

# Representative Church Body Library, Dublin

**MS 707/**

Correspondence and papers of the  
Most Revd Richard Whately (1787-1863)  
Archbishop of Dublin 1831-1863

1833-1857; undated

From St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1995

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## Introduction to the collection

A selection of papers of the Most Revd Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, survives in Lambeth Palace Library, while many additional papers and letters were reproduced in the two-volume biography published shortly after his death by his daughter E. Jane Whately, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, Late Archbishop of Dublin* (London, 1866).

This collection of Whately's papers was transferred to the RCB Library in 1995 from St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, where it was found among a tranche of unrelated materials concerning the business of the cathedral. It consists of miscellaneous original drafts of outward correspondence and papers, much of it in the archbishop's hand; as well as a run of his original and intimate correspondence with two of his most trusted confidants and domestic chaplains, the Revd Dr Charles Dickinson (1792-1842) who served in that capacity from 1833 (when this collection commences) until his appointment as Bishop of Meath in December 1840; and Canon John West (who succeeded Dickinson in this role).

The papers are significant for three reasons. First, they relate to a very concentrated period of time during the archbishop's long and distinguished career as both a spiritual leader but also Liberal politician renowned for his innovative and often controversial ideas –many of which demonstrated how ahead of his time he was on a range of difficult subjects. It centres on the years 1834-40, when he was most active in the House of Lords, with odd snippets before and after that period, and also a considerable number of undated items which we must assume fall roughly into this period. Second, of interest to historians and Whately's biographers will be the fact that the bulk of the material has not been published or known about before and thus likely to generate new interest in his political and religious ideas. Finally, much of the correspondence is addressed to his successive chaplains, Dickinson and West, and thus gives insight to the close and trusted working relationship that he had with both men, and how on many occasions, simply because of the volume of political and spiritual work before him, he entrusted them to re-work drafts of papers; recommend candidates for offices; and even send out letters bearing his signature.

Among the burning political issues of the time covered are the following: tithe reform; reform of parliament and structures of government; national school education; ending the so-called 'legal exclusion' of Jewish people from Parliament; and the issue of 'secondary punishments' or transportation which Whately viewed as a dangerous 'experiment of colonization'.

On matters spiritual, there is detailed insight to Whately's views on both Tractarian and Unitarian theology, the latter revealed in a fascinating three-way correspondence to, from and about the Revd Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841) between White, the archbishop and Mr Clemente de Zulueta, a Spanish merchant and intellect, based in Liverpool, and member of the Socinian community which White joined. White was Whately's friend from Oxford University who became tutor to the Whately children at Redesdale House, where he resided after his appointment to Dublin. Towards the end of 1834, White's sudden and unexpected decision to embrace Socinian or Unitarian views, and withdraw

to Liverpool to join a Unitarian congregation, cost him his job, but was deeply embarrassing for the archbishop and their exchange reveals a depth of theological difference.

There is an interesting run of material collectively entitled: 'Correspondence on the New York Ordination Case – Archbishop of Dublin', for the period 1843-44, chronicling Whately's concerns about the recent ordination of a Revd Carey (who had known Tractarian sympathies) for the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States in the diocese of New York. In his last letter on file about the matter, he points out to the correspondent that he does 'not pretend to any right of interference with the decisions of another Church. I only wish to satisfy myself whether I can with a safe conscience continue to admit, as I have heretofore done, clergymen of your Church in inter-communion'.

Of issues concerning the governance and theology of the Church of Ireland specifically, there are detailed papers on the archbishop's grand but ultimately unsuccessful plan to establish a Divinity Hall or College, independent of Trinity College Dublin, for the separate training of clergy, which as is emphasised here met with the disapproval of the Trinity authorities; as well as materials relating to clergy discipline including Whately's scrupulous and direct oversight to ensure compliance with his order not to officiate in another diocese without permission, and not to introduce strangers to preach in the 'the archbishop's diocese'; his injunction against the use of extemporaneous or free prayer in parish churches; and how he dealt with clergy seeking preferment. His efforts to stave off the suppression of the diocese of Kildare, which became a reality in 1846 is also alluded to in many letters.

The unlikely provenance of this collection in St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, amongst unrelated materials, may probably explained by one common link in the life of the cathedral, the archbishop, and the correspondent who features most prominently in this collection: the Revd Dr Charles Dickinson, the archbishop's trusted domestic chaplain between 1833 and 1840. The link between all three is Canon John West (1805-1890) who served amongst many other roles as dean of that cathedral from 1864 to his retirement in 1889. West was Dickinson's son-in-law, having married his third of four daughters Bessie Margaret Dickinson on 30 September 1841 - the same year that he succeeded his father-in-law as vicar of St Ann's Dublin. Like Dickinson, who became bishop of Meath in December 1840, West would have a distinguished clerical career too. He was appointed Prebendary of Yagoe in St Patrick's Cathedral from 1847, and then in 1851 became the archdeacon of Dublin - in which role he would continue until 1864 when he was appointed dean of the diocesan Christ Church Cathedral from 1864 to 1871, to which the additional deanship of St Patrick's was added in 1864. As well as all that, he was in Whately's inner circle from at least 1840, and following Dickinson's unexpected death in 1842 after just one year in the post of bishop of Meath, West edited the *Remains of Charles Dickinson, Lord Bishop of Meath with a Biographical Sketch* (London, 1845) as a tribute to Dickinson's work, which pays particular attention to his support for Archbishop Whately.

It seems fair at least to speculate that the considerable volume of the archbishop's original letters to Dickinson which remain in this collection may have been used by West when he

penned the sketch, and thereafter got subsumed into the general working papers of the cathedral where he was dean until his retirement in 1889. As well as the run of 17 dated letters written by Whately to Dickinson at his residence in Baggot Street, Dublin between January and March 1837, and the further 15 undated items in or around the same period (see 1/1/10 and 1/1/12, and 1/2) there are three fascinating later letters to Dickinson after he has become bishop of Meath (in 1840) from his episcopal colleague 'Edmund Limerick', the Rt Revd Edmund Knox (1773-1849), bishop of Limerick 1834-49, in 1841, begging him to act as mediator in a misunderstanding Knox has had with the archbishop: 'the archbishop of Dublin's ...coolness of manner to me, [as if he] had taken some offence against me'. Dickinson's powers of persuasion evidently saved Knox, who informed him with much appreciation: 'you have been the means of saving an innocent person from destruction', in April 1841.

Of the many other materials in the collection, especially the miscellaneous letters that survive addressed to West from the archbishop, many have an anecdotal quality, which the former may have kept for particular personal reasons. These include an amusing if harsh reprimand from the archbishop (whilst at the House of Lords in London) complaining about 'the load of distracting business I have to do without assistance' and urging West to provide more detail about each matter he writes to him from Dublin: 'you should send me not joints of raw meat for me to cook first and then carve, but meat not only ready – dressed, but cut up into mouthfuls'.

# 1/ Correspondence

## 1/1 Miscellaneous dated correspondence 1833-1857

This run of miscellaneous letters which commences in 1833 - the first year when Whately took his seat in the House of Lords – consists mostly of outward copies of letters sent, but also inward originals. The drafts are in various hands but principally Whately's own, who presumably penned them before either writing the final outward version himself, or passing it to a trusted confidant [probably Dickinson in the early years, and then laterally West or Hinds] to complete, sometimes even sign on his behalf and send out.

1. Samuel Richards, 'Stowlarytoft', Exmouth, to His Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin, Sloane Street, London  
16 March 1833

Long friendly letter thanking him for his response to a request about confirmation of which 'a need to attend to this matter in these parts and especially in our villages'. Also about Whately's writings and his new system of education in Ireland which Richards supports. Finally extending invitation to the Whatelys to visit.

2. Draft letter the Archbishop of Dublin to the Bishop of Kildare [Hon. Charles Dalrymple Lindsay, bishop of Kildare 1804-46]  
21 June 1833

Brief note to communicate his views (shared with the primate) on the 'Kildare resolutions', referring to opposition by Kildare clergy, and warning of repercussion of the Church presenting as a "Debating Society". Appears to concern the government's proposal to link the bishopric of Kildare to Dublin in the event of the next vacancy [which did not occur until Lindsay's death in 1846] – a suppression which Whately opposed.

3. S. Cork [Rt Revd Samuel Kyle (1770-1848, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross 1831-48), Cork, to Revd Charles Dickinson, 21 Baggot Street, Dublin  
3 February 1834

General business letter, communicating his views on the archbishop's proposed plan for tithe reform, on which he remarks 'personally indeed I have no tithe concerns', but he feels the loan scheme will be very complicated for clergy to administer.

Also on the issue of the Divinity Hall, he feels the current scheme is 'surrounded with many practical difficulties'. He goes into some detail on requirements for ordination and the bishop's examination, and then makes interesting comments on 'these days of clinical depression' and more scrutiny of candidates. In a 'PS' he

urges further enquiry on the 17<sup>th</sup> century Act of Settlement which made provision for the foundation 'of a new college'.

The letter concludes with other matters on his mind, including the abolition of the Board of First Fruits.

4. Draft letter to Miss Woodvill, 23 Mt Pleasant Terrace, Ranelagh [Dublin]  
11 September 1834

Seems a dictated letter [in an unidentified hand] in which the Archbishop responds in great detail, and with continuous reference to scripture, to the recipient's request for his opinion on a theological issue around sin, eternal death, and the need for faith.

5. Draft letter to Lord Morpeth with running title 'on the see lands'  
28 June 1835

This very detailed ten-page letter must be read in the context of Lord Morpeth's first Tithe Reform bill, which was opposed by many churchmen, including Whately, because, amongst other things, it threatened to tackle surplus church revenues, which might be appropriated and used for non-church purposes (Atkenson, *A Protestant in Purgatory*, p. 102). In this letter the archbishop outlines in great detail various properties belonging at the time to the see of Dublin; their respective rent charges; real values and letting values, and also demonstrates his concern to treat tenants fairly in any new arrangements. [for more on this issue see /2/3 below].

6. Three-way correspondence to, from and about the Revd Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841) between White, the archbishop and Mr Clemente de Zulueta [Spanish merchant and intellect, based in Liverpool, and member of the Socinian community which White joined].  
25 items  
12 January- 30 April 1835; 07 September 1835; and undated

White was Whately's friend from Oxford University who became tutor to the Whately children at Redesdale after his appointment to Dublin. Towards the end of 1834, his sudden and unexpected decision to embrace Socinian or Unitarian views, and withdraw to Liverpool, to join a Unitarian congregation was somewhat embarrassing for the archbishop given they had shared theological views up to that point. After White's withdrawal to Liverpool, the archbishop remained kind to his friend, sending him an annual remittance and keeping in touch in private, but refrained from any public engagement. It was previously speculated that following White's sudden death in 1841, when another Unitarian clergyman Hamilton Thom undertook to write a biography of this extraordinary man and his theology, things potentially became messy for the archbishop who demanded all of his considerable volume of letters to White and related papers be returned to him, which was duly carried out. However, what this three-way correspondence reveals is that the archbishop's efforts to dissuade White from putting his views in

print actually commenced when White was still alive. The letters on file here are principally between the archbishop and White's minder de Zulueta, which reveal a shared concern for the state of White's mental health. It also makes clear however that in spite of their interventions, White was determined to make his particular views on Christian belief known through publication and further dialogue.

The run is exclusively confined to 1835 - the year White left Dublin for Liverpool, and includes six highly personal letters from White to the archbishop, all which begin with the salutation: 'My dear Friend' dated 21 January 1835; 25 January 1835; and the 5, 18, 19, and 26 March 1835. Taken together with the archbishop's draft responses, the depths of their friendship and theological discussions are revealed as well as the archbishop's evolving concerns that 'B.W.' (as he is referred to in exchanges between Zulueta and the archbishop) is intending to put the record straight about these discussions in print.

White rebuffed these efforts, the first of his letters to the archbishop, being quite frank: 'after due consideration I think myself bound in Christian friendship and pure love to you, to beg you to consider the nature of the practical principle which you have adopted. I do not mean that you should not apply it to yourself, but that you should reflect before Him who is himself the Truth, whether you do well to discourage the honest profession of convictions, especially in matters of religion'. The letter goes on to defend being sceptical in the search for 'Truth'. White admits: 'I have a more sceptic mind than yours; I have less confidence in my own conclusions but I am under a constant sense of liability to error'.

Only a select number of the archbishop's responses to White were published in the official family version of his life: *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately DD*, by Jane Whately (2 volumes, London, 1866) – see volume 1 pp 250-289 while there is a small quantity in the Whately papers at Lambeth Palace Library. Thus, this small collection throws new insight into the dilemma that White's change of faith orientation caused his former employer and mentor. It represents more or less a continuous run between January and April 1835, with one additional item from September 1835. The file concludes with two undated cover pages which may have acted as cover notes on the collection to keep altogether, in date order.

7. True copy of letter from J. Berbeyer, Tamatave [Madagascar] to 'Monsieur' – the copy made by G. Grey [explorer and later Governor of New South Wales and New Zealand– see items /10, /14 and /15 below].  
22 April 1836

In French this letter describes a journey to Tamatavo, Madagascar by sea.

8. Two copy letters from the Archbishop 'Richard Dublin' to Lord Melbourne on the subject of the Church Temporalities Act.  
15 August and 29 August 1836

In the first as the archbishop's name has been introduced in the debate in the House of Lords in relation to the amendment of the Church Temporalities Act, the purpose of the letter is to communicate his view on the proposed amending clauses, into which he goes into some detail. The letter concludes: 'The Bill as now amended will remedy some inconsiderable inconsistencies, & is not as far as I can see open to any very considerable objection, even in matters of minor detail'.

In the second, he deals with the matter of publicity about the changes to the clauses, and makes clear he is not averse to 'superintendence and enquiry or publicity'. The letter goes into considerable detail on the workings and constitution of the Board, and protecting church funds. [See also 2/3/1 for more on this issue].

9. Run of ten fairly brief original letters being replies to Whately from other Irish and English bishops to the archbishop's request for their opinions on the matter of "Extemporary Prayers" which appear to confirm a preference for non-evangelical and controlled expressions of faith over spontaneous/unprepared and often lay-lead prayer.

9 items

1- 27 January 1837; 25 February 1837

Correspondents, in date order as follows: Lich & Cor; Exeter; Hereford [writing from Poet's Corner]; Derry; Ossory & Ferns; Worcester; Cork & Cloyne; St Asaph; Meath, Lincoln. In his letter, the bishop of Lichfield [the Rt Revd Samuel Butler] states his opinion 'as mildly' as he can, adding 'but it is very hard when dealing with a set of fanatics of whom a portion, perhaps a majority may be sincere but thorough fools'. [For more on extemporary prayer, see 2/2/ below].

10. Run of seven original letters from Whately at the Brunswick Hotel, London, and elsewhere in London to 'My dear D', the Revd Dr Dickinson, 21 Baggot St, Dublin, concerning political and church matters.

7 items

30 January-11 February 1837

Clearly attending the House of Lords, Whately corresponds with his trusted confident in these letters on a range of different issues of topical interest, including the Divinity Hall; tithe law reform; national education; church teaching including Popery and Lutheranism; the opinions of 'the Primate' [Lord John George Beresford, Archbishop of Armagh 1822-62] on various issues, as well as personal matters including the health and welfare of his wife and family. The last of the letters, 11 February 1837 mentions a young man called George Grey (whom Whately describes as 'Vignoles nephew' who has completed studying at Sandhurst College and heading to the Southern Seas describing him as 'a very intelligent young man & is picking up whatever hints he can. He hates penal colonies'. [George Grey (1819-1898) was the nephew of the Revd John Vignoles, minister at Dundalk. Following his education, he went on to lead an expedition of

Southern Australia, eventually becoming governor of New South Wales in 1841, and he later served as governor of New Zealand].

11. Two letters from Lord John Russell, Whitehall, London, relating to the affairs of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners and specifically his desire to promote the remarks of Mr Senior and Mr R.G. Lewis, which he trusts Whately will not object to having in circulation.  
2 items  
14 and 15 February 1837

Whately has annotated the second of these with some comments indicating that he was sharing the ideas with a trusted confidant – mostly likely Dickinson: ‘All of this you will see is confidential but I send it to show 1. That they will hear reason; 2. That somebody should be on the spot RW’.

12. Further run of ten original letters (including two forwarded letters from the bishops of Killaloe and Kildare) from ‘Rd. Dublin’ at various addresses in or near London: the House of Lords, Tunbridge Wells, to Revd Dr Dickinson 21 Baggot Street, Dublin, covering political issues before the House of Lords, and revealing Whately’s opinions on the views of individual ministers, lords and bishops. They further reveal his reliance on Dickinson to prepare statements, gather documents and other papers on his behalf, and in the case of the two letters from ‘Stephen Killaloe’ and ‘Charles Kildare’, in which both are discussing examinations and appointments, as well as political matters, the archbishop draws Dickinson’s attention to specific matters to be attended to.  
10 items  
3 March 1837 – 18 April 1837; and one undated item that fits into the sequence
13. Original letter from Edward Black, 28 Richmond Place, Circular Road North, Dublin, lawyer to ‘His Grace, the Abp of Dublin’ concerning a property dispute and petition to the parliament of Mr Wm Burgess of Villa Bank, Dublin, to settle accounts with Lord Herberton and the Archbishop.  
27 April 1837
14. File of original and copied correspondence either by or concerning missionaries including Revd David Johns, Port Louis Mauritius, George Baker, Sam Skipton and others connected with the London Missionary Society, about the persecution and protection of native Christians in Madagascar, with additional descriptions of life on the island.  
5 items  
9 September 1837-23 June 1838

The copied documents here all appear to have been made by George Grey. On one of his early voyages to Australia, Grey was shipwrecked and ended up back in Mauritius so this may time in with this copying activity. The file includes a petition signed by J. Berbeyer [see items 7/ and 10 above], and others representing the Malagasy Christians addressed to Dr Johns in exile in Mauritius, and a proposal paper entitled ‘Outline of a plan for education 40 or 50 natives of

Madagascar at the Mauritius' by David Johns and Edward Baker, Port Louis, 8 June 1838. There is also an original letter by John Tennent, Fine Point, to Grey, describing his arrival at Madagascar, and reviewing native troops. Given Whately's personal connection with George Grey [see 10/ above], Grey may have routinely copied documents to him for information.

15. Letter from George Grey, Swan River, Western Australia, to 'My Lord Archbishop' giving a detailed account of 'the natives of the North West Coast of this country'; together with a document entitled 'Proposals of Mr Louis Samson of London to send out artisans and labourers or servants to Western Australia', undated, and a copy of original letter sent from R. Torrens, South Australian Commissioners to 'My Lord Archbishop' seeking his advice on transportation undated [1837?].  
3 items  
1837; 31 January 1839

Grey's personal letter to the archbishop provides a graphic anthropological description of his efforts to study 'the character, customs and language of this race', reporting 'you will be glad to hear that the result of the experience I have thus gained is a perfect conviction that the Australians are capable of receiving a very high degree of civilizations, but I can conceive nothing worse adopted to attain this end than the system that has been pursued in this colony, and nothing more derogatory to the character of the British Nation than the cruelties that have been committed on them'.

The placing of the copy of the earlier letter seeking the archbishop's advice about transportation with Grey's letter and the related proposal may have been to provide context about the archbishop's views on this subject, as it shows he was among the first of the Lords to be contacted by the new commission of enquiry under Lord Molesworth to provide an opinion as to whether transportation may be 'regarded as a secondary punishment or as an experiment of colonization'.

16. Draft letter to 'My dear Hawkins' [Revd Dr Ernest Hawkins, Oriel College, Oxford] 'respecting the charge', 1840s, on general matters of faith and biblical instruction but also the charge of Romanish leanings. [see also item 2/5/2 below for more on this issue].  
10 September 1840
17. Copy letter to the bishop of Llandaff [ the Rt Revd Edward Coplestone], 'My dear Lord' again concerning the Romanish controversy and other issues.  
20 November 1840

As well as matters of Roman Catholic theology and shared concerns on Tractarianism, this letter also laments the difficulty of finding curates: 'due to the termination of the tithe war having enabled several rectors to keep curates who had been obliged [instead] to dismiss them.' The archbishop also has warm words of praise for his chaplain Dr Dickinson's appointment as the next bishop of

Meath: 'If I am any judge, they have sought the Empire without finding a fitter man. He also has the advantage or disadvantage ... of having acquired more than a 7-year apprenticeship' [as Whateley's chaplain]. Commenting and not holding back on the lamentable state of affairs in Meath, he goes on: 'He will have a great deal to do at first. There are portions of the diocese which had seen no confirmations for above 20 years! And the ordinations are I fear in an analogous state. If the people of England did but know the real state of many an Irish diocese they would be perfectly astonished that our Church continues to exist at all'.

18. Three letters from 'Edmund Limerick' [Rt Revd Edmund Knox (1773-1849), bishop of Limerick 1834-49] to my 'Dear Lord Bishop' which are clearly to the bishop of Meath, Most Revd Dr Dickinson, in which the former appeals to Meath to act as mediator in a misunderstanding with the archbishop, in which he complains 'the archbishop of Dublin's ...coolness of manner to me, [as if he] had taken some offence against me'.  
February, 16 March; 4 April 1841

This short exchange reveals that after his appointment to Meath, Dickinson remained a close confidant, and was recognised as such by others. The Bishop of Limerick is fawning in his praise: 'knowing as I do the friendship his Grace deservedly entertains for you I have taken the liberty with you, in the hope that you would dispel from his mind the prejudice I fear he may have imbibed against me'.

Two matters seem to be the root cause of the archbishop's dis-pleasure here: 'malicious and uninformed reports that have circulated against me, which Knox alleged came from the 'one unnamed source' – an individual which he was emphatic 'had madness in his family. His mother and sister died insane; he was occasionally deranged and threatened and nearly took my life'. Secondly there were alleged financial difficulties, which again Knox explains in detail, including a sudden absence from the diocese.

The bishop's faith in Dickinson's powers of persuasion are assuaged, for in the third and final letter of the exchange, in April 1841, Knox informs him: 'you have been the means of saving an innocent person from destruction'.

19. Copy letter of the Archbishop of Dublin to Lord Elliott, not in the archbishop's hand, and annotated 'Dr H' indicating perhaps it was penned by Revd Dr Hinds, who after Dickinson's departure for Meath may have assumed more of such duties.  
Dublin, 13 August 1842

This letter concerns national education and mentions the archbishop's communication with the Bishop of Toronto relative to the application of the Education System there, commenting 'He will have the Reports and the school-books to judge for himself. If he has the public spirit to judge wisely with a view to the benefit of the colony, and not that of a particular church, section, or party, I think he will see little or nothing to alter in our system'. In a confidential PS, he

gives a very high opinion of an unnamed gentleman and his advocacy for 'the board', in spite of the 'distrust and dislike with which he is regarded by a large proportion of the Irish Clergy', which ought not to be regarded.

20. 'Extract from letter from the archbishop to Provost Hawkins of Oriel' College [Oxford] relative to Tractarianism and double doctrine, and the fallacies of same  
22 April 1843
21. Original letter from E. Norwich [Rt Revd Edward Stanley, bishop of Norwich 1837-47] 38 Lower Brook St to His Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin  
3 May 1843

Returns a 'proof sheet' [no longer present] with a few 'trifling alternations or queries' for the archbishop's consideration on something one or other is writing on education.

22. Run of mostly draft outward letters of the archbishop and his draft 'charge', but also some incoming correspondence and other notes, collectively entitled: 'Correspondence on the New York Ordination Case – Archbishop of Dublin', chronicling Whately's concerns about and response to the recent ordination of a Revd Carey (who had known Tractarian sympathies) for the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States in the diocese of New York.  
10 items  
12 November 1843- 6 April 1844

The original provocation for Whately's robust and detailed response to this issue appears to have been a pamphlet or statement published by Drs Smyth and Arnold, both Oxford theologians and Tractarianites, which gave rise to his initial concerns about the 'inter-communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the U.S.'. This led to him entering into direct communication with the Revd Dr McVicker, Professor of Theology at Columbia College, New York, who supported Carey's ordination. In these papers, Whately argues categorically that this position was indefensible: 'if a member of any Church separate from Rome should come to the conviction that the separation was unjustifiable, and that in the points of issue that Church was right, or not materially wrong, this man has cut away the foundation on which his own Church and its enactments and appointments must stand, and is, by his own shewing, in a state of sinful schism till he shall have submitted to and joined the Romish Church'.

The file contains further exchanges with these theologians directly; two drafts of Whately's outline of the case and his 'charge' or response to it, and also the first dated letter to appear in this collection addressed to 'My Dear W.' or 'West' being Canon John West (1805-1890), who succeeded Dr Dickinson as vicar of St Ann's parish in 1841, and succeeded him as Whately's next chaplain.

Dated the 4 April 1844, and sent to 'Revd Dr West, Herbert Place, Dublin' it reveals an intimate working relationship and trust between the two and also the Revd Dr Hinds who is mentioned in despatches, and demonstrates how

documents and copy documents were shared and passed around, sometimes the copied version being sent out simply with Whately's signature. So in relation to the abstract of correspondence with McVickar, and Whately's intention to bring the matter to a conclusion, he expresses hope that the draft he has sent to West is approved 'by you and Hinds etc, [but] if not send back my rough copy with alterations; at any rate you must send back my rough copy of letter to McV, or rather keep that and send me a fair copy of it wh I may sign and send. He will hardly care for my employing a man'.

The letter referred to above appears to be the last one in the file, in which Whately points out to McVickar that he does 'not pretend to any right of interference with the decisions of another Church. I only wish to satisfy myself whether I can with a safe conscience continue to admit, as I have heretofore done, clergymen of your Church in inter-communion'.

23. Draft [possibly in West's hand – see above] of archbishop's letter, from Dublin, to 'His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury' on the subject of 'occasional forms of prayer or thanksgiving'.  
17 October 1846

In this the archbishop expresses the view that 'there ought to be a power lodged with the sovereign' of authorising the use of such prayers for as things stand he believes that the Act of Uniformity and other legalities of the church are not just undermined but violated and broken by current uses of occasional forms and other customs, not governed by the Book of Common Prayer. Proposes a bill to introduce such authority. [For further on this issue see 2/3 below].

24. Original letter taking the form of a 'to do list' from the archbishop to 'My dear West' on which the latter (or someone else) subsequently drew a line through each item as it was dealt with.  
24 May 1847

Again this letter gives a telling insight to the trustful working relationship between the archbishop, with Drs West and Hinds, opening with these remarks: 'I will not decide positively about the Archdeaconry till you shall consulted [sic.] with Hinds, whom you will see this week. Your last suggestion seems a plausible one. You and he and Dr W. can talk over that and the other proposals'. Other issues covered concern 'the Ld Lt's chaplain; the archbishop's forthcoming meeting with Lord Clarendon [who] sails tomorrow; the distribution of Indian meal – presumably to the archbishop's tenants to whom he directed that 'the Indian meal to be divided as usual. And my share you may dispose of to the several concerned at yr discretion viz: the Sackville St; the Ladies'; the Mendicity and the Parochial...'. There is reference to an unspecified SPCK pamphlet to which the archbishop has included 'my proposed amendments'; an unspecified complaint; comments on a bill going through parliament; a parish enquiry report; his dislike of 'that Mr Smith as Sillery's substitute' but with an addendum if 'no other can be found, I suppose you must give him leave' and finally he send 'P. Scope's attack on me; wh. you may send to the *Mail* or the *Packet* to answer if

they think fit. I have not read it. He is a man of just enough intent to be mischievous’.

25. Archbishop signing himself ‘Yours ever RD’ [again probably from London as it refers to political proceedings and the trials of being in London] to ‘My dear West’  
18 June 1847

This letter begins with two reprimands and reveals the archbishop’s close scrutiny and direction of West. He notes the letter West sent before was overweight, and then launches into complaining about ‘the load of distracting business I have to do without assistance’. When in Dublin its possible to cover such business in a few hours, but here he emphasises: ‘the details of each matter on wh you send me brief heads’. He elaborates: ‘you should send me not joints of raw meat for me to cook first and then carve, but meat not only ready – dressed, but cut up into mouthfuls. I did not know there was any hurry about Todd’s College. You sent me a long list of statues, wh I have not had time to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. But I wd have sent an answer immediately if I had known what the licence is for? Is the institution anything more than a school? Does every school need a licence? What is to be the form of the licence? Does the granting of it imply a sanction etc etc etc ...’.

His bad-tempered rant then ends, and he tones things down: ‘I have no objection to West! having Tipperkevin [ canonry in St Patrick’s cathedral to which Augustus William West – no relation of John West was appointed in 1847] and with regard to another canonry – that of Howth, he comments ‘if you think Stavely equal to [it]’ [in 1847 the Revd Robert Stavely was appointed to this canonry].

Turning to matters political, the archbishop comments on answers in both houses of parliament relative to the Board [presumably of national education]; then briefly comments on ‘Miss Julie’s account of the palace’, and refers to a bust of Bishop Copleston’s to be placed ‘on a stand between the windows’ in the palace drawing room. A ‘PS’ notes intended action on an irritating political matter: ‘I have seen Mr Blake, who is most indignant at the weakness of McDonnell, Corballis and Henry. He means to speak his mind upon it to Ld Clarendon. So shall I’.

26. Draft with annotations of the archbishop’s letter to ‘the bishop of Norwich’ [Rt Revd Edward Stanley] on the Jew Bill’, being his detailed argument against the ‘legal exclusion’ of Jews from Parliament’, to which he adds that ‘removal of disabilities should not be a triumph over Xtianity but a triumph of Xtian principles’.  
June 1849

Part of the text of this letter is published in *The Life of Archbishop Whately* vol 2 pp 148-151, but this item is the complete draft with annotations in red, which do not appear in that volume.

27. Copies of two letters from the Archbishop, Palace, to 'My dear Lord Chancellor' [Canon John West] marked 'Private', 1 and 5 March 1850, with West's response to the first, on 4 March 1850, concerning the proposed withdrawal of books from the list of reading material sanctioned by the National Education Board, by Archbishop Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. It appears to suggest tensions between the two archbishops, and a presumed right of veto of the latter. 4 items [including two copies of the first of the archbishop's letters, suggesting they were circulated]  
1 March; 4 March, 5 March 1850

Whately's views are made clear in the first communication on the file: 'when a book has been thus adopted – when we have paraded our list before the public & when on the view of that list of books, hundreds have braved obloquy and ill-will in placing schools under us, it wd be no other than a fraud to withdraw the permission to use those books'. After further very detailed accounts on Christian reasoning, he concludes the second thus: 'My mind therefore is fully made up & would be even if I did not foresee as strongly as I do, the evil consequences – not to concede the first step towards abandonment of the principle on which we originally started'.

28. Copy letter signed R. Dublin, Dublin, to Lord Denman regarding Whately's views on the marriage-laws, with particular reference to re-marriage of in-laws, and forbidden types of marriage under what he refers to as 'the mosaic law'.  
22 February 1853
29. Draft of letter to Mrs Hill, Cork [one of Whately's trusted lay confidants and assistant in many of his literary labours, according to the official biography, *Life of Archbishop Whately*, vol. 2 pp 170-171]  
29 August 1855  
This item is two foolscap pages concerning aspects of church teaching, annotated 'on election and reprobation', which deals with truth and falsehood, making comparisons of Christian, Unitarian and Roman teaching, but also specific comments on the 'Tractites'.
30. Draft letter to unknown recipient in the archbishop's hand referring to a lady whom he does not know and her views on a sermon he wrote 30 years ago, and further comments on Roman Catholic teaching.  
21 October 1856

On the R. Church, he observes: 'The R. Church is but a picture, on a grand scale of what every party is in a minor degree.'

31. Draft copy letter marked 'confidential' signed 'Rd. Dublin' [London?] to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland [Viscount Morpeth] regarding the appointment by government of a 'diocesan schoolmaster for the Diocese of Dublin', which he regards as a mistake, as he finds that 'all precedent is in favour of the appointment to the office ... being in the archbishop'.  
29 September 1857

The letter refers to the appointment of ‘the late Mr Corcoran’ ; the fact that the clergy desire no advantage from a diocesan school and the related costs and taxes associated with such an institution, with the result that he did not ‘on Mr Corcoran’s death appoint any successor, nor have I any wish to do so’.

## **1/2 Undated original correspondence to the archbishop’s chaplain, Revd Dr Charles Dickinson**

The first 15 of the 18 items in this file are from the archbishop to his trusted chaplain, and whilst undated apart from two envelopes for 1837 (the content of which could not be matched to the other materials) probably fit into a narrow timeframe in the late 1830s and certainly before Dickinson became bishop of Meath in December 1840. Unfortunately all are undated but from the general issues discussed fit into the general run of correspondence with Dickinson above (covering 1836-37). Again, their content conveys the sense of trust and esteem in which Dickinson was held by Whately. There is also one odd letter to Dickinson not from the archbishop, but someone called ‘Corcoran’, at an unidentified address (simply ‘Newtown House’) about diocesan business (unfortunately not in a diocese evident from the content) but the tone of which further confirms Dickinson’s role as the archbishop’s special confidant.

1. ‘RD’ to ‘My dear D’  
Undated except for ‘Monday’

Appears to commence on the subject of clergy discipline, as he explains how the bishop of London ‘exacts a written promise from every candidate that he will serve the curacy he is admitted to for 2 years, unless he leaves it for another cure with his permission!’ Mentions a Mr Hardy, and his peculiar case as he knows him ‘to be an honest man and really weak in health’, and hopes he and his family can be assisted from the Relief Fund.

Continuing the letter, he turns to a different topic, using the distinctive phrase ‘By the bye’ which features in many of his letters. He has seen an extract from the *Record* about non-residence at Ballymore Eustace [diocese of Glendalough and county Kildare] which he defends on the grounds that it does not have a glebe house. He then recommends some reading for Dickinson’s ‘proposed hoax’ including ‘Sydney Smith’s pamphlet’. Finally he mentions he has ‘no news of the Southlanders’ [perhaps reference to those travelling in the southern hemisphere: see items 1/7, 10, 14 and 15] and a PS asks: ‘would Eustace or another of the equally good masters be tempted to take Holesworth School (now vacant) €45 & a house with good opportunities of private instruction out of school hours?’

2. ‘RD’ to ‘My dear D’  
Undated except for ‘Monday’

Forewarning him he means ‘to send you today the rough sketch, just finished, of my reply to the lay memorial. He then proceeds to demonstrate how Dickinson

and others were entrusted to complete it and send it with his signature: 'It was written by scrimps at various snatches of time; & I really have not time and attention to spare to revise it so I must beg you and Wilson to draw up one from it & have it transcribed and sent, with my signature (wh I enclose) attached [the item is no longer present]...Don't send it back or let me hear any more of it, unless you think there is any thing ... to be added. You may as well send it with another copy of the address of the archdeacons and clergy of the injunction adding a PS to say so. It strikes me that the memorialists will not like to publish an answer themselves'.

On other matters, he details various other circulars to be sent. Then comments: '[Nassau] Senior says my speech was very ill-reported in the Times', and continues with remarks about newspaper coverage of whatever was the subject of debate - unfortunately not clear from this letter. Finally he mentions difficult business with Mr Burgess, who appears to have threatened him with legal action in their ongoing dispute [see 1/1/13 above], and finally lists ongoing meetings he is to have with various political figures including Ld Holland, Carlisle and Stanley, as well as other bishops.

3. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Monday'

Writing from Kensington, the archbishop first outlines what he 'thought of doing for the Divy. College' [Divinity College], which he specifies as follows: to get 'a royal Charte, wh I might keep in my pocket till the time might suit. By the bye, is there in Dublin a copy of the one that was penned?' Then apparently on a completely different issue, he mentions receipt of a letter from Lady Osborne with the wry comment: 'It never rains by it pours', as she is 'still full of the notion that you led young Penr. [possibly Pennefeather – see item /18 below] into a mistake of my meaning. It is O'B [O'Brien –see also item /18 below] that poisons the minds of the Ps [Protestants]. Then turns to various theological tracts and matters of reading. Finally a PS notes 'Colquhoun is just gone. He came to make a sort of apology for having been in communication with the bishop of Exeter.' The same man is to be summoned as a witness to the Commission [on education?] where Whately again wryly adds 'I will promise the Comm/ with some of the stiff questions for him'.

4. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Tuesday'

Short letter advising Dickinson that his last letter and papers have been received. Further [Mr?] Blake is to come in today' when Whately hopes 'for some sport', having yesterday made a speech 'against Ld Salisbury, which Blake did not like [is this Mr Blake, Roman Catholic commissioner on education?, see 1/5/1 above]. Whately adds: 'he is a longknived [sic.] Welshman to come in and cut the throat of any one whom the Bp may have dismounted in his charge.' Notes various people who have been appointed to the Commission including the Duke of

Norfolk. The letter continues that he has 'left his answer to the lay memorial at the Irish Office' and finally he asks his friend 'how is the lumbago?'

5. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Wed.'

Hopes he received parcel via Carlisle O'Kelly. Mr Blake is to travel slowly with his lady. Outlines various items in it including 'a printed copy of the lay memorial from Mr Monck Mason [attorney?] who says the original document shall be sent as I direct', and that he will further answer soon. On the issue of 'The: College' he has sent the papers to the Bp of Kildare?. Letter ends with brief PS: 'Influenza still in the children'.

6. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Wednesday'

Advises Dickinson will have enquiry from 'Mr Johnson (Sir A's son) ... about the Board of Ch Bequests', and he is to get somebody to give out the information sought. Encloses letter from M. Mason and his reply [neither item present]. Reports he is trying 'to get O'Connell to second the motion of a select committee [on poor law?] while tomorrow he will dine with the Duke of Norfolk, in which context he alludes to a plan 'to being to endow RC priests by private gifts ... as ministers of religion.' Turning then to a completely different subject, he comments on lessons to be translated into Chinese and the liberalisation of the Emperor and Empress of China.

7. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Wed.'

This letter covers various items of business and personal health of Mrs Whately and his family. But there is also a specific comment on 'the RC attacks' which the archbishop does not fear much from believing instead that: 'They will rather aid the reaction among the Protestants. The Priests I think cannot, now, if they wd, stop the system and if they pull too hard they will either break the rein or stretch it'. There is more on various theological writings, and also a comment that he has been informed by Blake 'they have a site for the school at Kilmacud [county Dublin]'

8. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Thursday'

Does not understand what Dickinson means about Lushington, and asks: 'have the clergy any reliance on a man who made the motion about the bishops?' Whoever the Lushington is, he has the archbishop most perplexed, as he continues by warning: 'there are so many Lushingtons, of all possible vanities and shades of politics that it is a perpetual source of perplexity. He then turns to another, perhaps domestic matter about Miss Peterson not embracing an idea they had for her pictures, about which the archbishop advises: 'suppose you ask West: he

seemed to take to the idea & he can write I think in good plain didactic style'. After brief comments about sermon writing, he then advises: 'I am going to bring out the three vols of essays, as proposed with Fellow's concurrence', and outlines four opinions they will cover on the themes of "Thoughts on the Sabbath" and "Abolition of the Law", going into some detail about these and a sermon on "conscience".

9. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Thursday'

Letter enclosed a document for 'Burgess' [not present] with his answer [see 1/1/13 and 1/2/2 above, which Dickinson is directed to deal with 'according to your discretion', and that you further may 'tell Dr Reade from me, if you think fit, that I am surprised to find the negotiation with Mr Disney does not advance'. Then to matters political, and specifically reform of national education, he has learned from [Nassau] Senior that 'Bp Philpott's speech' is covered in the Examiner. Here Whately becomes sarcastic: finding the article to be: 'suffering forth the fallacy of his reasonings eg the masters not trained at the model school are a very bad set: therefore the model school training is bad; the commissioners are in communication with Priests; some of the priests are violent political partisans (a thing unheard of among Protestant clergy; these go to dinner when O'Connel [sic.] makes speeches therefore the Commissioners are responsible for O'Connel's politics Q.E.D.'. Concludes advising that Dickinson is to 'let West send over at once one or two articles as soon as finished' so that Whately may show them to Parker. The influenza still prevails but 'we are better than I could have hoped'.

10. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Thursday'

Confirms he has received Dickinson's 'last and the 2 Saunders' [Newsletters]. Encloses a note for Burgess [no longer present] [see 1/2/9 above] and again advises Dickinson to use his discretion: 'you had better have a witness by when you see him'.

Turning to politics, advises some reading in the Aeneid, describing a battle which 'conveys a most exact idea of the battle between Ph. and Blake. Dart after dart was hurled with exquisite still and force' [see 1/2/4 above]. He then turns to dealing with the Australians and something of his which has appeared in the newspapers: 'I only wish the readers may enjoy as hearty a laugh as I did & then will think they have their 5 shillings worth. But sometimes a man has all the laugh to himself at his own jokes & sometimes again he says something which makes every body laugh except himself.' He comments about a paragraph [presumably in print] about the Bp of Killaloe and himself which was he comments, 'like many others, a fib, but, unlike many others, a harmful one' [see 1/5/1 below]. He will dine with the Duke of Norfolk, and having seen the old bishop of Norwich knows it will be for the last time, as he is dying. Finally the letter concludes with

gardening matters and cuttings and birds[?] for distribution amongst various gardeners, especially Dr Croker.

11. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Friday'

Dickinson is advised in this letter that a pamphlet is coming from the Castle to Dickinson for Lady Osborne, which the former is to 'read & seal & send to her by a Govt. frank'. Another letter is enclosed [no longer present] from Burgess, which Whately wonders might be sent to Ld Harberton. He has shared his reply on this with Mrs W. [which is not a usual occurrence for matters of his business].

He then mentions a cleric, 'Denison', whom he describes as 'a conscientious parish minister'; and then of Jessop, of whom he has 'been literally crying about...Of all the men I have ordained if I had had to keep but one. I wd have chosen him'. [In 1842, Revd Robert Jessop, incumbent of Carysfort, Dublin became minister in Portland Chapel Bath] There is more about Blake and the bishop [of Killaloe?] the latter whose actions 'disgust all the Commissioners'.

12. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Sat'

Brief note stating Dickinson was right to add the Sabbath to some document they are discussing. Then to matters political, he has advised Ld Melbourne to appoint an Irishman to the Education Committee. Also that Carlilse is to write on Whately's advice and anonymously a pamphlet on the P.L. Bill. More on Blake, and Dr Reade.

13. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated except for 'Sat'

Brief letter on political matters including 'the P. L. Bill is likely to be altered into one for the blind, cripple etc'.

14. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated and only PS part of a letter

Advising Dickinson that following a third letter from Mr Burgess, he, Whately, 'must decline entering into correspondence with him', and has referred him to Dickinson.

15. 'RD' to 'My dear D'  
Undated and only PS part of a letter

Noting Ld Lansdowne's suggestion of the importance of 'summoning as a witness one or two Protestant clergymen who have been in the habit of attention national schools and giving religious instruction to the children of [their] own instruction'

and that Whately gave him the name of Dean Burgh. Asks Dickinson if he can think of any others.

16. 'RD' to 'My dear D'

Undated and only last three pages of a letter

Various random business: views of English bishops; pamphlet to Lady Osborne; does Dickinson know about the 'Jew petition'; do 'Carlisle and Dr Murray know anything about the Kilmacud school? Spirals out about sermon writing and theological views.

17. Envelope addressed from 'Rd Dublin, London', to Revd Dr Dickinson, 21 Baggott St. Dublin, 6 February 1837  
No content

18. Envelope addressed from 'Rd Dublin, London' to do. , 6 March 1837  
No content but annotation mentions 'Thoughts on poor law in Ireland, wood, Poppin's Court, Fleet Street'.

19. 'Corcoran, Newtown House' [layman, possibly diocese of Limerick] to 'My Dear Sir', the Revd Dr Dickinson  
Undated except for '3<sup>rd</sup> April'

In this original letter to Dickinson, whoever Corcoran is thanks him for accepting his recommendation of William Archer Butler who 'will be of great use to us in helping to put things on a right footing in the diocese and I hope before long ... will do with you and the archbishop...I shall have the greatest of pleasure in telling every body the part you have acted towards my young friend in hopes that it may contribute to do away the ill with which you have unwittingly acquired as the supposed advisor of the Archbishop'. Also goes into some detail about another cleric 'young Pennefeather' and successful efforts to get him into the diocese, especially as he disapproved of 'Home Mission'. Then goes into some detail about this man, his associate Mr Jebb and the Home Mission issue. A 'Ps' makes a recommendation for a son of the late Edward O'Brien, Henry O'Brien, recently at Cambridge, who would be 'a nice person for us' and given his role as 'an active, kind visitor among the poor ...a country curacy the thing for him'. Finally mentions his family connections with the O'Brien's of Dromoland Castle.

### 1/3 Undated original correspondence to his chaplain, Canon John West

Picking up from the odd items that are dated to West in the first run of chronological correspondence [see items 1/1/22, 23, 24 and 27] above, this section provides additional evidence of the trusted and robust relationship between the archbishop and the second of his domestic chaplains.

1. 'Yours ever RD', Kensington, to 'My dear West'  
27 May [possibly 1842, when Dr Hinds, to whom it refers was appointed to the parish of Castleknock in Dublin]

From London, the archbishop informs West that his former domestic chaplain, Revd Dr Hinds [who had resigned from this role in 1833 to return to England] 'has left me for a week'. Hinds had just been offered a parish by the bishop of Lincoln at the same time as that of Castleknock [to which parish he became rector in December 1842]. The archbishop comments that the English parish was 'somewhat better than Castleknock' but Hinds has turned it down in favour of returning to Dublin, more or less on the grounds that he couldn't leave Whately again, who writes 'to leave me a second time was more than he cd bring himself to. Dickinson I think wd have stuck to me from the Equator to the Pole. But such attachment as his one cannot expect to meet with often'.

He mentions examining various clergy for their suitability as chaplains and individual treatment – depending on their individual attributes: 'Irvine having been examined by me shall have letters dissmry [dismissory] ...but Baker's case is very different. He must be examined and reported on by some of you, first, and then I will take into consideration what you recommend'. He further advises some of the clergy should apply [presumably for positions] to the bishop of Kildare: 'These have occurred to me, of those not my chaplains, D'Joly, Stanford, Shannon, Hurst, Kennedy. But I would rather have Dr Wilson, or you, than to apply straight myself, because you cd say with truth what is your individual feeling on the subject, in addition to what you know of mine.

On other matters he has 'not thought about the scotch Kirk case' and mentions 'the great stir about the Bp of Norwich's sermon which denounced the Tractite views of [?] succession'. He will present the 'petition of the clergy about poor-rates but I find government decidedly opposed to them; saying that any more favourable arrangement cd produce increased discontent in the English clergy'.

2. 'RW' to 'My dear West'  
'Monday' undated [but possibly 1843 as it refers to Mr [Revd William] Maturin's appointment to Grangegorman, where he became perpetual curate in 1843].

After commenting briefly on a Mr Darley's recommendation of Maturin for Grangegorman parish [in Dublin] and the archbishop's willingness to consent to

it, he paints a general and most interesting picture of how people in England are viewing Ireland and Irish politics. This reveals that he was not the English archbishop in Dublin, but rather better informed and empathetic with Irish sensitivities:

‘People are beginning to be a little alarmed about Ireland; tho’ without more knowledge or judgement on the subject that they have usually coined. Here is a specimen: I was talking to a clergyman at the S.P.G. about the question of Bangor and St Asaph & the proposed vesting of Kildare; he asked me “by the bye, what is done with the resources of the suppressed sees? Does it go to the augmentation of poor livings? Or what?” & when I told him, he learnt for the first time that there is no church-cess in Ireland. Yet this man say joined in petitioning against the Church Temps Act. Again, a county gentleman, who has taken considerable part in politics, was saying to me the other day “by the bye are they not going to have a poor-law in Ireland”? !!!’

Whately then offers his solution to the overall problem: ‘If they wd 1<sup>st</sup> recast the P. Law; 2<sup>nd</sup>ly extend the N. Edn & 3<sup>rd</sup>ly (as soon as the first interval of tranquillity occurs) pay the priests, Ireland wd be permanently pacified. But the English know little and care less about the matter’.

He continues the letter about his efforts to relieve the parish of St Ann’s [Dublin] –where West served as vicar from 1841 to 1851, from the burden of vestries and deserted children. As a major inner-city parish in Dublin, and in the absence of a functioning Foundling Hospital, it appears St Ann’s bore the brunt of responsibility for welfare and foundling children. On the general topic of making parishes responsible for deserted children Whately makes this observation: ‘as there is no law, so there is still less of equity in saddling the parish in which the child is dropped; since there is every reason to suppose that at least [is] not the parish of the parents. If a law were passed that every parish in Ireland shd contribute toward the support of a foundling except the one where it is found, that wd be one degree less unjust than the reverse’.

He makes some final comments about circulating his views in the newspapers in Dublin, and also for the restoration of the see of Kildare.’

3. ‘Yours ever RD’ to ‘My dear West’

‘Wed. 9’ [No year]

Relatively short letter mentioning ‘paper of rules which I have submitted to Bp Stanley; and requesting West to ‘send 2 or 3 of the parochial v.s. [vacancy?] papers to Revd Geo. Clarke, Hastings’.

A Ps notes ‘Hinds just arrived and looking well’.

4. Empty envelope addressed to ‘Revd Dr West, Palace, Dublin’ and dated 3<sup>rd</sup> May, but no year and no letter enclosed.

## **1/4 Other undated copies of outward correspondence drafted by the archbishop**

1. Letter signed 'Rd Dublin' to the Revd Ludlow, London, from the Archbishop, 'February 3<sup>rd</sup>, Sunday evening' concerning a fund 'for contributions towards the erection of school-houses in those very poor districts of Ireland which are in especial want of them, and which could not otherwise obtain a government grant'. This goes into a lot of detail about donors and comparisons with what Ludlow is trying to achieve in his diocese.  
Undated
2. Copy letter signed 'Rd Dublin' to Mr Littbetter and Mr Spring Rice' marked 'private' and 'April 9<sup>th</sup>', in which the archbishop states out the case where property should be restored to any parish in which in the future 'the Protestants may increase'. May be linked to Church Temporalities bill? Contains interesting comments about the 'dread' of the Protestant people about declining numbers and fears that the 'R.C. will make it a point of honor...to keep down the number of Protestants'.  
Undated
3. Letter signed 'With kind regards yours most truly RD', which opens 'It is my lot to run my head against every hard port I meet. The Abp of Dublin addressed the House 3 times: 1<sup>st</sup> against scriptural education; 2<sup>nd</sup> against the Protestant establishment; 3<sup>rd</sup> against a Xn. Legislature. On these bells the charges will be rung against me without ceasing'. He reveals his frustration that such abuse is hurled against one who merely tries to reason: 'was not our Lord run down in like manner for speaking against Moses, the Temple and Ceasar?' The letter concludes that he hopes to 'present the Kildare petition on Monday', depending on the bishop of London presenting his petition.  
Undated
4. Letter addressed to 'My dear Lord', signed 'Your Lordship's faithful humble servant, Rd. Dublin', referring to Senior and Lewis's comments on a specific but not named report; referring to various matters in that report before the Board of Education, and final decisions on the merits of the report still to be made. Also refers to Mr Blake's expected travel to England. Concludes by asking recipient to sound out one or two the other commissioners as he feels 'in a delicate situation when acting as sole representative of the Board'.  
Undated
5. Letter to 'My dear Lord' from 'Palace, Dublin' which appears to be to the trustees of the heir of the 'late Lord Herbert' concerning the latter's 'hearty co-operation' to provide a site for a new church 'on the Dublin mile of the Dodder River in the neighbourhood of the village of Ball's Bridge, which has within the last two years been laid out for building and is with an intensifying regularity becoming covered with first-class house and likely before another year to be fully occupied'.

The church must be St Bartholomew's, eventually located on Clyde Road, following the donation of a site by the Earl of Pembroke, which was consecrated on 23 December 1867. The archbishop makes clear his shared desire with Lord Herbert 'to meet the religious requirements of the expected population of the District', and goes into some detail about the sanction and promise by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to 'build a church to accommodate 500 persons' which he feels too small, and his preference not to burden the existing parochial structures within this part of Dublin but to have a separate building fund 'upon the proportionary principle'.

Undated [but must be 1860s?]

6. Scrap draft of letter to 'Dear Mr Mahaffy' [John Pentland Mahaffy, Fellow and later Provost of Trinity College Dublin (1839-1919) of whom Whately was a great admirer] written in either a very poor hand or the hand of another [possibly his son Edward Whately]. It opens with a: 'Thank you for all the kindness, friendship, thought thro the gate of death', adding 'a hare is not killed till its ... throat is cut'; mentions various ex-Columbians [students of St Columba's College] and connections with St Patrick's.

Undated

## **1/5 Undated inward correspondence addressed to the archbishop**

1. A.R. Blake [Roman Catholic Commissioner for National Education] to 'My dear Lord Archbishop', writing at 'K.P. [Kildare Place?] 6 o'clock pm' [according to the official biography, vol 1, p. 342, Whately held Blake in high esteem and they had a good working relationship.

Undated

A 'PS' note reveals they were in very regular contact as Blake concludes 'I propose writing again tomorrow'.

The reason for this hasty letter is that Blake has met 'the Bishop of Killaloe on his coming away from the Commission' and reports that the latter 'would have a Church of England education and no other – was opposed to the Kildare Place System – committed tying to Irish children from the school which he was the clerical instructor and to crown all, said he would not give religions instruction to the masters in training, lest by doing so he should promote the efficiency of the system'. Mentions the examination of Mr Arthur, and only has 'time to add' that he remains 'most faithfully yours'.

2. Charles Daubeny [Botanist and Professor of Chemistry and Botany at Oxford University, 1834-67] to 'My dear lord archbishop' .

Undated

Acknowledges the archbishop's 'liberal donation' to the Botanic Garden at Oxford University, improvement of which is possible only through the contributions such as his. Hopes to have the opportunity of seeing him in Dublin in August.

## **2/ Other papers and correspondence related to specific issues**

### **2/1 Papers concerning the archbishop's grand plan to establish a Divinity Hall or College independent of Trinity College Dublin, for the separate training of clergy. 16 items; 1834-1840; undated**

This ambitious plan rankled with the authorities in Trinity College Dublin, where divinity training had long been provided for since the College's foundation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The papers here include copies of documents and letters related to the plan, including detailed insight to the archbishop's thinking on the matter which the file reveals originated from his frustration at the delay for many candidates between the time they had completed their prescribed course in divinity and graduated from either Trinity College or Oxford or Cambridge universities, before finally being ordained. Whately's idea was to keep the students occupied, by obtaining 'further means of instruction and improvement' in 'practical duties' which he felt a tailor-made Divinity Hall was best suited to provide. The file also includes the draft charter for the proposed new institution, and a very telling original letter to his friend and confidant Dr Dickinson, the newly appointed bishop of Meath, about the difference of opinion on the matter that had ensued with the archdeacon of Clogher, the Venerable John Russell, who was related by marriage to Dickinson, but which was resolved through Dickinson's influence resulting in a deep apology by Russell, who complimented how Whately's intended reforms had improved the standards of divinity training within the university.

1. Original signed memorial, with copy of same, from the Provost and certain Fellows of Trinity College Dublin to the archbishop, opposing the proposed college viewing it as 'a corporation unconnected with the university...yet having as its object those already provided for in our existing foundation', and thus likely to interfere with 'one of the principal objects for which Trinity College was founded.  
Undated [January 1834]
2. Part of letter signed Bar. Lloyd, [Bartholomew Lloyd, Provost of Trinity] Provost's House, to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, offering a conciliatory message that the college's objections 'are not founded in jealousy' but merely practicality that divinity training is already provided for. [Perhaps this letter accompanied the original memorial, as above?].  
6 January 1834
3. Copy of extract of the archbishop's letter to Lord Grey [Prime Minister] in answer to Grey's of the 19<sup>th</sup> January, for an act to formally establish the proposed new college.  
21 January 1834

4. Letter from the Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Phoenix Park, regarding the three-way discussions with the Primate of All Ireland [Lord John George Beresford, Archbishop of Armagh 1822-62] on the issue. A 'PS' to this letter indicates Wellesley is 'putting into the Attorney General's hands [His] Grace's draft of the charter of the proposed college.  
3 May 1834  
[Note this item has unfortunately been annotated in relatively recent times in biro with cover notes about the general content of this collection of papers relative to the College]
5. Document entitled 'Copy of reply' being the archbishop's very detailed reply to the memorial received from Provost and Fellows [see item 2/1/1] above), sent to the Provost from London.  
18pp  
16 May 1834
6. Original letter from 'Thos. Ferns' [the Rt Revd Thomas Elrington, bishop of Ferns 1822-35], The Palace Ferns to 'The Lord Archbishop of Dublin, St Stephen's Green, Dublin, to be forwarded forthwith', in which he muses on the advantages of the proposed college, but adds a warning about the 'serious proceedings in the University of Dublin', and urges Whately to consider how far it 'may be expedient to pursue a plan oppose by those without whose co-operation it could not be successful'.  
20 May 1834
7. Legal opinion about the advantages of locating the new Divinity Hall at St Sepulchre's, the former Palace for Dublin, Tallaght, county Dublin, and its scope for training for the entire archdiocese of Dublin.  
7pp  
Undated, [probably 1834 or 1835]
8. Loose pages of notes on 'the advantages which will arise from having the contemplated college in a building distinct from Trinity College' - again concerning the proposed siting at Tallaght.  
4pp  
Undated, [probably 1834 or 1835]
9. Draft charter for 'The Royal Divinity Hall of Queen Victoria, Dublin', presumably as drafted by the archbishop himself [see item 2/1/4 above]. Undated but annotation indicates it was amended by N. Ball [attorney] on 10 February 1839, who made some alterations to it 'to meet what I presume is the intention of the Archbishop of Dublin' and asking for further clarification about whether the governing body is to consist of trustees alone or trustees with the principal and vice-principal.  
10 February 1839

10. Document entitled 'Abstract of the object and charter of the new divinity college, contemplated by the Archbishop of Dublin' being a draft in the archbishop's hand of his intentions for the new college, and dealing with matters of governance. Undated [but possibly after 10 February 1839, in response to item 2/1/9 above]
11. Draft in archbishop's hand being his detailed briefing paper for Lord Ebrington, the Lord Lieutenant, outlining how the idea for the college originated and the advantages it offers. A cover to keep the 8pp document together describes it: 'Divinity Col. Abp's paper to Ld Ebrington'. As Ebrington only became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in April 1839, this document must post-date his appointment. Undated [post-April 1839?]
12. Copy letter from Lord Ebrington, Carton [Carton House, county Kildare?], giving his response to the archbishop's letter and consideration of government on same 14 August 1839
13. Original letter from Lord Ebrington, Phoenix Park, indicating various opinions have been received, and indicating the 'question is still open'. [Shortly after this the matter is dropped by government and the archbishop fails in his quest to establish the college] 16 August 1839
14. Copy of letter received from John A. Russell (1792-1865) [Archdeacon of Clogher and Rector of Clontibret 1826-65] residing at 21 Baggot Street, Dublin, [Dickinson's house] to 'My Lord', being his detailed and concerned expression of the reasons why he took part 'in a protest against a measure originating from your zeal for the advantage of the Church'. 30 December 1840

Russell was related to Dickinson by marriage which may explain when Russell was residing at his house, and as item 17 below reveals this connection enabled him to fulfil another intermediary role in some fall out with the archbishop on this issue. Russell's reasoning behind his protest was his concern that by 'transferring all the instruction of the minority' to the proposed seminary would weaken the position of that 'minority'. He is however glad that his 'Grace's pious object ... has been in some measure obtained by the enlargement and improvement of the Divinity Course in College', which he attributes 'to the attention which your design has awakened on the subject'.

15. Copy of archbishop's answer to letter from Archdeacon John Russell 'submitted and approved by Mr Short' in which the archbishop goes to lengthy efforts to reassure Russell that in spite of his opposition to the plan of the divinity college on which they had what the archbishop termed 'a mere difference of opinion' it has not destroyed their friendship. Further refers to how: 'Bp Dickinson ... will be ready to testify that on such points I am more tolerant than most men'. Undated [post December 1840]

16. Archbishop 'Ever yr affectionate RD' to 'The Lord Bishop of Meath, 21 Baggot Street', referring to items /14 and /15 above and declaring the correspondence on the matter with Archdeacon Russell 'is closed'.  
Undated

The archbishop elaborates at some length in this communication about his difference with Russell on the Divinity Hall issue and that Russell was involved in signing a memorial [not the one contained in this file] but denied he had anything to do with drawing it up. Whilst the archbishop then expresses his regret that this is: 'one of the many trials you have had to encounter in respect of your intercourse with me', and a strain on their friendship: 'Had either of us been not exactly what we our, our friendship would hardly maintained itself. I give you great credit and myself ditto for the results'. Yet, he appears to end the letter with a reprimand: 'It would certainly have been better (in respect of this matter) if you had written me word of Archdn R's procedure, at the time, instead of leaving me to learn it from the papers'.

**2/2 Papers relating to clergy discipline including Whately's direct oversight to ensure compliance with his order not to officiate in another diocese without permission, and not to introduce strangers to preach in the his diocese; an injunction against the use of extemporaneous or free prayer in parish churches; and how he dealt with clergy seeking preferment. 1835-1837; 1840**

This file includes the following:

1. Original signed memorial of the Venerable John Torrens, archdeacon of Dublin and rector of St Peter's Dublin, 1818-51, and candidates for curacies in the diocese against the archbishop's injunction preventing clergy from officiating in other dioceses without permission, together with the original draft of, and multiple copies of a printed circular 'sent to all rural deans' which includes the text of the above memorial and then the archbishop's robust response. In it he tells the rural deans they are: 'not mere inspectors of buildings, but are persons through whom the clergy of their district might conveniently hold intercourse with their diocesan ...'. They are further warned that 'His Grace does not value authority for its own sake' but that 'securing home mission and ensuring no infidelity is preached' are his objects.  
11 items  
December 1835-March 1836
2. Signed declarations of submission to the above injunction by eight diocesan clergy, and witnessed by either the archbishop or his trusted assistants, including Dr Dickinson – the low return indicating the lack of clergy support for this measure. [The document is fragile having been partially burned].  
April 1836

3. Correspondence between Dr Dickinson, the archbishop and the Revd Dr J.H. Singer F.T.C.D. [later served as Bishop of Meath, 1852-61, Mount Anville, Dublin, who appears opposed to regulations for candidates for ordination and home mission; and detailed notes on a deputation led by the Revds Dr Singer, Robert Daly (rector of Powerscourt 1814-33, dean of St Patrick's cathedral from 1842) and Mr Irwin (curate of Sandford), from the Home Mission Society with the archbishop on 1 October 1836 on the further regulation of preachers at local services [see also items /8 and /9 below].  
April 1836; October 1836
4. Copy letter from the archbishop to the Revd Alexander Irwin, permitting him to go to England as an agent for the Abstention movement  
27 July 1836
5. Copy letter from the archbishop in reply to the bishop of Kildare who has sought the archbishop's advice on private baptism, and the relevant regulation of same.  
26 November 1836
6. Two original letters to the archbishop from the bishops of Kildare and Cashel on the subject of extemporary prayer, to which both are opposed.  
31 December 1836
7. Drafts in archbishop's hand of injunction against extemporary or spontaneous prayer  
Undated
8. Drafts of 'Prayer to be used at meetings of the Monkstown branch of the Church Missionary Society' and untitled prayer.  
4 items
9. Detailed memorandum on letter received from Revd Robert Daly recommending the appointment of Mr Ormsby for occasional assistance in his parish which turns into a detailed analysis of the difficulties of such an appointment.  
10 pp  
17 October 1837
10. Undated document entitled 'Copy of a letter sent by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin to a clergyman who wrote to solicit for a parish'. This letter was reproduced in the official biography, *Life of Whately*, vol. 1, p. 453, and dated in that volume for 1840. It makes clear how the archbishop wishes to impress upon the minds of clergy that they can expect no favours from him.  
Undated [1840?]
11. One page draft entitled 'A possible answer of His Most Excellent Majesty the King to the Petition of the Clergy of the Diocese of Limerick', dealing with an unspecified issue, which appears linked to the 'intrinsic purity' of a religion's 'doctrines and its conformity with primitive and apostolic order'.  
Undated

**2/3 Political documents including Whately's thoughts on what he termed the 'Irish Church Bill', being the Tithe Reform Bill and related reforms necessary to provide for clergy stipends. 1834, c. 1836, 1838**

1. Copies of two replies to the Resolution of the Prelates of Ireland on Tithe Reform, from Viscount Duncannon, dated 3 November 1834 and from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Marquis of Wellesley, dated 4 November 1834, outlining support for final settlement of the tithe question with a temporary loan of £1m stg. November 1834
2. Draft amendments to a bill, possibly the Temporalities Bill [referred to in 1/1/8 above] in which Whately itemises necessary changes as he sees them. The 7pp document commences: 'Might it be better to have such enactments as are requisite introduced as a clause not some act of Parliament rather than to have a distinct act for the purpose. One section of moderate length would contain all that is required. Undated [1836?]
3. Whately's draft memorandum on the Clergy Stipends Bill, which in summary considers the question of whether it is right to 'convert the clergy into men stipendiaries of the state or render them dependent on the voluntary contributions of their parishioners'. 6pp; Undated [1836?]
4. Copy of detailed letter from Archbishop Whately to Lord John Russell, enclosing: 'a paper drawn up by Mr Fenton Hort, one of the late Poor Inquiry Commissioners, as a sketch of the mode in which he thought the brief suggestion thrown out in our Report might perhaps be carried into effect'. Contains very detailed remarks on the nature of landownership and property responsibilities. [Hort's paper to which it refers may be the next item below] 7pp  
Undated apart from '23 October' [most likely 1838]
5. Possibly Fenton Hort's lengthy paper [as mentioned in /4 above] which commences 'few persons in Ireland and not many in England understand the real state of things in reference to the Irish Church Bill' and considers the whole range of issues of house tax (or tithe), the rights of the Irish Church clergy over other clergy. Written with a broader world view than simply Irish interests it postulates that the Irish Church Bill 'so far as it is a concession at all is not to the R. Catholics of Ireland but to the British people' as a whole. 10pp  
Undated, [1838?]

**2/4 Miscellaneous other papers drafted by the archbishop [1830s]**

1. Paper annotated in red 'Remarks on my sermon (125) "In Adam all die so in Christ shall all be made alive, 7 February 1836.

4pp with additional possibly related individual pages possibly related or earlier drafts.

The main text opens: 'If I sometimes administer a bitter medicine to some and not to others, it is not that I regard the others necessarily, as well, but perhaps as incurable'.

Undated, 1836

2. Paper annotated 'Fm Whately on reform', being a six-page reflection on the type of reforms needed for parliament, which opens: 'Some kind of reform in Parliament seems to be regarded at present by all, as either desirable or unavoidable, though there is far from being any general agreement as to what is the kind of reform to be wished for'.  
Undated
3. Paper annotated 'Principal of probabilities' being a 3pp discussion on arithmetic.  
Undated
4. Incomplete draft of what appears to be a set of guidelines about Christian thinking [perhaps for the direction of his clergy?].  
Undated
5. Further incomplete draft on the authority of faith structures, making comparisons between Christianity and Jewish synagogues.  
Undated
6. Scraps of notes, being part of a larger paper no longer present on aspects of Orthodoxy, including an extract from a letter from the archbishop to 'E.P.' on 'I wish to be orthodox'.  
Undated

## **2/5 Miscellaneous papers sent by their authors to the archbishop [1830s?]**

1. N.W. [Nassau William] Senior's detailed response addressed 'My dear Lord' to the archbishop's paper on matters of political economy, and in particular the ratio of population to land, and the capital to be obtained from same.  
39pp  
Undated [but presumably ties in with tithe/church revenue reforms of mid-1830s]
2. Opinion, in the form of a letter, sent by 'Joy' [the Rt Hon. Henry Joy (1767-1838), Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer 1831-38], Woodtown House, Rathfarnham, [Dublin] in response to Whately's paper 'Thoughts on Secondary Punishments' (1832), and rejoicing that the 'subject has been taken up by one who is so capable of handling it with ability'. [On the issue of secondary punishments see also items 1/1/7, 10, 14 and 15 above].  
12 pp  
Undated apart from '3 Sept.' [no year] but most likely 1837 from correspondence in section 1/1 above on this subject – and the year before Joy's death in 1838].