

# *The Ballad Collection of John Davis White*

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## **Introduction**

The memoir of John Davis White, *Sixty Years in Cashel*, published in this journal in four parts, revealed his fondness for ballads, many of which he cited as evidence of popular opinions on a range of topics, especially politics and crime.<sup>1</sup> White's interests as an antiquarian were wide ranging and as a member of a family, many of whom frequently wrote verse, his interest in ballads, the most accessible form of popular verse, is not surprising.<sup>2</sup> What is surprising is the content of many of the ballads in his Collection, aggressive catholicism and strident nationalism.

The Collection runs to nearly nine hundred items, part of a lifetime's interest and is in Trinity College Dublin, in the Department of Early Printed Books. While the number of ballads relating specifically to Tipperary is low, about seventy or some eight per cent, the entire collection is very much a Tipperary one, or more precisely, a Cashel collection, put together in the mid decades of the nineteenth century on the basis of White purchasing whatever was available. It is hoped that this article will call attention to what should be regarded as an important part of Cashel's heritage.

The ballads were, of course, purchased as broadsides, badly printed and usually on poor quality paper, each ballad a single item. In Trinity College, these broadsides are bound in three volumes.<sup>3</sup> For reasons of space a full listing of the ballads cannot be included with this article but such a listing is available in the Local Studies Department of Tipperary Libraries in Thurles. This listing includes such information as title, first line, length, printer, subject matter and in some instances, additional notes

## **Nineteenth Century Ballads**

Writing in 1852, William Allingham (1824-89), customs officer and popular poet, described for an English readership Irish ballad singers and their ballads.<sup>4</sup> The scene is a Fair Day and a young woman is singing about an execution, one of the most popular topics, combining elements of passion, retribution and the possibility of salvation. Another singer, male, makes his own of a popular ballad by 'gracing' the notes. The police seldom meddle except to move the singers on when crowds gather. An old man, a fiddle player, has a sheaf of ballads for sale 'printed on grey paper with coarse type, headed with most incompatible woodcuts and filled with instances of every kind of typographical error'. Allingham's description of his own collection of ballads, 'some ten dozen', is comparable to White's in that the largest section deals with romance, the primary characteristics being hoped-for marriage, the opposition of parents and elopement as the usual strategy. A common theme was the relationship between a poor young man and a lady of fortune. About ten ballads were common to Allingham's and White's collections.

A few years later, a traveller, delighting in the sights and sounds of a Saturday market in Limerick, wrote about crowds of boys going about 'offering yards of songs for sale'. This witness was certain that 'not a person returns from market to his mud cabin without adding a new leaf to the others that occupy a place by his hyme book'. The writer was clear about the economic importance of this trade. 'A class of men live in the towns by writing, printing and selling' ballads. Of interest is the writer's comment that this material was all the more cherished in light

of the 'great current of English predominance' and while the material was debased, it was a link with a glorious cultural heritage. Like any diligent tourist, this traveller took home with him a souvenir of his visit, a collection of ballads. 'They are all printed on large dirty yellow sheets.... They bear in one corner the name of the printer but the poet is nowhere mentioned'.<sup>5</sup>

This traveller would have agreed with the comment, made fifty years later, that ballads were of interest and value 'as showing what was the subject of people's thoughts and the drift of public opinion in particular places'.<sup>6</sup> More recently, a scholar noted that 'it seems as if every eviction, every boycott, every assassination or attempted assassination called forth an appropriate ballad or ballads'.<sup>7</sup> Rodenberg does not state what he paid for his souvenirs but a halfpenny appears to have been the going rate for a broadside ballad.<sup>8</sup> A number of printers in the major urban centres specialised in this work, printing up to sixteen ballads on a large sheet, probably leaving it to the ballad seller to cut up the individual ballads.<sup>9</sup> In the White Collection there are a few examples of up to four ballads on a single sheet (for example, ii, 281).

Alexander Mayne of Belfast and William Bermingham of Dublin are among printers whose work is found in the White Collection but the work of James Haly of Cork was by far the most represented. One account of Haly, written in the early 1890s, described him as 'the world-renowned ballad printer of Hanover Street, Cork' and backing up the comment that his ballads 'penetrated wherever an Irishman's foot has trod', described how a friend had found three examples on a wall of a deserted log hut in Colorado, including *Brennan on the Moor*. According to this source, Haly made his own woodcuts to provide illustrations for his ballads. Some printers had better quality illustrations and made more of an effort to match illustration to ballad. Bermingham's illustrations for example were quite crude, while it is thought that Mayne sourced his woodcuts in Britain. Demonstrating how Haly responded to popular taste, is a description of his delight at a particularly notorious criminal case and how with minor changes to some existing ballad, he was able to capitalise on the public appetite for sensation. In 1841, the law adviser to Dublin Castle was suspicious that Haly was not only printing seditious ballads but also composing them. However, there was no evidence to support this.<sup>10</sup>

In the early 1870s, again in an English periodical, William Barry wrote about the 'current street ballads of Ireland'.<sup>11</sup> He described the scene: 'The singer walks slowly along while performing the ditty and offers copies for sale without interrupting his chant; a crowd strolls after him and for one that comes to buy, twenty stay to listen'. Romantic ballads were as popular as ever, especially the wish-fulfilment fantasy of the poor young man and the lady of fortune. Field sports, especially hunting, were common topics and ones that lent themselves to local references. The selling of broadsides was a matter of giving the people what they wanted and local geography always promoted sales. The most obvious example of this was the ballad in praise of a particular place, lauded as without compeer, though usually devoid of any actual sense of place. Politically, the early 1870s were low-key, hence Barry's comment that it was difficult to find traces of political street ballads. The best he could find were anodyne and non-specific declarations of patriotic fervour: 'Oh give me a rifle and away I will go'.<sup>12</sup> He found few ballads celebrating the memory of Daniel O'Connell and '98 was a much more popular topic than '48, something he explained by describing the former as impacting far more widely across social divisions than the latter. With reference to land agitation, police vigilance deterred popular expressions of support but he continued: 'I have been informed that in several Tipperary market towns, short methods with landlords have been not infrequently expressed in an operatic style'.

Ballads did deal with some of the major contemporary issues of European politics such as the restoration of the Papal States and very relevant when Barry was writing, the Franco-Prussian

war, regarding which popular sympathy was entirely on the side of the French. He gave three reasons for this: German Protestantism, memories of Hessian troops during '98 and pride in the French military leader, Marshall MacMahon. The White Collection is particularly strong with respect to the Crimean War of the mid 1850s, having nearly fifty ballads. What may be the most famous Tipperary ballad of the nineteenth century, Kickham's *Patrick Sheehan* is of course connected with that war and is included in the White Collection.

### The Ballad Collector

'The Repeal Agitation was a great source of street ballads and it was then that I first took an interest in that class of literature and began to make a collection' – thus wrote White in his memoir and continued: 'For at least twenty five years after, I bought every ballad that I could and my collection probably numbers between 1000 and 1500 (and) is doubtless unique and valuable'.<sup>13</sup> White goes on to mention elements already referred to such as the unsophistication of the printing and the irrelevance of the illustrative woodcuts but he had no doubts about such works being an articulation of the hopes, fears and aspirations of ordinary people. At a time when most educated people regarded such works as the basest kind of ephemera, White's interest was unusual. As he wrote in 1869: 'Some persons may possibly be inclined to laugh at such a pursuit'.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, his interest was unusual because the sentiments expressed in a good deal of what he collected, he must have found personally offensive. In *Sixty Years*, he used some of the political ballads, especially relating to elections and several ballads illustrative of the deplorable state of law and order in the county but he was very careful not to use any of the very sectarian ballads in his collection. Sectarian in this context, given that he was collecting ballads in the south of Ireland, means anti-protestant. In very few instances was something in a ballad so offensive that it was heavily scored in ink. He had no doubts about the value of what he was doing. 'My collection being unique may in years to come command a very large price, even at present I should not like to part it for a tempting offer'.<sup>15</sup>

In 1868 and 1869, White wrote about ballads and collecting ballads in his newspaper, *Cashel Gazette*. He explained how he inherited his taste from his father, who when a young man never went to a fair without bringing home a ballad. 'Almost every ballad records some history or has a history of its own.' In White's opinion, he knew of no ballads that truly represented facts. 'It might be said that a street ballad is a most excellent authority for a lie,' and was written merely 'to catch the vulgar ear'. Apart from the content of ballads, White was fascinated by the circumstances of their sale and distribution and provides confirmation for a practice often thought apocryphal. In 1843 during the Repeal campaign when 'treasonable' verses were forbidden, he remembered a 'poor fellow' going about with a handful of straws, crying out: 'I dare not sing my ballad; I dare not sell my ballad but if you buy my straw, I'll bestow you a ballad'. The price was one halfpenny but the twist in the story is that White admits that he sometimes purchased a ballad with a frisson of illicit activity, only to find that his purchase was entirely harmless. (A variation on this theme was a story told to White by his father who when living in Limerick in the 1790s, was gulled by a couple of ballad singers who were in fact selling cut-up old newspapers along Charlotte Quay.) That same year, 1843, Edward Egan was picked up by the police in Carrick-on-Suir for singing a seditious ballad and offering the broadside 'to anyone who would buy his straw'.<sup>17</sup>

In 1868, White had enough information on his subject to deliver a public lecture in Cashel on the 'Ballad Poetry of Ireland'.<sup>18</sup> Of great interest is his admission that in spite of being brought up pro-English and Anglican, for a time he was powerfully influenced by Charles Gavan Duffy's

*The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*, published in 1845 and at the time White was writing, in its 10th edition. 'For the while', White admitted, '(it) almost made a Young Irishman of me'. White also expressed great admiration for John O'Daly (1800-1878) whose bookshop in Anglesea Street Dublin he was familiar with and 'who has done more than any living man to revive Irish poetry from oblivion'.

O'Daly's anthologies *Poets and Poetry of Munster* (1849 and 1860), were highly valued by White, as were the poems of Edward Lysaght (1763-1811), a Clare-born barrister, educated at Dr Hare's school in Cashel whose work was published in 1811. White clearly had a tremendous appetite for verse. 'Stray verses of old ballads are constantly recurring to my memory', he wrote and of special interest to his Cashel audience and readership were snatches of verses of lamentation upon three men whose severed heads were placed on the Rock in 1798: 'Innocent Callaghan, Horan and Ryan were hung at their doors to torment their poor wives'. It is worth noting that White had no difficulty mentioning such events, his antiquarian interest seeming to neutralise any political sting.

He was dismissive of what he called 'a class of ballad falsely called Irish' written for English music halls and which ridiculed Irish characters. On the other hand, he quite admired the kind of popular verse, sometimes perhaps 'overloaded' with classical references and heathen mythology, which hedge schoolmasters used to display their learning 'which was often extensive'. His Collection has many examples of such ballads.

From the evidence of *Sixty Years*, White was particularly interested in ballads generated by elections, what William Barry called 'poetry of unlimited abuse'.<sup>19</sup> An example in this vein cited by White referred to a candidate: 'You upstart scheming huxter ...'. Rare evidence about how this worked comes from a case at Limerick Quarter Sessions in November 1865. Timothy O'Driscoll sued Timothy Morrissey for six guineas, owed, he claimed, from the last election. Morrissey was an agent for one of the candidates and an agreement was made by him with O'Driscoll, a ballad singer, that he would sing specially-composed ballads attacking the other candidate in return for five shillings a day over twelve days, plus £3 for himself and £5 for his comrade if their 'man' was elected. (He was.) O'Driscoll explained to the court, amid laughter, that in order to stir the patriotic feelings of his audience he draped himself in yards of green calico and that prior to the engagement in question, he was employed by the other side (Tory) but that 'I had to go to the popular side (Liberal) or my life would be in danger'. Not surprisingly perhaps, the judge was unimpressed and dismissed the case.<sup>20</sup>

In his lecture and articles on ballads, White dealt with 'Lamentations', a category of versification that was enormously popular and regarding which there are many examples in his Collection. Such ballads were composed and sold to coincide with executions. After giving the circumstances of the crime, usually murder, and dwelling with pathos on the victim(s), the trial and verdict were described, the defendant usually being allowed speak for himself (in the ballad) and lament his crime or protest his innocence before being hanged. This necessitated an abrupt change of person from third to first but nothing was allowed stand in the way of maximising the emotional impact. In White's opinion, one of the finest of these ballads was written about the Wade brothers, two of whom were executed in Nenagh in May 1844 for a murder committed near Cappawhite.<sup>21</sup>

Through the green fields of Cummer, no more the Wades shall stray  
To view each tender flower that bloom in the month of May.

For whatever reason, this ballad is not in the Collection, which however does include several examples of ballads about the Cormack brothers, regarding whom White admits: 'It was generally believed that they were innocent'.

White of course had his own printing press and while he was hardly likely to produce 'seditious' broadsides, what appears to be his sole experience in the business is explained by him in a rather odd story. Sir Thomas Osborne (presumably the father-in-law of the well known MP, Ralph Bernal-Osborne of Newtown-Anner) had an illegitimate son who could neither read nor write but who composed ballads and dictated them to White 'who put the ballads into type for the poor man and at my press thousands of copies (were) printed and thus for many a day the poor man made his living by the death of the Cormacks', clearly his main subject matter. White's Collection does not appear to have an example of this Cormack ballad but a ballad on the execution of Richard Burke who murdered his wife in Clogheen and was executed in Clonmel in 1862 may be an example of this work ( iii, 410).

While there is a strong association between itinerant singers and the sale of ballads, it was possible, at least in Cashel, to purchase them in more mundane circumstances. Writing about the 1880s, Francis Phillips remembered that 'John Luby conducted a news and book stall (Friar Street), selling not only the popular *Freeman's Journal*, *United Ireland*, *Shamrock* and other papers, but the latest best known songs and ballads..... No news shop in town specialised in ballads as Luby's ..... Often we lingered going to school to read the ballads suspended from a long wire suspended in the window'.<sup>22</sup> The ballads mentioned included *Bold Robert Emmet* and of local interest, the ever-popular, *Lovely Kate from Garnavilla*, written by Edward Lysaght.

Going back a few decades from the period Phillips described to the years when White was most actively collecting, Cashel for its population, was well served with booksellers.

#### BOOKSELLERS COUNTY TIPPERARY TOWNS (SLATER'S DIRECTORY 1856)

Town	Population (1851)	Booksellers
Cashel	4,650	4
Cahir	3,694	(1 Stationer)
Carrick	8,319	3
Clonmel	11,589	4
Nenagh	6,818	6
Roscrea	3,389	2
Templemore	4,372	3
Thurles	5,985	1
Tipperary	6,816	—

Table 1

Apart from booksellers, towns had libraries and reading rooms. In the bigger towns, reading rooms were on party lines, Tipperary for example having two, one Liberal, the other Tory. Clonmel was particularly well served with two libraries and four reading rooms. Cashel had one reading or news room. Members of such institutions paid by subscription and had available to them a range of newspapers and journals.<sup>23</sup>

Information about ballad singers and their business of selling broadsides (ballad sheets) is scant. For this reason, before leaving consideration of John Davis White as a collector of such ephemera, the story of Denis Sheehan is worth telling.<sup>24</sup> In 1841 Sheehan was arrested in Dunmanway, county Cork for singing *The Brave Spalpeen Faunouch*, deemed a seditious ballad. While in custody he continued in performance, this time giving a comprehensive statement about his life and times; one of the most detailed accounts extant of that lifestyle. He gave his statement on 4 May.

Last January twelve months I commenced ballad singing at Thurles in the county of Tipperary. The first song I sang and sold I got at a printer's called Bresnan, as well as I can recollect, at Thurles. It was called *The Glories of Erin* containing the same words as a ballad shown to me by Mr G. Jones (magistrate) of the same place. Upon that occasion I bought one shilling and sixpence worth, three dozen. I remained but two days at Thurles and then went to Cashel in the county of Tipperary. I bought there from Beregan, the printer, one pound's worth of ballads, which I got for four shillings. The songs I bought there were not seditious. I remained at Cashel one day, which was market day. From there I went to the town of Tipperary. I remained one day there and then proceeded to the city of Limerick. I remained in the city of Limerick four months before I left it.

Sheehan provided information about the printers in Limerick from whom he purchased ballads. One particular ballad was so seditious that he personally



## Sheehan's Lament,

Taken from the "Nation" Newspaper of  
Saturday, October 10, 1857.

BY DARBY RYAN, (JUN.)

My name is Patrick Sheehan—my years are thirty-four,  
Tipperary is my native place—not far from Galtee Moar,  
I came of honest parents; but now they're lying low—  
And many a pleasant day I spent in the Glen of Aherlow.

My father died, I closed his eyes, outside our cabin door—  
The Landlord and the Sheriff too, were there the day before,  
And then my loving mother, and sisters three also,  
Were forced to go with broken hearts from the Glen of Aherlow.

For three long months, in search of work, I wander'd far & near  
I then went to the Poorhouse to see my mother dear—  
The news I heard, nigh broke my heart—but still in all my woe  
I blessed the friends who made their graves in the Glen of  
Aherlow.

Bereft of home and kith and kin—with plenty a' round—  
I starved within my cabin, and I slept upon the ground;  
But cruel as my lot was I ne'er did hardship know  
Till I went a soldiering far away from Aherlow.

Rouse up then, says the Corporal, you infernal lazy hound,  
Why don't you hear, you sleepy dog, the call to arms sound?  
Alas! I had been dreaming of days long, long ago—  
For I wook before Sebastopol, and not in Aherlow.

I groped to find my musket—how dark I thought the night;  
O, blessed God, it was not dark, it was the broad day light;  
And when I found that I was blind, my tears began to flow,  
I longed for even a pauper's grave in the Glen of Aherlow.

A poor neglected mendicant—all in the public street,  
My nine month's pension now being out, I beg from all I meet;  
As I went a soldiering, my face I ne'er will show  
Among the kind old neighbours in the Glen of Aherlow.

Oh, Blessed Virgils Mary, mine is a mournful tale,  
A poor blind prisoner here am I in Dublin's dreary jail;  
Struck blind within the trenches where I never feared the foe,  
And now I'll ne'er see again my own sweet Aherlow.

From Lord Howard's

would not sing it but he often heard other named singers entertain with it, not just in Limerick. He also named the 'three ballad singers who reside in Limerick' and gave their addresses. From Limerick Sheehan went to Clare and then into Connacht. In Athlone he purchased ballads from a printer which were not seditious but anxious to be helpful, he explained that he saw seditious ballads in the man's office. He was a week in Galway, where he bought ballads from the widow Connolly 'who keeps a printer's shop .... They were of a bad nature'. Eventually he was in Nenagh for three days and purchased non-seditious ballads. He then went south to Cork and Kerry. In Tralee he stayed six weeks and married. He concluded his evidence by declaring that he had seen as many as fifteen ballad singers at one fair. 'They always sing seditious songs. The young persons of the country in general preferred buying the seditious songs to any other.... I generally make about a pound a week'.

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Sheehan's statement or confession allows a view into an otherwise hidden world and a number of elements stand out, not least his claim that he could earn a pound a week, an excellent remuneration. The close links between printers and ballad singers are not surprising and it is clear that like any business, it was driven by giving customers what they wanted. What potential purchasers wanted was hard-core, ballads about death and sacrifice and loss, all sanctified by being in Ireland's name. Two years after Sheehan, another ballad singer was arrested in county Galway. A native of Clare, he moved about the country. 'The last place I worked was about the town of Tipperary' and included Cashel, Clonmel, Killenaule and Thurles. However, whatever work he was doing, it did not include ballad singing. This he began in Banagher and of note is his statement: 'I began by singing love songs which did not take. I then purchased twenty two dozen of the ballads I was singing when arrested'.<sup>25</sup> Intelligent policing concentrated more on printers than on singers and the police sometimes used devious tactics. In 1843, temperatures were raised because of the Repeal campaign. In Cashel, a plain clothes policeman brought a ballad for printing to a printer named Moran, who was then arrested and spent several months in jail.<sup>26</sup>

Given the inclusion of 'seditious' ballads in White's collection, one may wonder if part of the appeal for such a respectable pillar of the community was a delicious flirting with the forbidden?

### **The Ballad Collection**

An analysis of the ballads in the Collection takes note of White's statement that he had collected more ballads than are in the Trinity College Collection. Also this discussion excludes ballads of a Tipperary interest, material which will be discussed separately. One cannot be sure if the Collection reflects White's tastes, choice and discretion being exercised by him or if the Collection is a reflection of what was available in Cashel. The Collection only contains a handful of ballads of purely English interest, which presumably were purchased for him or perhaps given to him by people knowing his interest. Examples include *The Opening of the Great Exhibition* in London in 1851 (ii, 160.) and the death of the duke of Wellington in 1852. Neither of these broadsides was likely to have been a best seller in Ireland. During this period Stephen Foster (1826-64) produced songs in the minstrel style which were very popular, not just in the United States and the White Collection has a number of examples, very badly produced and in today's terms, very politically incorrect.

A clearer view of the Collection may be gained from dividing it into different categories,

which fairly well suggest themselves, though undoubtedly other criteria could also be used.

#### AN ANALYSIS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE WHITE BALLAD COLLECTION<sup>27</sup>

Topic	Percentage
Romantic/Sentimental	.25
Religious/Sectarian	.13
Comic	.9
Tipperary <sup>28</sup>	.8
Crimean War	.5
Public Executions	.5
Daniel O'Connell/Repeal	.4.5
Celebration of Place	.4
War (excluding Crimea)	.3.5
History/Memory	.3.5
Aspiration/Hope	.3.5
Loss/Melancholy	.3
Emigration	.3
Shipwrecks	.3
Elections	.2
Sport/Recreation	.2
Penal Transportation	.1.5
Land	.1.5

Table 2<sup>28</sup>

The fact that forty per cent of these ballads, those that are romantic, comic, celebrate place and deal with recreation, might be classed as 'entertainment' is hardly surprising. As Sleary the circus proprietor in Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854) explained: 'People must be amused... they can't be always a working, nor yet they can't be always a learning'.

Romantic and sentimental songs and ballads are not only the most common category in the Collection, they are also the least interesting. Nine verses about *Lovely Mary Donnelly* beginning 'Oh lovely Mary Donnelly, 'tis you I love the best' (I, 12) are of limited interest. Many of these ballads are like endless gimcrack necklaces strung together from a limitless supply of cheap beads available in just a handful of colours. A typical example (from Alexander Mayne, the Belfast printer) is *A Much Advanced Song Called Jamie and Nancy*, twelve verses telling a standard story made clear by the first line: 'In Leinster there dwelt a rich lady' (I, 67). Sometimes such a ballad arouses interest that it might have a sense of place, a promise that it is dealing with the lives of real people rather than stock characters. In *Biddy Magee*, the male narrator goes on and on about the eponymous Biddy. The ballad begins: 'I was born in the town of Tipp, so gay' (I,103). It might as well have been anywhere else.

Occasionally amid the platitudes – 'I will sing of a lass and her name it was Nell' (ii, 131) or 'In summer time when flowers fine...' (ii, 244) – an effective opening gets our attention; 'Once I loved a young man and he loved me' (ii, 82); but notes of genuine feeling are rarely struck. Much more common is the narrative opening 'As I roved out ...' (ii, 101, iii, 75, I, 234); the warning 'Now girls before you get married' (ii, 144); the invitation 'Come all you lads of learning ...' (iii,



180); the farewell 'Farewell my dearest Henry for you to sea must go' (ii, 153) and the confession 'When first I was courted by a bonny Irish boy' (ii, 247).

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The 1850s and 60s, decades during which White was busiest with his Collection, was a time when religious or sectarian passions were intense in Ireland. There were a number of factors, all of which are reflected in this, the second most important category in the Collection. In the early 1850s there was a campaign by evangelical protestants to win converts in various parts of the country, Doon being an interesting local example.<sup>29</sup> Fr. D.W. Cahill D.D. (1796-1864), a six and a half foot firebrand attracted great public attention as a champion of catholicism and his starring role in broadsides was a reflection of this fame. In 1851, the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell promoted anti-catholic legislation in England as a reaction to Rome's re-introduction of a diocesan structure ( Ecclesiastical Titles Act). A consequence of this was Russell's execration at the hands of ballad-makers. In 1853-4 there was an ill-considered attempt by the government to interfere with convents. In Europe catholicism seemed under threat in various countries as was the Pope himself. This was also a period of more assertive catholicism in Ireland under the leadership of Archbishop Paul Cullen (cardinal in 1866). The most obvious manifestation of this new confidence was the building of churches. All of these found expression in broadsides and form the second largest category in White's Collection.

These ballads were not subtle. From *A New Song Written on the Much Beloved Rev Dr Cahill* (ii,117):

Then Luther and Calvin both set out to pollute the German Nation,  
They altered all the Word of God to their cursed abomination.

Prominent individuals becoming catholic was an opportunity for gloating. The Hon. Charles Pakenham 'became a blessed Convert which set the bigots wild' (I, 39). Ballad makers were on more familiar ground when they charted the trials and tribulations of individual catholic priests. Occasionally, this included incidents outside Ireland such as *The Massacre of Five Catholic Clergymen by the Sepoys of Cawnpore* (I,43) which happened during the Indian Mutiny in 1857. A worse fate was what happened to a county Mayo priest: he abandoned his religion (I, 195). At least this only had local notoriety, unlike the infamous case of the bishop of Cork: 'Let the Church of Rome be now arrayed in deep disconsolation' (I, 136). However, such cases were more than balanced by the perceived heroism of clergy who were 'persecuted' by the state, such as the priest prosecuted in 1852 for burning a bible outside a church. Not surprisingly perhaps, he was a Redemptorist and the case arising out of conflict with the Irish Church Mission Society was exactly the stuff of ballads (iii, 84, 263).<sup>30</sup>

Reading, much less keeping, many of these ballads, must have given John Davis White some degree of discomfort. One broadside in his collection has two ballads, a very clever juxtaposition in the catholic cause. First, *The Souper's Petition* in which the apostate 'lured by their wretched gold when dying with want and woe' begs 'O come to my dying child, Sogarth aroon'. And with this, the well known hymn beginning 'Hail Queen of Heaven, the ocean star' (ii, 18). Examples of other diatribes against apostates include *A Song for the Perverts Commonly Called Cathbracks* and *Advice to Soupers* which begins 'O ye Biblemen, Soupers and Jumpers' and mentions the inducement 'Four loaves in the week and two shillings is given to them that'll cant' (ii, 111, 267).

Another example proscribes what should happen to agents of the evangelical movement. From *The Soupers – the Very dregs of Nature* the reader is informed ‘They’re pelted in Limerick and stoned in Tralee/ They’re kicked out of Kells and they’re thrashed in Ardee’ (iii, 188).

Several ballads deal with what was called the ‘Nunnery Bill’, a bill which proposed government inspection of convents (1854). ‘I hope this bill will be repelled by that brave Lawless of Clonmel/ And Scully he will aid him the cause for to defeat’ – so ends one ballad referring to the hopes pinned on M.P.s members of the so-called “Pope’s Brass Band” (ii, 210, 211, 212). Many of these ballads with their acute sense of being at one and the same time victimised and triumphant looked outside Ireland for both hero and villain. Pope Pius IX (1846-78) had to deal with great political changes, especially in Italy and while seen as a regressive figure elsewhere, to Irish Catholics his struggles were heroic. When volunteers left Ireland in 1860 to defend papal territory against Italian nationalism, nothing odd was seen in the Irish fighting against Italian nationalists. ‘At this monstrous army that Pope Pius raised/ The crowned heads of Europe they are all amazed’ (iii, 217, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223). Two lines from one of these ballads say it all: ‘Stick close to your clergy let what will betide/ The Church cannot fail that has God for her guide’ (iii, 220).

While comic songs were extremely popular and feature strongly in White’s Collection, they are of limited and perhaps specialised interest. (Details may be found in the listing deposited in Tipperary Local Studies Library in Thurles.) Far more interesting are the ballads about war, especially the Crimean War. Before looking at this latter category, a variety of other conflicts are covered in the Collection. India features strongly: from *A Lamentation on the Massacre of Europeans in India* (I, 27) to *The Indians’ War*, which has Tipperary interest by virtue of references to General Gough (ii, 50). However the shadow looming over most of this martial verbiage is Napoleon. Years after the event, Waterloo remained a popular topic (I, 282; iii, 19). In *Napoleon’s Farewell to Paris*, the writer delivers a first-person account (I, 298). *Boney’s Exile* connects his career with the prophecies of Columcille (ii, 287), touching on the fact that popular opinion in Ireland saw him in heroic terms (iii, 80). *The Royal Eagle* pictures the defeated but not destroyed enemy of Britain in exile on St Helena (iii, 169). This popular identification with France continued and is found in several ballads dealing with Louis Napoleon and the Franco-Prussian War (I, 22; ii, 194).

Fortunately France was allied to Britain during the Crimean War, one hundred and fifty years ago, thus allowing ballad-makers to be pro-French and at the same time praise the many Irish who fought in the British army.<sup>31</sup> *The Russians Are Coming* ends ‘Long life to Victoria and down with the bear’ (ii, 258). Several ballads pitch the notion that joining up would be a great adventure, for example *A Soldier I Will Be* (ii, 281) or a ballad beginning ‘Come all you true-bred young Irish men’ (iii, 35). Eventually the band stopped playing and one of the best-known Tipperary ballads deals with the far less glamorous aftermath of service in the British army. Kickham’s *Sheehan’s Lament* is based on an 1857 newspaper account of a blind discharged soldier arrested for begging.<sup>32</sup> According to Kickham, this ballad virtually wrote itself and was sent by him to the *Kilkenny Journal* with a covering note to the effect that it ‘could be sung as a street ballad to one of the ‘lamentation’ airs and heaven knows, never was there a fitter subject for lamentation ... there is nothing like a rough but racy street-ballad, the defects of which I have imitated rather than avoided’. Kickham’s purpose was propaganda rather than entertainment. Incidentally, Sheehan’s connection with the Glen of Aherlow was invented by Kickham.

I awoke before Sebastopol,  
And not in Aherlow.

I groped to find my musket -  
 How dark I thought the night .....  
 And when I found that I was *blind*,  
 My tears began to flow;  
 I longed for even a pauper's grave  
 In the Glen of Aherlow.

Of all the ballads in the Collection, this alone has information about White's source. Written in ink at the bottom of the broadside is 'From Lord Hawarden', a donor both unexpected and intriguing.<sup>33</sup>

Connecting a ballad to a particular part of Ireland was a useful marketing tool but it did perhaps limit the geographical range of its appeal. *A New Song Called the Young Soldier's Letter to his Mother* referred to Garryowen and is an example of the work of Thomas Walsh of Limerick (ii, 57, 60). One can easily imagine such ballads being sold in Cashel and White's interest in buying them. While many of these ballads gloried in military exploits and the role of the Irish soldiers, others dealt with the harsh aftermath. In *Welcome Home Our Brave Brigade* (iii, 219) the martial record of the Irish is praised, including one of the heroes of the Crimea, 'Redan Massy'. This was W.G.D. Massy from Grantstown near Golden who as a teenager was wounded in September 1855 during an attack on a Russian stronghold, the Redan near Sebastopol.<sup>34</sup> A different message is delivered by another ballad (iii, 152) which ends:

At Balaclava they fought keen and elsewhere I declare,  
 But some they have returned home, starvation for to stare.

In O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars*, Mrs Gogan explains her attitude to funerals: 'It always gives meself a kind o' trespassing' joy to feel meself movin' along in a mournin' coach, an' me thinking' that, maybe, th' next funeral 'll be me own, an' glad in a quiet way, that this is somebody else's'. This as well as anything else explained the enormous popularity of ballads about executions. Essentially, executions resulted from murders committed because of passion or because of land. Depending on the popular view about culpability, ballads dealing with the latter had an element of protest, most famously in Tipperary, the case of the Cormack brothers. Ballads dealing with crimes of passion, like today's tabloids, opted to wrap prurience in morality. Up to 1868, capital punishment was carried out in public, usually in front of the county gaol. What better souvenir than a ballad detailing the crime.

The most common formula followed was the 'Sorrowful Lamentation', last words put into the mouth of the condemned man. A typical example in the Collection is that of Richard Ryal (sic) who was executed in front of Cork Gaol for the robbery and murder of a man near Mallow, from which the haul was seven pence (I, 217). Ryall was seventeen years of age. It opens in formulaic fashion: 'You friends and sincere Christians who now my fate condole'. A crime of passion perpetrated by a woman was rare and therefore all the more fascinating. Mary Rodgers murdered her husband and her 'Lamentation' begins: 'Good people all round Scariff with me sympathise' (I, 295). Such ballads were of interest all over Ireland. Ballad-makers and sellers must have relished a case such as that in Cavan which involved Mary Shea getting rid of an older husband by persuading Michael Kelleher to do the deed 'with a heavy quarry sledge' (iii, 110).

With regard to agrarian murders, ballad makers had to be circumspect; to pitch their product between morality and sympathy. In the early 1860s there was a brief economic downturn,

resulting in an increase in such murders, especially in 1862. That year two men were executed in front of Limerick Gaol, in July and September, for the murder of Francis Fitzgerald. In the case of one of these, Thomas Beckham, his C.V. was such that truth had to be subverted somewhat to create some degree of public sympathy. Beckham, in his fifties, had form. Unmarried he had several children. In 1847 he was arrested with regard to an agrarian murder but released due to lack of evidence. In 1853, arrested for robbery near Mitchelstown, he got seven years transportation. Back home in 1860 he appeared to live on his wits and likely did the Fitzgerald job for payment.<sup>35</sup> With reference to the other condemned man, the ballad-maker was on better ground. 'You tender-hearted Christians and wild young men, draw near' (iii, 39, 40).

Probably the most notorious crime in nineteenth-century Ireland was the assassination of Cavendish and Burke in the Phoenix Park on 6 May 1882. By that date, John Davis White's ballad collecting zeal appears to have diminished but such was the impact of this crime and its aftermath that the Collection having several relevant ballads is not surprising, including one of the best known *Skin the Goat's Curse on Carey* (iii, 280). Carey betrayed his colleagues and left to assume a new life in South Africa but was killed on arrival. 'Skin-the-Goat' (James Fitzharris) returned to Dublin after many years in prison and is mentioned in *Ulysses*.<sup>36</sup> The executions of two of the Invincibles, Joe Brady and Dan Curley are in the Collection (iii, 283, 284).<sup>37</sup>

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White began his collection when Daniel O'Connell was the key political figure in Ireland. The Collection therefore is an interesting and in some instances probably unique source regarding aspects of The Liberator's career.<sup>38</sup> Some of the ballads deal with specific events such as O'Connell becoming Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1841 *Storming of the Enchanted Castle of Dublin, Turn Out Rats* (I, 30); O'Connell being sent to prison in May 1844 'Of late we're tormented and troubled in mind' (I, 131; iii, 12) and his release a few months later (I, 96). Many more supported O'Connell's great campaign of the 1840s *Cheer Up for Repeal* (I, 83) but most of these ballads are in the mood of elegy rather than celebration, either coming to terms with his death 'Through the land there's grief and wailing' (ii, 123) or looking back at what the nation had lost 'Erin for ever you have cause to remember' (I, 141).

Ballads about specific places were always very popular. It might be said that of all the categories of ballads in the Collection, this is a continuing tradition. Among the places celebrated are Lower Glanmire (I, 65); Killarney 'Killarney Elysium romantic and blooming' (I, 72); 'Courtmacsherry Harbour, composed by John Atkins' (I, 117); *The Beauties of Adare* with an opening line of which William McGonagall would be proud; 'In '57 on the second of August for recreation we took the train....' (I, 125) and *The Banks of the Lee* (I, 127). Many of these ballads follow a formula. For example *Sweet Castle Hyde* opens conventionally 'As I roved out on a summer's morning' and ends with a list of places to which Castle Hyde is superior (I, 178). There is no sense of place, unlike a ballad by Thomas Walsh on Kilmallock Fair which is full of interesting local detail: 'The buyers can come by railway to purchase at the fair' (ii, 128). In the more tiresome examples, the composer is primarily concerned to show off his classical learning and the place being written about is no more than a means to this end, for example *The Banks of Killaloe* which begins 'One evening as I mused, my senses being confused' (I, 242).

Many of the ballads in the White Collection used Irish history, as an actor might use sense memory, in order to prompt emotion, a peculiarly Irish mixture of melancholy, loss, regret, belief, pride and hope. Such ballads had the advantage that they dealt with timeless themes and appealed to all parts of the island. Occasionally, as in *Tara's Old Hall* (ii, 55) or *Lines on the Death of an Irish Chieftain Who Was Killed by the Danes* (ii, 206), the distant past was evoked but more usually the exploration of grievance centred on the eighteenth-century. The events of 1798 were the most fruitful source of inspiration.<sup>39</sup> *The Croppy Boy* is one of the best known of these ballads and the Collection contains several examples (I, 48; ii, 121b; iii, 165), evidence perhaps of its ubiquity. *The Memory of the Friends that are Gone* linked '98 and 1848. 'By memory inspired and love of country fired' the opening line began a history lesson with icons from the Sheares Brothers to John Mitchel as exemplars (iii, 207). Of obvious Cashel interest was Michael Doheny's *Song of an Outlaw* (I, 283). A rare representation of the other side is a broadside with a woodcut of William of Orange and a ballad called *Paddy Laddy's Lamentation for Breaking the Orange Drum* probably from the 1840s (I, 273).

From the evidence of the Collection, there was a market for downbeat ballads, exercises in doom and gloom without the history lesson. *Song of Death*, with its opening line 'Men speak of me with a voice of fear', delivered what it promised (I, 79). Another example (intended seriously) is *A New Song Called the Poor Wounded Soldier who Lost his Legs* (I, 104). The narrator is his mother and her story, with its non-specific setting, delivered a universal theme, one which could be sold anywhere. Sometimes the work is so bad, one imagines that even for the original audience, style subverted content: a sad song about love, loss and separation but with the lines: 'My father is on the billow and my mother died on her pillow' (ii, 81). One ballad in the Collection was intended to evoke a great sense of grief and loss in the reader but in Ireland (where it would have been sold - carefully), the response was likely the opposite. This good-quality English-printed broadside mourned the death of the duke of Wellington who died in 1852 (ii, 226).

There were more optimistic ballads, aspirational works that pointed towards a brighter future, summed up by the title of one ballad *The Good Time Coming* (I, 294). As ever, help would come from overseas. *America's Address to Ireland* promoted that country as a promise and a model (ii, 10). Help from France was a long established theme and was still being sounded at mid-nineteenth century in the unlikely guise of Louis Napoleon (ii, 53). Green is the dominant colour in this type of ballad. 'Soon, soon shall our Green Flag wave o'er us' is the opening line of *Our Own Flag of Green* (ii, 52). In *Granu's Advice to her Children* this figure of Ireland is clad in green as she addresses her 'childre' and in spite of the setbacks of the 1840s, is confident that she will see a parliament in College Green (I, 246). The opening line of *Up for the Green* says it all: 'Tis the green - oh the green is the colour of the true' (I, 251). 'Good times' were still being awaited in one of the later ballads in the Collection, *Glorious Days for Ould Ireland* which refers to Anna Parnell and the hoped-for coming of Home Rule (iii, 270).

The two circumstances under which people left Ireland in the nineteenth-century were emigration and penal transportation. Many ballads were written about famous individuals such as Smith O'Brien and Mitchel who suffered transportation because of the 1848 Rising. Mitchel in particular features in four ballads in the Collection (I, 203-206). One of these looks at events from the perspective and in the voice of Mitchel's wife. Where victims were less high profile, such as Doyle, Kenna and Sheahy, betrayed by an informer and transported from Portlaw, the ballad-maker had more scope to focus on personality rather than politics and pack a greater emotional punch (ii, 36). Sometimes cliché substituted for sincerity, as in *My Mother Don't You Cry*, which

describes a convict promising to return home to his mother (ii, 47). *The Transport's Lament* moralises: 'Come all you wild and wicked youths and listen unto me'. Of interest is the precision of detail. They sailed from Chatham on 15 September and made land on 5 May (ii, 67).

Ballad-makers had two choices with respect to emigration: the view from home or the view from abroad. *Mary's Lament for the Loss of her True Love Who Went to America* is an example of the former as Mary copes with the absence of 'Willy' (I, 202). 'When first I came to Philadelphia it happened to be in the Fall' is the opening line of a story about an emigrant finding work digging a canal (I, 201). The actual process of leaving Ireland was a popular subject; usually with attention centred on what (and who) was being left behind and filled with regret and longing (I, 221; 249; 255). Occasionally there was something to look forward to 'abroad'. Leaving Belfast for Canada, there is some compensation in anticipating: 'brandy in Quebec at 10d a quart and gin in New Brunswick at 1d a glass' (I, 222). Possible dangers could be viewed comically. 'A crocodile seizes you by the breeches' might be part of your Australian experience (ii, 2). *The Emigrant's Return* was a popular variation on the view from home, except that it was no longer home. After thirty years, he found his family in the local churchyard (ii, 186b).

Emigration necessitated a voyage by sea and the White Collection has two dozen or so examples of what were very popular through the nineteenth-century, ballads about shipwrecks. Apart from these ballads serving as news bulletins about what were big stories, one wonders if perhaps part of their appeal did not involve a degree of schadenfreude on the part of some people who thought about emigrating but lacked the nerve to face the unfamiliar? These ballads usually give the name of the ship, the port of embarkation, the dates (but not the year) and the destination. One of the most famous examples was the 'John Tayleur' a new ship with over five hundred on board that was wrecked off Lambay Island in January 1854 with the loss of over three hundred lives. This harrowing story is told in eleven verses with no details spared (ii, 273). The opening followed a formula: a variation on 'Come all you feeling landsmen brave and sympathise with me' (I, 253). White in his *Sixty Years* made reference to the wreck of the 'Francis Spaight' and the cannibalism by the crew, an event that occurred in 1835.<sup>40</sup> A ballad in the Collection tells this story, the ship being called 'The Francis Sprite' (I, 232).

Says O'Brien to his comrades  
You will let my mother know  
The cruel death I underwent  
When you to Limerick go.

Major shipwrecks inspired a number of ballads and the Collection has two different versions of the loss of the 'Ocean Monarch' in August 1848. Over one hundred and seventy emigrants to the United States were drowned (I, 253, 254).

The fact that there are only a handful of ballads in the Collection dealing with sport may surprise but working conditions and recreational habits were such in the mid-nineteenth century, that for those who wrote and those who purchased ballads, organised sport was for others. A number of ballads deal with hunting. However, such ballads were often about politics rather than 'the unspeakable in pursuit of the uneatable'. *A New Hunting Song* is in fact about O'Connell and the Repeal campaign (ii, 45), while *Hunting Song* sees the 'Pope's Brass Band' in the unlikely guise of 'Roman hunters' (ii, 150). An example of an actual ballad about hunting is *A Hunting Song called the County Galway Blazers* (I, 243). Popular Irish sporting heroes were scarce. In the early 1860s, John C. Heenan an Irish-American boxer inspired great enthusiasm (I, 81, 113). He

fought as 'The Benecia Boy' and his match against an English champion saw him carry the hopes of Ireland.<sup>41</sup> It could be said that the energy and passion which in other circumstances might have been channeled into sport, were instead unleashed during election campaigns. Apart from ballads dealing with Tipperary elections, campaigns in Athlone, Cork, Dublin, Wexford and Limerick are covered. It is not clear why White had these ballads. It may well be that he came by them in casual circumstances. In the context of what was discussed earlier in this article about Timothy O'Driscoll and his bespoke ballads, examples of his work in the Collection are of special interest. 'Brave Limerick men come gather round' is the conventional opening to ten verses of invective (iii, 247). In another related ballad, he concludes by raising a cheer to himself and his fellow propagandists (iii, 252).

White began collecting in the 1840s but there are no more than a handful of Famine ballads. *A New Song on the Rotten Potatoes* advocated Whigs, Tories and Repealers working together (I, 140). In *Sixty Years* he referred to the well known ballad *The Kenmare Committee* which in an inversion of reality positioned farmers as the real victims (I, 219). The terrible impact of the Famine on Skibereen is outlined: 'And are we doomed to perish in our own green fertile land?' (ii, 40). Alexis Soyer, a London-based chef came to Ireland in 1847 to promote his recipe for 'economical' soup. A ballad in the Collection with the line 'For my guts is destroyed by the means of his soup' is a very direct negative review (I, 250). There are very few ballads in the Collection dealing with Tenant Right. The efforts of O'Shea and Keffe in Kilkenny are celebrated (ii, 118) but it appears that by the time land became a dominant issue, in the late 1870s, White's enthusiasm for collecting ballads had diminished. One of the more interesting of these ballads *A New Song on the Cutting Machines* deals with the threat to agricultural employment from mechanisation and has the additional agenda of attacking Scottish farmers who had come to Ireland post-Famine through the Incumbered Estates Court. These farmers were seen as threateningly progressive (I, 111).

You big belly Farmers now take my advice, don't mind those machines...  
And likewise give fair wages to the labouring man.

### Tipperary Ballads

The first ballad in the first volume of the Collection illustrates the value of this source. It opens: 'A town wanted a doctor and held consultations upon an MD and his qualifications'. The town is Cashel and the ballad goes on to name the candidates for what was always a closely fought contest for this appointment in the gift of the board of guardians. One of the guardians is quoted as saying: 'None of your chaffin, if you want a good doctor, there's no one like Laffan'. Thomas Laffan was appointed in April 1870.<sup>42</sup> One may imagine the amusement generated in the area by this ballad; not least by the cynical but accurate conclusion:

#### *Moral*

Most men will be true to their own private ends,  
But who would be successful must have the most friends.

Locally written and printed ballads were of great interest to White and a large part of their appeal is their wit, as characters and events were scrutinised and shortcomings highlighted.

*The Dairymaid's Lamentation* purports to be written by 'Biddy Ryan Ballyfowloo' and begins: 'The world is full of inventions/ And all things are done by machinery'.<sup>43</sup> It goes on to complain

'So now they've invinted this creamery my ould occupation is gone' (I, 10). For many decades Cashel campaigned for that ultimate nineteenth-century machine, the railway, described in *Railway to Cashel – the New Railway* as the 'herald of commerce' (I,14). The town did not get its railway until 1901 but this ballad appears to have been written in confident expectation that it was imminent. 'King Cormac above in his Chapel will wonder/ What is this row that disturbs my repose?'. More realistic perhaps are some ballads outlining and lamenting the decline of Cashel, a subject frequently dealt with by White in his *Cashel Gazette*.<sup>44</sup> In *A Cashel Man's Lamentation* (I, 20) the writer sings a familiar song about neighbouring towns prospering compared to Cashel.<sup>45</sup> 'The City's fairly ruined boys, I'm grieving for its fate'. The only remedy: 'Let Cashel Men unite again and love and help each other'. A similar message is delivered in *A New Song on the Fall of the Rock of Cashel* (I, 18). 'Our ancient city is surely hastening to decay.' One of the best 'support your town' messages is in *A Cashel Man's Lamentation* (I, 171).

When I was young, some years ago, a Cashel man might thrive,  
 There were gentlemen in plenty, and the money was alive;  
 The praties grew, the Poor were few, the Pig was on the floor,  
 An honest man might earn his bread and have that same galore.

.....  
 The Cashel Men loved Cashel Town and would not run it down;  
 The Ladies would not travel off elsewhere to buy a gown

.....  
 A Cashel shoe would fit their foot, a Cashel coat their back.

.....  
 Then we may hope that God will send a blessing down again,  
 If we strive to act as Christians, as Citizens, and Men.

John Davis White was interested in politics and involved in Cashel elections.<sup>46</sup> His Collection has a number of interesting election ballads. *A New Song on the Election of Cashel* (I, 61) was quoted by him in full in *Sixty Years*.<sup>47</sup> He described it thus: 'It is a very poor specimen of its class. It has a very badly executed woodcut at its head, of a man handing a bag of money to another who accepts it with a low bow'. White also noted that his was probably the only copy in existence. This ballad refers to the general election of 1835 and attacks Matthew Pennefather, the Tory candidate, who was defeated. 'And for Father McDonnell we'll all give three cheers.' A native of Gortnahoe, he served in Cashel, as CC 1815-31 and as PP 1831 to his death in 1855. The Collection also has a long elegy (twenty verses) on his death (iii, 144). Unusually, it is printed on yellow paper and the author is given as R. Connolly. The style is suitably elevated but there is not much sense of the individual. It begins:

How deep the gloom of that sad night  
 Which veiled that star that long had shed  
 On our young souls its purest light,  
 But now, alas for ever fled.

Sir Timothy O'Brien represented Cashel in the late 1840s and '50s. Reference was made above of the ballad-maker as verbal assassin. A ballad in the Collection very well illustrates this (ii, 136). Nothing is left unsaid about O'Brien but neither is anything positive said about other candidates. Obvious targets are struck: M.P.s looking after their own interests and getting 'good



berths for their friends'; how he provided no help 'when hundreds were dying of want in the streets'; 'he has humbugged us twice but won't do it again'; other M.P.s will see him for what he is, a jumped-up shopkeeper and send him back to 'whiskey selling'. The tirade concludes:

Then here's luck to the course, let us all give a cheer,  
Little Tim will be hunted, my boys never fear.  
It no longer will be a disgrace to the town  
That it sent to the House such a beggarly clown.

Another broadside was much more direct: at the head of the page a coffin shape and in large letters beside it 'Tim for Cashel Won't Be' (iii, 151). None of this made much difference, as O'Brien won all his Cashel elections. Another ballad (ii, 140) from the same period painted a different picture. 'O'Brien is the man for your City' and the endorsement of Dean McDonnell is quoted: 'No man was more fitting to send from our shore'.

Demonstrating that ballad-makers would, if paid, make a case for Satan returning to heaven, in 1859 the infamous John Carden was a candidate for the Cashel seat and *The Hero of Barnane* (iii, 155) set out why he should be elected.<sup>48</sup> It begins: 'If you want a boy for Cashel, John Carden is your man' and goes on to claim that 'he gives leases to his tenants at a fair and honest rent'. Making a virtue of his landlord status, the good people of Cashel are reminded that 'he wants not "Rank", "Station", "Pension", "Place" or "Bribe", he has no Friend or Relative for whom he *must* provide'. This encomium concludes: 'He is an Independent Fellow and comes of the Ould Stock, we'll have none but Carden, the Hero of Barnane'. The Liberal candidate who won the seat got 91 votes. The Hero of Barnane got ten. In fairness however, a third candidate, Charles Hemphill got eight votes. Another ballad (iii, 160) gives some idea why Hemphill did so badly. His family connection with Cashel was turned to his disadvantage. He was a grandson of the Rev Patrick Hare who ran a famous school in Cashel. Referring to some of the voters, the writer issues a reminder that 'Paddy flogged them' and so Hemphill's 'support is no where'. In yet another ballad about this 1859 election, the victor John Lanigan is embraced by Cashel and his opponents, Hemphill and Carden associated with Cromwell and 'souperism' (iii, 198).

What must have been one of the last additions to the Collection deals with a Cashel election, no longer a contest for Westminster but a seat on the corporation. To the air of the *Wearing of the Green* electors were wooed by *George Looby: Address to the Electors of Cashel* (I, 13). 'Electors of this City, before you I appear/ as an independent citizen without cause of fear ...' Looby associated himself with Dillon and Davitt and the broadside is dated from the committees rooms, Friar Street, 8 Oct 1883.

Tipperary County had two M.P.s and in 1847 Nicholas Maher and Francis Scully were returned as supporters of Repeal. A ballad (I, 194) celebrates how the opposition was routed: 'No Orange Shoneen amongst us shall dwell' and describes how voters supported the popular cause 'From sweet Tipperary to the town of Cahir/ the roads they were crowded like going to fair'. The Tory opposition got no support. 'And in Nenagh town sure we made their hearts sick.' Another ballad from the same period, *The Tories Downfall* (I, 90) lacerates a number of anti-Repealers, 'Cook (sic) of Cordangan .... Purefoy, Massy, Stanley and Croker and the blue-gulled tyrant called blind T. Bolton. I am not forgetting Maud and his tribe, for the sake of a living the true church denied, to hell they will go roaring for disowning our Saviour'. The Collection is strong on ballads from the elections of 1847 and 1857, fortunately most of them not as anodyne as an offering from 1857 supporting The O'Donoghue for the county.<sup>49</sup> It begins: 'How faithful

Tipperary will be' (iii, 154). It was but he wasn't.

One of the Cashel characters discussed in *Sixty Years* was William Bayly Upton.<sup>50</sup> He had an apothecary business and was very much an Orange partisan. White's copy of fourteen verses of invective against 'Owl Baily' (sic) is surely an unique piece of Cashel lore, not to mention a wonderful example of sustained verbal assault (iii, 156). White's familiarity with this broadside is clear from his note in writing that the air was 'Time A Day'. Apart from the level of invective, the ballad seems to follow a Gaelic model in that it is cast as a 'Vision'. He is visited in his sleep by a 'frightful female spectre' who appears to know him all too well:

My darling Baily yeoman drummer  
To Cashel town a recent comer

.....  
No clerk about the town  
Cán chance his place to lose  
But Baily brings a son  
To thrust into his shoes.  
He tenants every nook  
With every vagrant scum.  
He has no day of luck  
Since once he lost the drum.

The drum in question is of course orange and the context of the ballad appears to be O'Connell's alliance with the Whigs which the writer sees as marking the defeat of the Tory ascendancy.

In the context of what was written above about the popularity of ballads about executions, that the Collection has Tipperary related material is not a surprise. There are three ballads about the Cormack brothers executed in May 1858. One of these (I, 51) is given in full in Zimmermann's *Songs of Irish Rebellion* (p. 248). In traditional fashion it begins by directing the listener's attention to the plight of the brothers, 'Attend each tender Christian.....'. The point of view shifts between the brothers and the public but every effect (including the title) is calculated to emphasise their innocence. In this version, they were born between Thurles and Templemore, whereas in another version (I, 52) they were born in Thurles.<sup>51</sup> There is also a ballad (I, 154) about the executions of Michael and Thomas Ryan for the murder of Constable Crowley and the attack on Francis Wayland in 1838.<sup>52</sup> This broadside emphasises their youth, their honest parents, the lack of evidence against them, the failure of the petition to the Lord Lieutenant for mercy but there is no condemnation of the actual crime.

In *Sixty Years* White quoted in full a ballad in his Collection (I, 189) on the execution in March 1848 of John Lonergan for the murder of William Roe of Rockwell.<sup>53</sup> On the same day, also in front of Clonmel Gaol, Henry and Philip Cody were executed for the murder of Edward Madden who had been employed in Lord Ormonde's wood at Killurney. The ballad opens with an acknowledgement of local interest: 'Come all you Kilcash and Killurney boys and Gamonsfield likewise' (I, 190). There is no pretense that they are innocent: 'But we being young and foolish, that deed did undergo/ We never dreaded danger, which proved our overthrow'. At the 1848 Special Commission for county Tipperary, it took the jury all of twenty minutes to find them guilty.<sup>54</sup>

One of the frequently mentioned incidents of the Famine in Tipperary was the murder of the Widow Brien in Kilfeacle; a shocking event that occurred in March 1849.<sup>55</sup> In *Sixty Years*, White refers to the crime and mentions that he has a ballad about it but does not quote any of it.<sup>56</sup> This

ballad *A Sorrowful Lamentation on the Murder of the Widow Brien near Kilfeacle Who Was Murdered in her 80th year for Two Stone of Meal* (ii, 35) is a good example of a writer, working within the usual conventions, giving the details while telling a sensational story.

It's soon he seized upon the meal and thought to leave the house,  
She got between him and the door to prevent him to go out;  
But it was soon he murdered her and finished her sad strife,  
'Twas with a scythe he had prepared he took her precious life.

He cut her in the head and hands and mangled her full sore,  
He left her lying on the floor a bleeding in her gore

Next morning he was taken and sent to Clonmel Jail,  
Loaded with heavy irons, his sorrow to bewail.

Being locked up in Clonmel features in *The Munster Man's Rambles* (I, 36), an account much less serious than that of the Widow's murderer. The speaker here is an itinerant ballad singer:

I am a bold rover, this nation all over,  
I travelled most joyful my fortune to try,  
And to earn a living by cheerfully singing  
The praises of Erin and will till I die.

I was always as willing to sport a bright shilling  
As any man living in a pint or a glass, I do tell,  
But at last I was taken, for that very reason  
And lodged in the Bridewell of sweet Clonmel.

While in jail he sings. This is not appreciated. He goes on a bit of a rampage. He is restrained overnight. 'You damned Papist.' Next morning he appears in court and is found guilty. He serves two months in Clonmel Bridewell but is also prosecuted for his rampage, 'for pucking a Peeler between the two peepers and breaking another's big Cromwellian's thumb'. A less rambunctious account of popular entertainers is found in *The Sporting Rakes of Clonmel* (ii, 100). This begins: 'To Clonmel we will go to view the lasses pretty' and refers to a musician called John Blake and lists his tunes such as *Kitty from Athlone* and *The March of Bonaparte*.

Ballad singers like this individual flocked to race meetings and in *The Humours of Races* (ii, 192a) the delights of Barronstown Races are described.<sup>57</sup> 'The tents all in a row, with whiskey, wine and porter/ The landlady in glee and the fiddler in great chole (ceol)'. The chorus proclaims this meeting's charms over rivals: 'Barntown (sic) this day out-shines all other places/ Where the lads and lasses crowd in numbers to the races'. The ballad ends: 'May our hills be always green and our hearts be never weary/ But everything serene with the boys of Tipperary'. Another ballad, in praise of a horse called 'Farmer's Boy' (I, 46) mentions Barronstown. 'By the Limekiln side he took a stride and bid them all good bye.'

Perhaps the most interesting broadside dealing with sport in the Collection is *The Fox Chase* (iii, 34). This recounts a hunt from the perspective of the fox. Through eleven verses, the fox flees across West Tipperary and East Limerick in what amounts to a cleverly written vulpine Baedeker.

It begins:

In Grinane (sic) demesne, long time I reigned and all my progenitors,  
As verified well by all who since became my inheritors.  
From the Tipperary Club hounds, I took my rounds for I ran most courageous,  
Through sweet Grantstown they ran me down, as Mealshoughlin did Turgesius.

Following this reference to the success of the Irish over the Vikings, the fox takes off, his itinerary carefully mapped out: through Ballymore, to the Suir, on to Ballyowen and Roosmore, then 'over Dundrum walls I vaulted, they being very high and no gaps nigh'. Eventually, on the following day, after various places including Iron Mills, the fox can rest: 'In Cappawhite I stopped that night, tho' my mind it was uneasy'. The third day of this marathon chase brought the fox across Doon, Toem and places in East Limerick, to Squire O'Grady's, Cromwell Hill and then a feint back 'to Shronell Court I ran quite mute, where lived the great J. Damer'. This prompts some philosophical speculation: 'where is his store of golden ore?' The Coach Road is the route to Aherlow and the final verse:

O'er the Arra side I took a stride, out Coach Road I treaded.  
The Aherlow I crossed also and just knee-deep I waded.  
I reached Stagdale and FountainVale cheerfully, brisk and able,  
But that evening late, alas! My fate,  
I was caught at Dawson's Table.

Other versions of this ballad have variations in the itinerary.<sup>58</sup> (Incidentally, Aherlow is the subject of an unusual item in the Collection (I, 28), a newspaper cutting with twenty lines of very formal verse by John Irwine Whitty, perhaps the clergyman murdered in 1832.) Whitty lost his life during the anti-tithe agitation, a campaign that affected White's family and which found expression in broadsides. *The Ass and the Orangeman's Daughters* (I, 94) begins:

In the County of Tipperary, in a place called Longford Cross,  
There lived one Thomas Gready who had a stately ass;  
He was seized by a heretic and canted for the tithes.  
On Fenaed Hill this friend did dwell, his name is Harry Boyd.

'Canted' means that the ass was seized for auction in lieu of tithes. The ballad tells how the ass was purchased by an Orangeman whose daughter then read the bible to it to convert it from 'Popery'. The ass proceeds to give a robust defence of the catholic church and dismisses protestantism in a way that White must have found offensive. 'God's wrath will pour in vengeance upon them for their tricks,/ And hell's wide mouth is open to receive such heretics'. It is not difficult to assume that most protestants would not have allowed such material into their homes, much less collected it. The Orangeman's daughter rages and is about to beat the ass when it is rescued by other asses. Motivated by taste rather than theology, this gave rise to one of the very few examples in the Collection of White's censorship. In one verse there are two references to 'Orange bitch', this latter word being inked out.<sup>59</sup>

An altogether more comfortable kind of ballad for White was the ironically titled *War Song of the North Tipperary Light Infantry* (I, 119). This was prompted by the 'Battle of the Breeches' when, in 1856, the North Tipperary Militia staged a mutiny over money being owed, their uniforms

being returned (hence the source of the jokes) and their services being no longer required.<sup>60</sup> The ballad is replete with personal and topical references. For example: 'You all know "The Bell" between Cahir and Clonmel/ Where Patrick Hagarty keeps a nate sheebeen,/Where Brien (sic) McGurke behaved like a Turk/ One night when he'd out on a spree been'. Or the reference to 'a fine race of men about Aherlow Glen, Clonmel, Cashel, Cahir and Tipperary' and a special reference to the 'boys from Clogheen, six foot-two'. In another ballad from around this same period, referring to the South Tipperary Militia (ii, 272), the tone is much more respectful. 'Hurragh for Tipperary boys firm and sound,/ The bear and his cubs they will help to put down.' This reference to the Russian enemy is followed by the writer contriving to mention as many of the officers as possible in a roll-call of noted Tipperary landed families such as Massy, Bloomfield, Butler Lowe, Kellet and Gough, not forgetting 'Our gallant Colonel brave, Lord Donoughmore'.

In the mid-nineteenth century, much was made of the propensity to fight on the part of this 'fine race of men', something that was celebrated in *Denis Delany* (ii, 28) 'to the battle a friend and no foe to a glass'. Similarly in *The Men of Tipperary* (ii, 238b) the reader is warned:

Tall is his form, his heart is warm,  
His spirit light as any fairy.  
His wrath is fearful as the storm  
That sweeps the Hills of Tipperary.

*The Boys of Tipperary* (iii, 17) delivers a keep-away notice:

At making love we are above  
All other countries (sic) level.  
If foreign blades should woo our maids  
We'd whack them like the devil.

This broadside 'written and sung by Mr J. Kearney at the Castle Tavern' also had a political message: 'We will see the day when we can say/ We are free in Tipperary'. Incidentally, this ballad was part of a double-bill with *New Song on the Tipperary Abduction Case of Mr Carden and Miss Arbuthnot* (iii, 16), an indifferent example of the way in which ballad-makers exploited sensationalism. Any purchaser wanting salacious details would be disappointed.<sup>61</sup>

Intensely felt local controversies such as this were ideal fodder for broadsides. Fr Walter Cantwell, a native of Fethard, was Administrator in Thurles during the 1850s. He was hardly appointed when he became caught up in a row with the local Church of Ireland clergyman with respect to a Mrs Reed, a protestant lady who had become a catholic. The White Collection has two ballads celebrating Cantwell's 'triumph' which provided ample opportunity for sectarian point-scoring. One of the targets in the quotation below was Archdeacon Henry Cotton a noted scholar. 'So now Parson Leech and your master, smooth Cotton,/ I tell you in plain speech that your church it is rotten' (ii, 120). The other broadside begins: 'Come all you Roman Catholics that dwell in Thurles Town' and goes on to glory in Cantwell's defeat of the 'Ranters' who had taken legal proceedings against him in March 1851. 'He'll (Cantwell) keep his flock on Peter's Rock in spite of Luther's breed' (ii, 143). Cantwell succeeded Patrick Leahy as PP of Cashel in 1857 on Leahy's appointment as archbishop. This latter called forth a dreadful piece of verbal celebration, every indication of direness clear from the title: *A New Song in Praise of Bishop Leahy*

(ii, 197). 'He is the great Leahey, from the Rock of Cashel,/ He is the bright star of Erin and the pride of Munster round.'

An aspect of the White Collection of particular interest to language scholars is the use of Irish in some of the broadsides. (For reference to these ballads, see the list deposited in the Local Studies Library, Thurles.) The usual format was Irish and English in alternate verses. The Irish however was comically phonetic. An example is something called *Slieve na Mann* (I, 126) dealing with the tithe war but of more interest is *In Praise of Lady Butler* (ii, 54) known more generally as 'Cill Cais'. This has the opening line 'Cod a yeán hamede fastha gan Imod'. The second verse, in English, begins: 'What shall we do now and hereafter/ The woods and groves they (have) fallen,/ The elem (sic), the oak and the hazel,/ And the popular (sic) straight and tall...' Apparently, the author had problems with two languages. In the opinion of a modern authority, 'prestige value must have dominated the Irish sheets and it is to be wondered how some of them were deciphered at all'.<sup>62</sup> In other words, whatever about our impression, potential purchasers were to be struck by the author's erudition.

### Conclusion

With nearly nine hundred ballads, the John Davis White Collection speaks to us in mid-nineteenth century accents about such fundamentals as freedom, loss, grief and hope. The ideas may often be lame and the delivery stumbling but this view from the streets can be a valuable corrective to the more usual views from the drawing room, the study or the platform. The Collection reflects aspects of the cultural and political life of the 1840s, '50s, '60s and to a limited degree the 1870s. The small number of broadsides dealing with the Land War of the 1880s reinforces this point. (Of interest is a description of Land League commotion in Thurles: 'There was tearin' and swearin' and fightin' and leatherin' round the town' (iii, 273) and from 25 June 1882 a *New Song on the Parnell and Dillon Fife and Drum Band* (iii, 275) in Cashel which begins: 'If you were to see the Parnells with their shining grand new caps'. This article serves as no more than an introduction to the Collection. Much waits to be revealed by scholars interested in language use, popular culture and the transmission of ideas.

Many of the broadsides in the Collection, while of interest for the reasons mentioned above, are of minimal entertainment. Others allow just a faint whiff across the decades of life long gone. *The Fair of Cappawhite a Chaunt by the Oldest Inhabitant* (I, 17) by 'A Cappawhite Gorsoon, Nov 25 1872' has an old man looking back fondly at this aspect of Cappawhite life. The ballad begins:

Ah! My heart is leaden weighted  
And my soul is sorrow-freighted,  
And my nerves are desiccated  
That were once as feathers light;  
As I sit and backward gazing  
Through years - a misty haze lies  
And see nothing worth the praising  
But the fair of Cappawhite.

By the fifth verse (of nine), the writer makes clear what he misses most:

Ye may prate of ancient drinking,  
Fiery draughts that set men blinking,  
Or mild cups without a wink in,

If one quaffed from morn to night;  
 You may brag of gin or port or  
 Even rum - I'd cast them forth for,  
 One full quart of creamy porter,  
 At the fair of Cappawhite.

## Notes

- 1 See *THJ*, (2001-2004).
- 2 For White and his family, see D.G. Marnane, John Davis White of Cashel (1820-1893) in *THJ*, (1993), pp.97-104.
- 3 The call numbers are: volume one, OLSX - 1- 530; volume two, OLSX - 1- 531 and volume three, OLSX - 1- 532.
- 4 W. Allingham, 'Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads' in *Household Words*, 10 Jan 1852. Reprinted in *Ceol* 3, I (1967), pp. 2-16. *Household Words* was a weekly magazine edited by Charles Dickens. Allingham is best remembered for his poem, 'The Fairies', beginning "Up the airy mountain, Down the rushy glen . . . . ."
- 5 J. Rodenberg, *A Pilgrimage through Ireland or the Isle of the Saints* (London, 1860), p. 203.
- 6 *The Irish Book Lover* 2, 3, (Oct 1910), p.34.
- 7 D.K. Wilgus, 'Irish Traditional Narrative Songs in English 1800-1916' in D.J. Casey & R.E. Rhodes (eds.), *Views of the Irish Peasantry, 1800- 1960* (Hamden, Connecticut, 1977), p. 116.
- 8 H. Shields, 'Popular Broad-sides in the Library of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland' in *Ulster Folklife*, 33 (1987), p.5.
- 9 H. Shields, 'Printed Aids to Folk Singing 1700-1900' in M. Duby & D. Dickson (eds.), *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland* (Dublin, 1990), p. 143; A. MacLochlainn, 'Belfast-Printed Ballad-Sheets' in *Irish Booklore* , I, 1 (Jan 1971), pp. 21-3.
- 10 J. Fitzgerald, 'An Account of the Old Street Ballads of Cork' in *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society* 1, (1892), pp. 63, 68; Shields, *Popular Broad-sides* pp. 1-25; M. Murphy, 'The Ballad Singer and the Role of the Seditious Ballad in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Dublin Castle's View' in *Ulster Folklife* , 25, (1979), p. 97.
- 11 W. Barry, 'The Current Street Ballads of Ireland' in *Macmillans Magazine* xxv, (1871-72), pp. 190-99.
- 12 'The Green Hills of Holy Old Ireland'
- 13 'Sixty Years in Cashel - Part Four' in *THJ*, (2004).
- 14 *Cashel Gazette*, 28 Aug 1869.
- 15 *ibid.*
- 16 *Cashel Gazette* , 10 Oct 1868.
- 17 Murphy, *Ballad Singer*, p. 94. Murphy noted that Zimmermann mentioned the practice in his classic *Songs of Irish Rebellion Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs, 1780-1900* (1st ed. 1966; 2nd ed. 2002), pp. 51-2 but that he had no hard evidence.
- 18 This was the basis of articles by White in the *Cashel Gazette*, 28 Aug, 4 Sept, 11 Sept, 18 Sept, 25 Sept 1869.
- 19 Barry, *Current Street Ballads*, p. 199.
- 20 G.D. Zimmermann, 'Irish Street Singers of the Nineteenth Century' in *Ceol* 2,2 (1965) pp. 33-6; *Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator*, 3 Nov 1865.
- 21 Also discussed by White in *Sixty Years*, see part four in *THJ*, (2004).
- 22 M. O'Dwyer (ed.), *Cashel Memories by Francis Phillips* (Cashel, n.d.), pp. 109-110.
- 23 See J.R.R. Adams, *The Printed Word and the Common Man: Popular Culture in Ulster 1700-1900* (Belfast, 1987). A fascinating detail is that in Belfast in the early nineteenth century, because newspapers were so expensive because of tax, they were left in houses for one penny an hour (p.132).
- 24 Murphy, *Ballad Singer*, pp. 88-9. The police report is CSORP. OR, 1841, 6/7015 (NAI).
- 25 Murphy, *Ballad Singer*, p. 89. The police report is CSORP. OR, 1842, 11/25003 (NAI).

- 26 Zimmermann, *Songs of Irish Rebellion*, p. 51.
- 27 This Table accounts for 866 ballads from a total of 887, the residue defying classification.
- 28 These Tipperary ballads cover many of the other topics and if distributed would change the percentages slightly.
- 29 See D. Bowen, *Souperism: Myth or Reality* (Cork, 1970), pp. 109-10.
- 30 *Reminiscences of J.A. Curran* (London, 1915), p. 8; *Times*, 2 Feb 1885 (obit. Of Lord O'Hagan who defended Fr Petcherine. Generally, E. Larkin & H. Freudenberger (eds.) *A Redemptorist Missionary in Ireland, 1851-1854* (Cork, 1998).
- 31 See D. Murphy, *Ireland and the Crimean War* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 191-96.
- 32 See R.V. Comerford, *Charles J. Kickham* (Dublin, 1979), pp. 190-92.
- 33 An interesting example of Kickham's superior product prompting inferior copies is *Murrough O'Monaghan* which told the story of a beggar whose station was near the bridge of Drumcondra and who lost a leg serving in the Crimea (iii, 205b).
- 34 S. Colwell, Records of the Irish in the British Army in *Aspects of Irish Genealogy: Proceedings of the 1st Irish Genealogical Congress* (IGCC, 1993), pp. 67-8.
- 35 Papers of Thomas Larcom, Tipperary and Limerick 1862-63 (MS 7638, NLI).
- 36 This ballad is in Zimmermann, *Songs of Irish Rebellion*, pp. 282-4.
- 37 See P.S. O'Hegarty, 'The Dublin Street ballads about the Invincibles' in *The Irish Book Lover* 31, 1 (1949), pp. 2-5.
- 38 See R. Uí Ógáin, *Immortal Dan: Daniel O'Connell in Irish Folk Tradition* (Dublin, n.d.).
- 39 See M. Cronin, 'Memory, Story and Balladry: 1798 and its Place in Popular Memory in pre-Famine Ireland' in L. M. Geary (ed.), *Rebellion and Remembrance in Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 112-34.
- 40 *THJ*, (2003), p. 124.
- 41 J.A. O'Shea, *Leaves from the Life of a Special Correspondent* (London, 1885), ii, pp. 115-19; *Tipperary Advocate*, 10 March 1860.
- 42 E. Lonergan, *A Workhouse Story: a History of St Patrick's Hospital Cashel 1842-1992* (The Author, 1992), p. 124.
- 43 Ballyfowloo is a townland in the civil parish of St Patricksrock.
- 44 *Cashel Gazette*, 11 March 1871, 17 Sept 1881.
- 45 See *Nenagh Guardian*, 30 July 1851.
- 46 For an interesting recent account, see K. Devery, 'The Function of Hotels in Parliamentary Borough Elections in Mid-nineteenth-century Ireland: Two Case Studies in the Borough of Cashel, 1852 and 1868' in J. Augustejn, M.A. Lyons, D. McMahon (eds.), *Irish History a Research Yearbook Number 2* (2003), pp. 53-60.
- 47 *THJ*, (2002), p. 204.
- 48 See A. Carden, 'Woodcock "Carden" - a Balanced Account' in *THJ* (2000), pp. 120-31.
- 49 For Cooke family see Marnane, *Land and Violence*, pp. 51-2; for Parefoy see Marnane, *THJ*, (2004); there were various Massy families; Stanley refers to the family of Lord Derby who owned an estate at the Limerick Junction, regarding which Thomas Bolton was agent. The reference to Maude would appear to be about that family's evangelical activity. Daniel O'Donoghue (1833-89) was a native of Kerry. For many years after representing Tipperary, he was MP for Tralee. His resignation from the Tipperary seat in 1865 caused consternation.
- 50 *THJ* (2001), p. 71.
- 51 The third ballad is I, 135. See J.N. Healy, *The Mercier Book of Old Irish Street Ballads*, vol. 1 (Cork, 1967), p. 58; also N. Murphy, *Guilty or Innocent? The Cormack Brothers* (Nenagh, 1998), especially p. 176.
- 52 See *THJ* (2004) for different references to this case.
- 53 *THJ*, (2002), pp. 216-17 for a ballad on the murder of Gustave Thiebaut of Rockwell (iii, 278).
- 54 H.W. Lover, *Report of Trials etc. Special Commission for County Tipperary 1848* (Dublin, 1848), pp. 72-3.
- 55 *THJ*, (1995), pp. 1, 83; *Clonmel Chronicle*, 25 July 1849 for the trial.
- 56 *THJ*, (2004).
- 57 'Barntown' in the ballad. For a description of this famous race course see, D.G. Marnane, 'The Coming



of the Railway to County Tipperary in 1848' in *THJ*, (1998), p. 146.

- 58 See Healy, *Street Ballads*, vol. 3 (Cork, 1969), pp. 74-6. 'Dawson's Table' becomes 'Desert Table' and Bohercrow (just outside Tipperary town) is mentioned.
- 59 Given in full in Zimmermann, *Songs of Irish Rebellion*, pp. 216-17.
- 60 D. Murphy, ' "The Battle of the Breeches": the Nenagh mutiny, July 1856' in *THJ*, (2001), pp. 139-45.
- 61 See *THJ*, (2000), pp. 120-31 for this abduction.
- 62 H. Shields, *Printed Aid*.