were women and dishonest tradesmen.

173. Cox was archbishop of Cashel 1754-79.

174. See footnote 97.

House at Emly completed, that he took up his residence in a tent on the lawn of the Glebe. The Rural Dean (Rev John Seymour) taking his rounds of inspection, found him one morning in the act of shaving in the tent, and reported in his return that Mr Armstrong was 'intent on residence.' When this expression was explained to the Archbishop, he was so pleased that he presented Mr Armstrong to a small sinecure which was then vacant in addition to the Vicarage of Emly. (This Mr Armstrong was father to the late Rev Robert Armstrong of Clonoulty).¹⁷⁵

The late Rev Patrick Fitzgerald, Vicar of Cahircorney, had Divine Service on Sundays, in his parlour at Ballingoola Glebe, and abandoned the old Church. When asked by the rural dean (who was our late good Dean Leech) why he had done so, he replied: 'Why Sir, Madam O'Grady went through the floor the other day, and I did not want to go after her.'¹⁷⁶

One of my duties was the collection of visitation fees. They amounted in the whole to about £50, and varied from nearly £6 which Dr Cotton had to pay, to as low as 6s. Dr Cotton was always the first to pay these fees, and the Rev Henry Woodward, who had £3 or £4 to pay generally the second.¹⁷⁷ As a rule the clergy showed great disinclination to pay what they considered an unjust tax, and on each occasion I had a stand-up fight with a rich prebendary (who had been originally a captain in the Limerick Militia) over the sum of 7s 6d, which he always paid after the battle. It may be that he disputed the matter more for the fun of the thing than for the amount. Still he always seemed to be very much in earnest.

I may mention here an incident which occurred at a time when I acted as Mr Hickey's deputy. In calling over the names of the clergy at a visitation of the Diocese of Lismore, held at Clonmel; it appears that at every visitation, Bishop Daly called a Rev Mr. Craddock, Vicar of Whitechurch, near Dungarvan, 'over the coals' on account of non-residence in his parish.¹⁷⁸ On this occasion there was a fierce and angry altercation which lasted for some minutes; at length

175. The Rev Anthony Armstrong was vicar of Emly 1782-1817. Seymour was attached to Hore Abbey parish at the time. The archbishop was probably Agar, a man who knew everything about getting preferment. See earl of Buckingham to Lord George Germain, 14 Jan 1779 regarding Agar – then bishop of Cloyne – demanding Cashel, which he obtained the following July. He would have preferred Dublin which went elsewhere in December 1778 and for which plum he had to wait until 1801. (*Marquis of Lothian MSS*, H.M.C. 1905, p. 343.) The Agar appetite for advancement was insatiable. In 1805, his wife was writing to Dublin Castle supporting the demand that her husband receive an earldom. 'There is nothing that the Archbishop and I have so near at heart as the adorning our dear son, now on his travels, with a little feather to make him more presentable wherever he goes. On the continent, rank is inestimable and even at home it is no small addition to a young man whom, in our partiality, we think wants nothing else to recommend him'. An earldom (Normanton) was granted the following year. (M. MacDonagh, *The Viceroy's Post-Bag* (London, 1904), pp. 207-8).

176. Fitzgerald was vicar of Cahircorney 1807-57 (diocese of Emly, county Limerick). In 1804 Cahircorney church was noted by the archbishop as being in very bad repair. (Seymour, *Emly*, p. 261). 'Madam O'Grady': probably the wife of Gerald de Courcy O'Grady of Kilballyowen. He died 1862. She died 1849.

177. Rev Henry Woodward (1775-1863) was rector of Fethard from 1812 and one of the most distinguished churchmen in the diocese. His father was bishop of Cloyne 1781-94 and his sister was married to Charles Broderick archbishop of Cashel 1801-1822, who of course was his patron. Henry Woodward's wife was a member of the Lovett family who at one time had an estate at Kingswell outside Tipperary town. (Woodward, *Works* (London and Cambridge, 1867), 3 vols. Memoir, vol. 1, pp. ix-xxxv).

178. In 1833, the diocese of Waterford was united to Cashel. Robert Daly was bishop 1842-72.

the Bishop 'dropped him' and Craddock turned to me (a person whom he had never seen before) and said 'the only way is to take him by the muzzle.'

I had on several occasions to assist at the consecration of new churches. I had been at a ball at Mr Daniel Murphy's of Ballymore and was not home until about six in the morning, when I hastily changed my clothes and drove seventeen miles to Doon to aid in the consecration of the church.¹⁷⁹ On another occasion I travelled to Tipperary, on the previous evening and had a long journey next to Ballinlanders (Ballylanders), where a large church built by the late Hon James King, was to be consecrated.¹⁸⁰

At that time there was no regular authorized service for such occasions, and the late Archdeacon of Emly (Ven. Mr Brien) had a form in which *he* was to read a certain sentence, which in the form supplied to me it was *my* duty to read. In this dilemma the Bishop was referred to and he said of me 'he does not know his place'. This was my thanks for travelling far to the west of the Galtee Mountains without any extra pay.¹⁸¹

The diocese of Cashel and Emly was I believe the richest and at the same time the most aristocratic diocese in Ireland. The clergy (as a rule) were gentlemen – many of whom were possessors of large independent properties; and their incomes from the Church – as compared with their other incomes, was comparatively small, and they were men who dispensed charity liberally.¹⁸²

The parish clergyman was one to whom all appealed in times of want or trouble, and he was looked upon as a patron and friend.

In my early days there were a number of curates in the diocese, and some of these had grown old in the service of the church without having obtained promotion. Nearly all the livings in the diocese were in the gift of the Bishop, and no one could question him about the manner in which he bestowed his patronage.

As I can from tradition (as well as personal knowledge) tell something regarding this matter I shall do so. And first I will say that I believe in this diocese there was never known a case of simony, and if bishops disposed of their church patronage to friends and favourites, or to only those who belonged to their own peculiar school of thought, they acted strictly within their legal rights. Doubtless there were many cases of hardship, but they had to be borne with christian patience and resignation.

My grandfather's grandfather (the Revd. Newport White), had grown old as curate of the Parishes of Doon and Toem, and it was only a year or two before his death that he was promoted to the Union of Kilmastulla and Templechally. When this fortune came he remarked that 'they gave him bread when he had no teeth to eat it.'¹⁸³

The Rev Patrick Hare was Vicar General of the diocese, and a great favourite with Archbishop Agar. When the latter became Archbishop of Dublin, and was succeeded by Archbishop Broderick, Mr. Hare threw up the office of Vicar General, and when pressed by

179. Daniel Murphy of Ballymore (1811-49). Doon church was consecrated in April 1857. Did White's memory let him down here?

180. The Hon. James King (1800-1869) who succeeded his brother as 5th earl of Kingston in 1867. This family, whose seat was Mitchelstown Castle, were the main landowners in Ballylanders.

181. The Rev Edward Henry Brien, archdeacon of Emly 1858-1880.

182. Writing about the diocese of Emly, its historian agreed with this judgement, noting that many of the clergy were drawn from the principal landed families of Limerick and Tipperary. (Seymour, *Emly*, pp. 253-4.)

183. The Rev Newport White (1694-c. 1759).

Archbishop Broderick to retain it, he replied, 'No your Grace, no man can serve two masters.' It appears that there had been some trouble between the outgoing and incoming Archbishop, relative to the dilapidations upon the palace, and Mr Hare naturally took the part of his old patron.¹⁸⁴

The story was told of how Mr Hare managed to be a pluralist:- He had for years held the Parish and Union of Templetuohy, and the Union of Athassel becoming vacant the Archbishop offered it to him, and he readily accepted it. 'But', said the Archbishop, 'You must resign Templetuohy.' 'Oh! your Grace,' replied Mr Hare, 'You could not think of taking Templetuohy from me after my having fought for it.' The Archbishop kindly allowed him to enjoy the income of the two unions, and he held them until his death.¹⁸⁵

I had the following story of how the Rev Charles Philip Coote obtained the prebend of Doon, told me by the late Rev John Swayne:-¹⁸⁶

Archbishop Broderick used to hold a levee for his clergy on every Wednesday, and on this particular day any of them who had any business with his Grace came and took lunch at the palace. On the occasion of the prebend of Doon being vacant, there was an unusually large attendance of those who desired or expected promotion. Archbishop Broderick was a strictly temperate man, and only drank water at dinner. On this occasion all the aspirants (with the exception of Mr Coote) followed the example of his Grace. Mr Coote drank a couple of glasses of wine and the archbishop said to him, 'I believe Mr Coote that that is pretty [43] good Sherry.' 'Yes, your Grace' replied Mr Coote, 'It is seldom poor curates like us get such wine to drink.' The archbishop desired the butler to replenish the decanter for Mr Coote, and the latter having taken another glass, his Grace rose up to leave the table and return to the drawing room, and as he was about to enter the latter he said 'Mr Coote the Parish of Doon is vacant, and it is at your service.' Mr Coote replied, 'I can never be sufficiently grateful to your Grace.' The archbishop (placing his hand upon Mr Coote's shoulder) said: 'Coote you are an honest man!'

Archbishop Laurence succeeded Archbishop Broderick, and when he had provided for his nephew (Rev Richard French Laurence); his nephew (Rev Benjamin Holford Banner), and his son-in-law (Ven. Henry Cotton), who it must be confessed were some of the best men who had ever had 'cure of souls' in the diocese, he disposed of his patronage fairly. When a clergyman died who held a living worth £700 or £800 a year, one who held one value for £500 or thereabouts, was promoted to it; and the man who had only £200 or £300 a year was moved up, and a curate took his place. No one could object to this system if it was universally adopted.¹⁸⁷

Bishop Sandes succeeded, and he found Rev John Whitty, who had been a curate for 18 years, on £150 a year, and promoted him to the Union of Galbally, valued over £1,000 a year (there was never a man more worthy of promotion).

He also gave the Union of Newport, worth about £1,000 a year, to the Rev John Michael

184. See footnote 25.

185. Hare held the Union of Athassel 1789-1808.

186. The Rev John Swayne held Magorban Union and died in 1867. The Rev Charles Philip Coote held Doon from 1813 to his death in 1838. For Coote's conflict over tithe with the local PP, see W.R. Le Fanu, *Seventy Years of Irish Life* (London, 1896), pp. 58-62.

187. The fact that these three Laurence relations had long lives must have caused some annoyance on the part of clergymen waiting for promotion. Archbishop Laurence died in 1838; his nephew Laurence died in 1882; his nephew Banner died in 1874 and his son-in-law Cotton died in 1879.

Hiffernan, who had also served 18 years in the Diocese, most of the time upon a salary of £75 per annum.¹⁸⁸

Bishop Daly succeeded, and curates of long standing naturally expected to get their turn, but the Union of Templemore, then worth £700 a year, was bestowed upon a clergyman who had never served a day in the Diocese, because the Bishop was his God-father, and the parish of Kilvemnon, which was of about the same value, given to another who had never served a day in the Diocese, because he was the son of the bishop's former clerk and Schoolmaster.¹⁸⁹ At the same time the Rev George Lawless, who had a service of nearly 20 years as curate in the Diocese, had to take a military chaplaincy, and risk his life in the festering hospitals of Scutari and other places, during the Crimean War, but he happened not to have the Bishop's *Shibboleth*.¹⁹⁰

It was time that disestablishment made a change in Ecclesiastical promotion, not that the change is by any means a satisfactory one, but I gladly drop the subject here.

To be continued

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188. Stephen Creagh Sandes was bishop (not archbishop) from 1839 when he was transferred from Killaloe to his death in 1842. Whitty died soon after whereas Hiffernan (*sic*) survived until 1866.
189. Daly was bishop 1842-72 and was a member of a county Galway family who inherited Thomastown Castle near Tipperary town. The bishop's brother James was Lord Dunsandle. John Blosset Ormsby was appointed to Templemore in 1844 and William Sandford held Kilvemnon 1853-1872.
190. 'Shibboleth' here meant that Lawless was not part of the bishop's inner circle.