

NUI MAYNOOTH

Oileán na tÉireann M'Á Ruid

**LAITY AND CLERGY IN THE CATHOLIC RENEWAL OF
DUBLIN C. 1750 1830**

by

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Introduction

The culture of Dublin's Catholic community experienced many changes during the period 1750-1830. This evolution existed in many forms. Some, such as the renewal of chapels and erection of schools and seminaries, were physical. Others, such as the reorganisation of the parish system, were spatial transformations. The practices of Catholic piety also underwent radical transformation. By the nineteenth-century Catholics in Dublin could satisfy their appetites for private piety with Catholic literature. However, public piety was also catered for thanks to the establishment of a growing network of religious confraternities and sodalities. This reception of ideas, albeit by a minority of Catholics, did, however, have a gradual impact on the beliefs and practices of the wider Catholic community. Thanks, in part, to the marriage of private and public piety, increasing numbers of Catholics were becoming 'religiously engaged', playing visible roles in renewal and reform. Changes, such as the evolution of religious belief and practice were, however, less-tangible. Nevertheless, all contributed to the changing nature of Catholic culture in the archdiocese as the Catholic community assumed greater internal cohesion and enhanced social and political importance. It is to these aspects of Catholic culture that this study will concentrate. Changes in Catholic culture coincided not only with political reforms favourable to Catholics but also were influenced by deeply seated attitudes, habits and beliefs. From the 1770s there had been increased efforts by Catholics to petition for the repeal of the penal laws. Initially they were voiced by the dwindling land-holding Catholic aristocratic class. However, by the 1790s the movement had become dominated by Catholics of a lower social order. It was these 'middle-class' Catholics who were also the driving force behind the programme of religious renewal and reform in the archdiocese of Dublin.

Although John Carpenter (1729-86) was possibly the first eighteenth-century archbishop of Dublin (1770-86) to visibly promote Catholic religious culture, endorsing Catholic literature and stimulating diocesan reforms, the turning point for deeper cultural changes in Dublin's Catholic community seems to date from the appointment of John Thomas Troy (1739-1823) as archbishop in 1786. Troy was archbishop through a period of immense change for the Catholic community. By the time Catholic Emancipation was granted in 1829 the community in Dublin had shed its 'penal' appearance and was by then recognised, and even supported financially by the government.

Fig. 1 Archbishop John Thomas Troy.



Source: Dáire Keogh, *The French disease: the Catholic Church and Irish radicalism, 1790-1800* (Dublin, 1993), p. 219.

Although a period of great change, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries remains largely neglected by historians, especially the cultural and religious transformation of Dublin's Catholic community. The historiography of that community is essentially fragmented,¹ and surprisingly, there has been no dedicated history of the archdiocese published to date. Dublin, for example, lacks a diocesan study such as Ignatius Murphy's histories of Killaloe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.² What does exist tends to be thematic and focused on specific events and personalities. For Dublin, the ecclesiastical historian, Nicholas Donnelly did publish work on eighteenth-century parishes in pamphlet form in the early 1900s.³ Donnelly's studies give the reader a snapshot of religious life in the archdiocese but are incomplete, and were never intended as comprehensive histories for the period. As one might expect, his focus was almost exclusively on the clergy, paying little or no attention to the activities of the Catholic laity. Much of his work was continued by his fellow diocesan, Myles Ronan. Ronan's work focused to a greater extent on the archdiocese in the early nineteenth-century, culminating in his study of the 'apostle of Catholic Dublin', Revd

¹ James Kelly, 'Introduction: the historiography of the diocese of Dublin' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), p. 5.

² Ignatius Murphy, *The diocese of Killaloe in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1991); idem, *The diocese of Killaloe 1800-1850* (Dublin, 1992); idem, *The diocese of Killaloe 1850-1904* (Dublin, 1995).

³ Nicholas Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes* (17 vols, Dublin, 1904-17).

Henry Young.⁴ While his study was basically a biography, it provided the reader with a valuable perspective on Catholic life in Dublin between 1749 and 1869, illustrating some of the developments in parochial life in particular.

A number of works have been completed, which chronicle the establishment of religious orders in Dublin, many of which were published before 1950. Sarah Atkinson was one of the first historians to venture into this area with her study of Mary Aikenhead, founder of the Religious Sisters of Charity.⁵ This was followed by a similar study, Roland Burke-Savage's study of Teresa Mulally, founder of the school and orphanage at George's Hill. Burke-Savage illustrated the backdrop against which the educational and benevolent drive took place in the early nineteenth-century, as well as documenting the growth of the Presentation Nuns in the city.⁶ The same author also chronicled the work of Catherine McAuley in the establishment of the Sisters of Mercy.⁷ Although each had their own specific focus, they nonetheless provided important insights into the lives of those Catholics involved in these areas, either as funders or providers of education and poor-relief.

More recently the *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000) highlighted the need for a comprehensive study of the diocese. This remarkable collection of essays addressed specific topics in Dublin Church history. The essays of James Kelly, Donal Kerr, Séamus Enright, and Dáire Keogh are especially pertinent to this study. James Kelly addressed both the historiography of the archdiocese and the impact of the penal laws on the Catholic Church.⁸ Kerr illustrated the often-overlooked career of Archbishop Daniel Murray (1768-1852) while Enright examined the role of women in the provision of catechesis and poor-relief, 1766-1852, paying particular attention to the establishment of female religious orders.⁹

⁴ M.V. Ronan, *An apostle of Catholic Dublin: Father Henry Young* (Dublin, 1944).

⁵ Sarah Atkinson, *Mary Aikenhead, her life, her works and her friends* (Dublin, 1879).

⁶ Roland Burke-Savage, S.J., *A valiant Dublin woman: the story of George's Hill (1766-1940)* (Dublin, 1940).

⁷ Idem, *Catherine McAuley: the first sister of Mercy* (Dublin, 1949).

⁸ Kelly, 'Introduction: the historiography of the diocese of Dublin', pp 1-18; idem, 'The impact of the penal laws', pp 144-76.

⁹ Donal Kerr, 'Dublin's forgotten archbishop: Daniel Murray, 1768-1852' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 247-67; Séamus Enright, 'Women and Catholic life in Dublin, 1766-1852' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 268-93.

Fig. 2 Archbishop Daniel Murray



Source: Desmond Forristal, *The first Loreto sister: Mother Teresa Ball 1794-1861* (Dublin, 1994).

Keogh's study of Archbishop Troy was especially pertinent as it emphasised Troy's considerable pastoral achievements.¹⁰ Troy's episcopate has traditionally suffered from the perception of him as a so-called 'Castle bishop'. This was especially true for nineteenth and twentieth century nationalist historians who found this perception of their subject difficult to reconcile with their own political agendas.¹¹ Keogh is best known for his study of the Catholic Church and Irish radicalism in the 1790s, which, although its primary focus may be on political issues, deals also with important aspects of pastoral life.¹² In his recent study of Troy, Vincent McNally regrettably neglected the archbishop's pastoral work.¹³

Complementing these works on Catholic life in Dublin in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is a wealth of edited texts published in academic journals. Especially important are material in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, *Archivium Hibernicum*, *Collectanea Hibernica* and the Dublin archdiocesan journal, *Reportorium Novum*. The

¹⁰ Dáire Keogh, "'The pattern of the flock': John Thomas Troy, 1786-1823" in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 215-36.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹² Keogh, *The French disease*.

¹³ Vincent McNally, *Reform, revolution and reaction: Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Catholic Church in Ireland 1787-1817* (Latham, 1995).

importance of these publications for this project was considerable. Both *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* and *Archivium Hibernicum* published numerous primary sources, which, although not exclusively related to Dublin, were revealing especially for the Irish continental colleges as well as for episcopal correspondence.¹⁴ The material in *Reportorium Novum* focused exclusively on Dublin, and was extremely helpful. In particular the work of William O’Riordan and Michael Curran in editing and publishing documents relating to ordinations and clerical adoptions from the 1770s onwards was vital.¹⁵ Indeed these studies allowed comment on clerical recruitment and clerical numbers ministering in the archdiocese both before and after the French Revolution. The journal also provided documents relating to the pastoral life of individual parishes.¹⁶ However, they have been overlooked by historians and have been a much underutilised source. Unfortunately this journal followed the example of *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, and ceased publication in the 1970s. Their absence leaves a not insignificant void for those working on religious histories in early modern Dublin and Ireland in general.

Fortunately the work of *Archivium Hibernicum* continued, and, together with the recently extinct *Collectanea Hibernica*, provided researchers with a wealth of primary sources. A prolific contributor to both journals has been Hugh Fenning, O.P. A number of Fenning’s articles highlighted important clerical correspondence.¹⁷ However, his greatest contributions are in the field of Catholic literature, in particular the series of articles published in *Collectanea Hibernica* and *Archivium Hibernicum* on Dublin Catholic imprints, 1700-1809. This is an invaluable tool for anyone attempting to comment on the evolution of Catholic culture in the period.¹⁸ Similarly, he has

¹⁴ See bibliography.

¹⁵ William O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’ in *Reportorium Novum*, ii, no. 2 (1960), pp 382-86 [hereafter *Rep. Nov.*]; ‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’ in *Rep. Nov.*, i, no. 2 (1956), pp 488-90; William O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’ in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 2 (1960), pp 389-92; Michael Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’ in *Rep. Nov.*, i, no. 2 (1956), pp 485-88.

¹⁶ For example, see William Hawkes, ‘Parish of Ballymore Eustace, 1791’ in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 1 (1960), pp 120-28.

¹⁷ Hugh Fenning, O.P., ‘The ‘Udienze’ series in the Roman archives, 1750-1820’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlviii (1994), pp 100-06 [hereafter *Arch. Hib.*]; idem, ‘Documents of interest in the *Fondo Missioni* of the Vatican Archives’ in *Arch. Hib.*, xlix (1995), pp 3-47; idem (ed.), ‘Letters from a Dublin Jesuit on the Confraternity of the Holy Name, 1747-1748’ in *Arch. Hib.*, xxix (1970), pp 133-54.

¹⁸ Hugh Fenning, O.P., ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1701-1739’ in *Collectanea Hibernica*, nos 39-40 (1997-98), pp 106-154 [hereafter *Coll. Hib.*]; idem, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1740-1759’ in *Coll. Hib.*, no. 41 (1999), pp 65-116; idem, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1760-69’ in *Coll. Hib.*, no. 42 (2000), pp 85-119; idem, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1770-1782’ in *Coll. Hib.*, no. 43 (2001), pp 161-208; idem, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1783-1789’ in *Coll. Hib.*, nos 44-45 (2002-03), pp 79-126; idem, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1790-1795’ in *Coll. Hib.*, nos 46-47 (2004-05), pp 72-141; idem, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1796-1799’ in *Coll. Hib.*,

published inventories for clerical libraries as well as articles drawing attention to the use of subscription lists as a means of publishing books.¹⁹

The pioneering studies of Lawrence Brockliss and Patrick Ferté have been equally significant for historians exploring clerical education in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland. Their prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse has provided historians with material relating to the educational and pastoral careers of many Irish clerics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁰ In another article the authors presented a statistical breakdown of the careers of Irish clerics in French universities.²¹ Brockliss's own study on French higher education provides a unique insight of the system of education offered in France to Irish students.²² Jeroen Nilis compiled a prosopography of Irish students studying in the University of Louvain, published in *Archivium Hibernicum*.²³ This contained useful information on a number of Dublin clerics.

From the 1970s the historiography of Irish Catholicism underwent a significant change, thanks to the pioneering studies of Patrick Corish, Emmett Larkin and Seán Connolly. Larkin came to prominence with the publication of his famous 'devotional revolution' thesis, in which he explained the apparently dramatic resurgence of public piety in the post-Famine period.²⁴ The response to Larkin's thesis was strong and is sufficiently well-known not to require further comment here.²⁵ However, this study hopes to illustrate that many of the significant changes in religious practice which Larkin located in the post-Famine period were actually under way in Dublin considerably earlier. More recently Larkin published a study of the pastoral role of the

no. 48 (2006), pp 72-141; idem, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest, 1800-09' in *Arch. Hib.*, lxi (2008), pp 246-324.

¹⁹ Hugh Fenning, O.P. (ed.), 'The library of a preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, O.P. (d. 1748)' in *Coll. Hib.*, no. 20 (1978), pp 72-104; idem (ed.), 'Some Irish clerical subscribers, 1800-24' in *Coll. Hib.*, nos 36-37 (1994-95), pp 196-242. See also Ignatius Fennessy, O.F.M. (ed.), 'Books listed in Wexford friary shortly before 1798' in *Coll. Hib.*, nos 44-45 (2002-03), pp 127-72; Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin, O.F.M. (ed.), 'The library of a parish priest in penal days' in *Coll. Hib.*, nos 6-7 (1963-64), pp 234-44.

²⁰ See Lawrence Brockliss and Patrick Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792' in *Arch. Hib.*, lviii (2004), pp 7-166.

²¹ Lawrence Brockliss and Patrick Ferté, 'Irish clerics in France' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, lxxxvii (1987), pp 527-71.

²² Lawrence Brockliss, *French higher education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Oxford, 1987).

²³ Jeroen Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797' in *Arch. Hib.*, lx (2006-07), pp 1-304.

²⁴ Emmet Larkin, 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850-75' in *American Historical Review*, lxxvii (1972), pp 625-52.

²⁵ See Seán Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2001); T.G. McGrath, 'The Tridentine evolution of modern Catholicism, 1563-1962: a re-examination of the "devotional revolution" thesis' in *Recusant History*, xx (1991), pp 512-23.

Catholic Church in Ireland, 1750-1850.²⁶ In this he provided valuable statistical information regarding clerical numbers and chapel building in the pre-Famine period, while also illustrating the importance of the Station Mass to the pastoral mission of the Catholic community in the period. Connolly's most important work in this area has been *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845* (Dublin, 1982), a 'study of the place of the Catholic Church and its clergy in Irish society, and of the relationship between priests and people'.²⁷ The first section of this work presents a summary of the state of the Catholic Church in Ireland in the sixty or so years before the Famine. The second part focuses on the reception and resistance to pastoral reforms, examining the behavioural practices of priests and people at wakes while also illustrating the changing mores regards marriage.²⁸ Connolly's main interest was, however, on what he described as 'the negative side of the relationship between both parties',²⁹ illustrating the often difficult relationship between clergy and poor sections of the Catholic community, who were sometimes unwilling to conform to clerical authority. More recently Thomas McGrath has contributed to this debate with two works on the nineteenth-century bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, James Warren Doyle.³⁰ The first of McGrath's studies examines religious renewal and reform in the diocese, while his more recent study focuses on politics, interdenominational relations and education in Doyle's episcopate.

In the last thirty years there has been a new emphasis placed on the history of 'religious communities'. The work of the French historian, Jean Delumeau was an early example of the renewed interest in the 'community' aspect of Catholic history.³¹ Delumeau's study of the Counter-Reformation Church was an 'exposition of what a complete history of the Counter-Reformation might look like if it were conducted on the lines of present research', in that it was 'a history of counter-reformation Christianity as embodied in the experience of the average man'.³² John Bossy was one of the earliest proponents of this method of investigation in his study of the English Catholic

²⁶ Emmet Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850* (Dublin, 2006).

²⁷ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 32.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Thomas McGrath, *Religious renewal and reform in the pastoral ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834* (Dublin, 1998); *idem*, *Politics, interdenominational relations and education in the public ministry of Bishop James Warren Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834* (Dublin, 1999).

³¹ Jean Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1971).

³² John Bossy, 'Introduction' in Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation* (London, 1971).

community.³³ He suggested that his decision to look at English Catholics as a community, as opposed to a ‘minority’ or as ‘recusants’, allowed him to view Catholics ‘in the context of the community, as part of the social whole, and not the only part which may have had a history’.³⁴ Bossy followed the example of the English historian, John Aveling.³⁵ Aveling’s choice to focus his study on the ‘Catholic community’ in Yorkshire, rather than, ‘as he might presumably otherwise have done’, the English Benedictine congregation, ‘gave a decisive shift to the subject’.³⁶ Bossy’s now classic approach was to examine English Catholics as a community as a whole, rather than from the point of view of either the clergy or the laity in isolation. John McManners’s study of the Church and society in eighteenth-century France adopted a similar approach.³⁷ McManners’s survey was divided into two volumes, presenting the clerical establishment in volume one while the religious life of the people and politics of the Church was examined in the second volume. His objective was straightforward: ‘to give a picture of the religious life of the people of eighteenth-century France, to recapture the atmosphere of the times, to appreciate the beliefs, aspirations, hopes and fears of four generations’.³⁸ Apart from devoting chapters to the bishops, the lower clergy, religious orders, and the political workings of the ‘clerical Church’, he also dealt with liturgical worship, sermons, religious practice and confraternities as well as popular religion.

The newer historiographical and methodological trends were later adopted by Patrick Corish and applied to Ireland.³⁹ In 1983 Corish claimed that the attitudes of ecclesiastical historians had for some times been changing. Their interest, he said, had turned to “‘community history’”, rather than to the history of the leaders of a religious community’.⁴⁰ This change may in part have been brought about by the Second Vatican Council, which in certain areas sought to minimise the divisions between the clergy and the laity. This had a real intellectual parallel as at the same time ‘social history’, as an accepted method of historical enquiry, began to emerge. Historians now concerned

³³ John Bossy, *The English Catholic community 1570-1850* (London, 1975); idem, ‘The Counter-Reformation and the people of Catholic Europe’ in *Past and Present*, no. 47 (1970), pp 53-68.

³⁴ Idem, *The English Catholic community 1570-1850*, p. 6.

³⁵ See John Aveling, *Northern Catholics: the Catholic recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1966).

³⁶ Bossy, *The English Catholic community 1570-1850*, p. 3.

³⁷ John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, i, *The clerical establishment and its social ramifications* (2 vols, New York, 1998); idem, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, ii, *The religion of the people and the politics of religion* (New York, 1998).

³⁸ Idem, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, i, *The clerical establishment and its social ramifications*, p. 1.

³⁹ Patrick Corish, *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 1981); idem, *The Irish Catholic experience* (Dublin, 1985); idem, ‘The Catholic community in the nineteenth-century’ in *Arch. Hib.*, xxxviii (1983), pp 26-33.

⁴⁰ Idem, ‘The Catholic community in the nineteenth-century’, p. 26.

themselves more with the activities of the ‘people’ rather than focussing exclusively on political or religious elites. In the case of the Church of Ireland, Patrick Collinson famously contrasted the old approach, what he called the ‘traditional vertical history’, with the new community focused approach, ‘a horizontal ecclesiastical history’.⁴¹

While there has yet to be a comprehensive study of Dublin’s Catholic community using this newer methodological approach, a number of isolated works have taken onboard some of these new emphases. An interesting article is Nuala Burke’s illustration of the ‘penal church’ in Dublin.⁴² The focus of this short article is the structure of the Catholic Church in Dublin City in the eighteenth-century, illustrating developments in chapel building and the liturgical setting. The aforementioned works on the diocese of Killaloe by Ignatius Murphy are also characteristic of this newer approach, which, while not neglecting the actions of the clergy, draw attention to the lives of the laity in Killaloe’s Catholic community. Murphy’s study has been described as ‘both timely and new’ for he was ‘as interested in the people as in their priests’.⁴³

Although contemporary historians have emphasised the lives of the laity to a greater degree, most have been careful not to isolate them from their clergy. In a sense the Catholic laity could not be said to exist without the clergy, nor vice versa. Edward Norman suggests that while the ‘ecclesiastical history will in the future be the work of the people, and though it will be seen by many as an authentic form of Christian ministry, it will not necessarily be integrated with the institutional Church and recognised’.⁴⁴ Indeed this is one of the great dangers for contemporary historians, that the two somehow become separated. Norman also offers a *caveat* to those who would be ‘modern secular historians’. These may be tempted to employ their worldly perception of reality and treat religious belief and practice, as materialists supposedly do, ‘merely as a phenomenon’. ‘They themselves’, he goes on, have difficulty imagining how those in the past could ‘really have been motivated by religious belief’.⁴⁵ The temptation to trivialise the beliefs of a religious community one hopes has been avoided in this study. At the same time one must be careful not to overstate the religiosity of the community, in which there existed varying degrees of belief and piety.

⁴¹ Patrick Collinson, ‘The vertical and the horizontal in religious history: internal and external integration of the subject’ in Alan Ford, James Maguire and Kenneth Milne (eds), *As by law established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), pp 15-32.

⁴² See Nuala Burke, ‘A hidden church: the structure of the Catholic Church in Dublin in the mid-eighteenth century’ in *Arch. Hib.*, xxxii (1974), pp 81-92.

⁴³ Hugh Fenning, O.P., ‘Foreword’ in Murphy, *The diocese of Killaloe in the eighteenth century*.

⁴⁴ Edward Norman, ‘Epilogue: the changing role of the ecclesiastical historian’ in Nigel Aston (ed.), *Religious change in Europe 1650-1914: essays for John McManners* (Oxford, 1997), p. 402.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

This study has drawn on the examples of McManners, Bossy, Corish and Murphy. In particular it looks at the evolution of Catholic culture in Dublin from a ‘community’ perspective. The present study examines the evolution of Catholic culture and society in Dublin in the period. Dublin’s mixed Catholic and Protestant population formed a uniquely fascinating backdrop to changes in Catholic practice and customs, and made for important backdrops. In this period the already wealthy Catholic merchant class grew in prominence. The emergence of an organised education structure and an increasingly influential Catholic political lobby were also significant. The city’s burgeoning Catholic print culture and the rise in literacy rates also provided new opportunities for religious reform and evangelisation through the printed word. All of these developments caused concern to the Protestant establishment which was, however, unable, or perhaps unwilling to control them. This study will try to get beyond the great diocesan histories of the early twentieth-century, which tended to deal with the history of the Catholic Church with little regard to the Catholic laity. It will strive to be a study of the bishops and clergy but also to consider ‘popular religion’ and their interrelation. It will be more than a narrative documenting the evolution of Catholic infrastructure in the archdiocese or even a literature based study of the growth of the Catholic community in the period. In particular what it will do is look at the documented changes taking place within the Catholic community. Many of these changes took place in the city parishes where the economic climate was conducive to improvements in church fabric and liturgical practice.

The period *c.* 1750-1830 was chosen for three main reasons. The first reason is simple: before 1750 there is a paucity of source material relating to the Catholic community in Dublin. Surviving episcopal correspondence becomes relatively plentiful only from the time of Archbishop Carpenter. Secondly, in the period *c.* 1750-1830 substantial change occurred in the culture of the archdiocese’s Catholic community. The baggage of the penal laws and previous political set backs still weighed heavily on the Catholic Church by the middle of the eighteenth-century, particularly affecting its capability to provide pastoral care. However, between 1750 and 1830 the political landscape altered immeasurably, allowing the Catholic community to renew its pastoral mission. New churches were built, so too schools, orphanages and asylums. By 1830 Catholics had more or less returned to the political sphere. The final reason for selecting these dates was that they spanned the revolutionary period of the 1790s. Traditionally historians have tended to ‘stop before the French Revolution, or make the event their

primary concern after it'.⁴⁶ This study, however, seeks in part, to look at the impact of the revolutionary period on religious reform, and will comment on its influence, both negative and positive, in stimulating pastoral reforms and diocesan governance.

When research for this project commenced the objective was to examine Catholic Dublin as a 'community'. One might be tempted to ask what the term 'community' actually signifies. Sociologists often describe communities either as 'located' i.e. 'bounded', or as 'communities of mind and interest' i.e. 'unbounded'.⁴⁷ If one accepts the definition of community as a group of people living in a common area or linked by a set of shared values or beliefs, then it is difficult to speak of Catholics in Dublin as a single 'community'. Firstly, the size of the archdiocese and its demographic, economic and pastoral contrasts in effect prevents any facile coupling of Catholics together into one neat category. It is difficult to see how those living in city parishes and Catholics living in the Wicklow Mountains could be considered a 'bounded community'. Catholics in these areas were presented with contrasting systems of pastoral care. In Dublin City they were well-served by large numbers of priests, and had a choice of liturgies, while the communities in rural areas were generally deprived of such services. Secondly, the premise that Catholics in the archdiocese shared, or were linked by a set common of beliefs, is open to debate. Many in the 'community' had little in common, apart from a shared religion. For example, there were undoubtedly large numbers of Catholics who did not attend Mass on a regular basis. Similarly, the popularity of Catholic books and membership of religious confraternities was not common amongst the majority of the Catholic population. Religious knowledge varied considerably, with many Catholics sharing a basic and often unorthodox understanding of their faith.

Therefore, one must reassess what is meant by this often over-used term, 'community'. It has been suggested that 'rather than conceiving of a "community" and "society" as groups and/or entities to which persons belong, it would be more useful to conceptualise these terms as points of reference brought into play on particular situations and arenas'.⁴⁸ One might suggest that a single Catholic 'community' came only to exist at times of political crisis, or even as a construct of Protestants, who themselves were attempting to define their own 'community' as distinct from Catholics. Indeed it could be suggested that the Catholic community existed only as a consequence

⁴⁶ Nigel Aston, *Christianity and revolutionary Europe, 1750-1830* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 1.

⁴⁷ See Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, 'Introduction' in idem (eds), *Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period* (Boston, 2005), pp 1-26.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp 2-3.

of the penal laws. Directed by sources, historians have traditionally tended to view religious groups, be they Catholics or Protestants, as 'communities'. The sources used are often representative of the views of specific sections of either religious community. For example, in Dublin's case, the sources used largely inform the reader about a renewed interest in education and the poor. However, they reflect the interests of only those interested in education and the poor but say little about the unconcern that many Catholics demonstrated about these issues. Essentially this study recalls the actions of sections of the Catholic community who, for example, were often concerned with improving pastoral resources. For the most part sources in the Dublin Diocesan Archives told the story of those interested with renewal and reform. They said little about those Catholics who were indifferent towards pastoral initiatives. Therefore, this story is largely one of the reform-minded few. Seemingly the majority of the community were unconcerned with such improvements, but for whom the sources say little. Therefore, in light of a lack of commonality one could refer to the existence of Catholic 'communities', as opposed to a single 'community in Dublin, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This study attempts to take this into consideration as it follows the activities of disparate Catholic communities.

Chapter one will illustrate changes that took place in the parochial system in the period *c.* 1700-1830. It will demonstrate the evolution of the diocesan system from the 'Mass house system', as it existed in 1700, to a more developed parish system by 1830, one which was capable of offering varying degrees of pastoral care. This chapter will comment on the various phases of chapel building which occurred, while also highlighting the evolution of the physical appearances and styles of chapels. It will contrast the systems of pastoral care offered in Dublin City with rural parishes, and will contextualise developments in the archdiocese with what was happening in some Irish dioceses, and in the Catholic communities in England and Scotland. Chapter two will examine the development of education, catechesis and poor-relief in the archdiocese. It will locate the reasons for the increasing concern for the 'Catholic poor', and will illustrate the growth of systems of catechesis and poor-relief. It will pay particular attention to the growth of indigenous religious orders and their role in this process, and the role of sections of the Catholic community in encouraging and financing benevolent projects. Chapter three will link this increased desire for catechesis with the Catholic print culture and the activities of confraternities and sodalities in fostering religious knowledge and piety. It will illustrate the types of religious literature available to Catholics, focussing on 'devotional literature', which dominated the Catholic market.

The Catholic print industry played an important role in the promotion of confraternities, which in turn promoted not only personal sanctification but also moral reform. Chapter four will look at the education of Dublin priests before and after the French Revolution and their subsequent deployment. It will examine the types of education and formation available in the Irish continental colleges before the closure of the colleges in the 1790s, and provides an overview of the *cursus* offered in the colleges. It will present the reader with the number of Dublin students ordained in the period and give a statistical breakdown of the colleges they attended. This chapter will also deal with the new system of clerical education established in domestic seminaries from the 1790s onwards, and the impact they had in stemming the decline in ordinations arising, in part, from the loss of the continental system. Finally, chapter five will comment on ‘reception, renewal and resistance’, the successes and failures of pastoral initiatives. Firstly, it will illustrate some changes that took place in sacramental practice and the centrality of some lay Catholics in promoting these developments. Secondly, it will highlight the tentative process of reforming the Station Mass, marriage practice, and ‘popular religious culture’, manifest most publicly at holy wells, pilgrimages and wakes, and assessing the response of the wider Catholic community to this attempted regulation.

Chapter One:

The Evolution of Diocesan Infrastructure

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries the physical appearance of the archdiocese of Dublin evolved significantly. By the 1830s the growing Catholic infrastructural network had expanded to include schools, libraries, asylums, homes and refuges. Central to the physical growth of the archdiocese was the rise in the number of parishes and chapels. In 1697 the archdiocese was made up of thirty-eight parishes. By 1834 it had a total of forty-eight parishes. The total number of chapels, however, grew even more significantly. The Report on the State of Popery in 1731 had listed sixty-six secular chapels in the archdiocese.⁴⁹ By 1830, within the nine city parishes and six rural deaneries of Swords, Skerries, Bray, Wicklow, Maynooth, and Athy, the overall number of secular chapels had increased to 103. This was an increase of over fifty percent. In addition there were eight chapels belonging to the regular clergy in Dublin, as well as a number of convent chapels, many of which provided religious services open to the public. In the past historians viewed this expansion largely as a simple change in physical structures. However, this chapter will argue that for the Catholic community in Dublin, the renewal of the parish system and the programme of chapel building that took place in the early decades of the nineteenth-century was the necessary precondition for the great pastoral reforms, characteristic of the mass religious changes of the nineteenth-century. Before the community could attempt to implement a programme of moral reform and social conditioning it needed to have the appropriate parochial structures in place. Senior clergy had to consolidate the existing parish network and construct new parishes and chapels, to reflect the growing population, especially in Dublin City. Where the parish church was not suitable for the pastoral needs of the parish, it had to be either refurbished or replaced. Only then, when these two basic components of Catholic organisation were renewed, or established, could reformers attempt to venture into the wider pastoral mission, through systematic catechesis, the provision of benevolence and ‘moral reformation’.

This chapter will document the development of the parish system in Dublin in the period 1740-1830, an evolution which enabled the Catholic community to embark on more ambitious pastoral strategies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It will document the physical changes which affected the parish system.

⁴⁹ Report on the State of Popery in Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 273.

Among these changes were the alterations of parish boundaries and the erection of new parishes as Dublin's demography altered. The gradual expansion and improvement of both secular and regular chapels will also be illustrated. This process of gradual improvement reflected the abandonment of the old 'Mass-house system' of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries for a more developed, and parish centred system of pastoral care. The demise of the 'Mass-house' will reveal much of the state of the Catholic community during this period. They offered little more to parishioners than the most basic pastoral service. This chapter will also document the evolution of the physical appearances and the changes which took place in the various 'architectural' styles of chapels in the pre-Emancipation period. This in turn mirrored the gradual expansion of the role of the Catholic Church in both the spiritual and public lives of Dubliners. However, more importantly it will locate the physical evolution of parish system and chapel building within a comparative context, providing examples for comparison with changing Catholic communities in England and Scotland. By contrasting what was happening in the community in Dublin with England and Scotland the significance of church building and the reorganisation of the parish system to meet the growing pastoral demands of a burgeoning Catholic community will be better understood.

The parish system in the early eighteenth-century

The infrastructural loss of parishes and churches in the wake of the expansion of the Church of Ireland and the Protestant state had been a significant blow to the Catholic community in the archdiocese. While parish structures were important to most Christian denominations, they were central to the Catholic Church, which was organised rigidly on a territorial basis. As Kevin Whelan suggests, 'the loss of the parochial framework, the church buildings and land as well as the associated revenue, stabbed straight at its institutional heart'.⁵⁰ It was mostly through the parish that the pastoral work of the Church was carried out. Parish renewal had been one of the central concerns of Counter-Reformation Catholicism. The reformers believed that 'religion was to centre on the parish, the parish priest and the parish church'.⁵¹ 'The faithful Catholic' was to 'attend Mass every Sunday and holy-day in his parish church. He was to receive the Church's sacraments, other than confirmation, from the hands of his parish priest, who

⁵⁰ Kevin Whelan, 'The Catholic parish, the Catholic chapel and village development in Ireland' in *Irish Geography*, no. 16 (1983), p. 3.

⁵¹ Corish, *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, p. 16.

would baptise him, marry him, give him extreme unction on his death bed and bury him'.⁵² The Counter-Reformation Church had, therefore, made the parish the 'sole institution in which the most important acts of popular religion might be practised'.⁵³ As well as acting as the medium of pastoral reform, the parish and its structures operated as a reflector of the world of which they were a part.⁵⁴ The pastoral and civic concerns of an early modern urban Protestant parish in Dublin reflected the dominance of the Church of Ireland in acting as both the dispenser of benevolence and fulcrum of civic activity in these circumstances.⁵⁵ The existence of the Catholic parish was something of an anomaly. This was even more the case with the introduction of the penal laws from the 1690s. James Kelly suggests that the 'repressive measures sanctioned by the Irish parliament between 1695 and 1710 not only limited its freedom to minister in the short term, but left a legacy of institutional poverty and attitudinal deference that ensured the Church in the diocese still bore the scars of repression a century later'.⁵⁶ The loss of its parish infrastructure not only represented but also constituted the pastoral and benevolent poverty of Dublin Catholicism.

Although the Catholic diocesan structure in Ireland had been compromised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the situation was much worse in England and Scotland, where Catholic diocesan structures were in effect destroyed. In England and Scotland dioceses were replaced with 'districts' and bishops were substituted by 'vicars apostolic'. In England there were three districts: the Northern, Midland, and London districts; while in Scotland there were just two: the Lowland and the Highland districts. Unlike in Ireland, the Catholic parish system had been effectively dismantled, and pastoral care was delivered by 'missions' rather than through parishes. In many rural areas throughout England pastoral care was dependent on the good will of Catholic landed families to support a priest and provide a place where Mass could be celebrated. The nature of the churches in both countries was an essentially missionary one; something which Corish suggests was never the case in Ireland, where a hierarchy survived.⁵⁷

The Catholic Church in Dublin, however impoverished, continued to have a physical presence, especially in the Dublin City, even in the worst times of persecution

⁵² Bossy, 'The Counter-Reformation and the people of Catholic Europe', p. 52.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵⁴ Charles Doherty, 'The idea of parish' in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 26.

⁵⁵ Rowena Dudley, 'The Dublin parish' in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 288.

⁵⁶ Kelly, 'The impact of the penal laws', p. 145.

⁵⁷ Corish, *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, p. 18.

following the Cromwellian conquest. This continued presence meant that the Church in Dublin was in a better position to expand the parochial and pastoral systems when the time was more suited. The Leinster bishops met at the Synod of Kilkenny in 1614 to discuss whether to base the 're-organised' Church on the parochial structure of old, which the Protestant church had adopted or whether a new parochial system was needed. The synod decided that the old parishes in the province of Dublin were to be reconstituted and their boundaries redefined.⁵⁸ This reconstruction in effect reduced the number of city parishes, reflecting the limited numbers of Catholic clergy available to minister, but more importantly reflecting the inability of the Catholic community to support them. The considerable decline in Catholic wealth 'did not permit allocation of a priest to each of the pre-existing parishes' and therefore, a merger of two or more of the medieval parishes took place, resulting in a greatly simplified parochial structure.⁵⁹ For example, at the Reformation there were thirteen parish churches in the city.⁶⁰ However, by the 1690s there were only five Catholic parishes: St. Audoen's, St. Catherine's, St. Michael's, St. Michan's and St. Nicholas's Without.⁶¹ A report made in 1697 stated that outside the city there was a further thirty-three Catholic parishes, giving a total of thirty-eight parishes in the archdiocese in 1697.⁶²

In Dublin City the parishes of St. Audoen's and St. Michael's catered for those Catholics living in the old mediaeval heart of the city, both located entirely within the old city walls. The parish chapel of St. Audoen's was in Cook Street, to the rear of St. Audoen's Arch. The chapel had been located in this area since the seventeenth-century. St. Michael's chapel was situated in Skipper's Lane for much of the seventeenth-century but was relocated to Rosemary Lane in the early 1700s.⁶³ St. Nicholas's parish chapel was situated in Francis Street, on the site of a medieval Franciscan friary. While serving an expanding area within the city's confines the parish also enclosed the largely rural area between the city and the parishes of Booterstown and Rathfarnham. Similarly, St. Catherine's also combined urban and rural districts, catering for Catholics living in the city's most western limits, extending westwards as far as Clondalkin and

⁵⁸ Conchubhair O'Fearghail, 'The evolution of Catholic parishes in Dublin city from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries' in F.H.A. Allen and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Dublin city and county: from prehistory to present: studies in honour of J.H. Andrews* (Dublin, 1992), p. 231.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁶⁰ Anngret Simms, 'Origins and early growth' in Joseph Brady and Anngret Simms (eds), *Dublin through space and time (c. 900-1900)* (Dublin, 2001), p. 42.

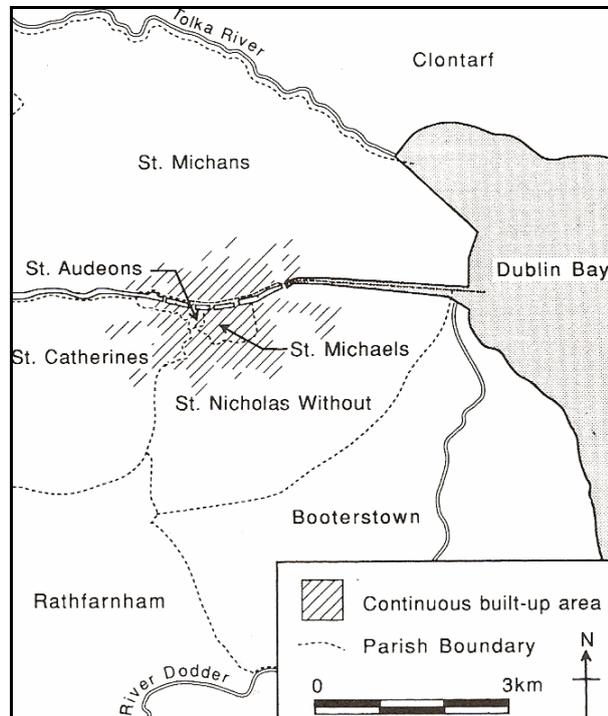
⁶¹ O'Fearghail, 'The evolution of Catholic parishes', p. 234.

⁶² Nicholas Donnelly, 'The diocese of Dublin in the eighteenth century' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, ix (1888), pp 840-41 [hereafter *I.E.R.*]. See Appendix One for a list of parishes.

⁶³ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 192. Skipper's Lane linked Merchant's Quay with Cook Street.

Castleknock. St. Michan's was the only parish located in the northern part of the city and had its chapel in Bull Lane.⁶⁴

Fig. 3 Catholic parishes in Dublin City c. 1700.



Source: O'Fearghail, 'The evolution of Catholic parishes', p. 234.

While Dublin City was served by five parishes there were also a number of chapels belonging to the regulars. The archdiocese had by 1700 up to seven communities of regulars. The Augustinians were situated near St. Audoen's Arch, the Dominicans in Cook Street and Arklow, the Franciscans at Cook Street, the Carmelites at Cornmarket, while there were a small number of Capuchins and Jesuits, all of whom dispersed in the wake of the Banishment Act in 1695.⁶⁵ The Irish parliament introduced a stipulation that a Catholic parish was allowed to have only one priest. The restriction, which would have had dire consequences for pastoral care, was, however, applied only to civil parishes, of which there were considerably more, and never to Catholic parishes, set up since the Reformation.

The vast areas immediately to the south-east of the city were covered by the large parishes of Donnybrook and Booterstown, Monkstown, Dalkey, and Cabinteely. The parochial system in north County Dublin was reasonably well-developed. The deaneries of Swords and Skerries had a total of ten parishes. West of the city was the

⁶⁴ St. Michan's was the only Protestant city parish north of the Liffey at the beginning of the eighteenth-century.

⁶⁵ Kelly, 'The impact of the penal laws', p. 147.

deanery of Maynooth. The deanery included the parishes of Lucan and Clondalkin, Rathfarnham, and Saggard as well as the parishes of Maynooth and Leixlip, and Kildrough [Celbridge] and Straffan in Kildare. The deanery of Athy covered a large area in east Kildare and west Wicklow while the remaining Wicklow parishes in the archdiocese, as well as some outlying County Dublin parishes, were located in the deaneries of Bray and Wicklow.

Fig. 4 Catholic parishes in the archdiocese of Dublin c. 1697.



Source: Donnelly, 'The diocese of Dublin in the eighteenth century', pp 840-41. The map was kindly produced by Dr Brian Gurrin, NUI Maynooth, based on maps contained in Brian Mitchell, *A new genealogical atlas of Ireland* (2nd ed., Baltimore, 2002).

In 1731 the Report on the State of Popery recorded a total of sixty-six secular chapels in the archdiocese in roughly forty parishes.⁶⁶ Of these sixty-six chapels, thirty-four are recorded as having been either built or rebuilt since the beginning of the reign of George I in 1714. This renewal represented possibly the first major phase in the modernisation of Catholic infrastructure in Dublin since the Reformation. The progress made in chapel building is all the more impressive when one looks at other Irish dioceses. Larkin draws attention to the disparity between Dublin and the economically comparable diocese of Ferns. While Dublin had a total of seventy-six chapels for roughly forty parishes, Ferns had only thirty-one chapels for some thirty-three parishes.⁶⁷ Dublin, therefore, had a more favourable chapel to parish ratio, which presumably had much to do with the programme of chapel building which took place between 1714 and 1731.

The fact that Catholic parishes were unions of pre-Reformation or civil parishes, many had more than one chapel within their boundaries. A typical example was the parish of Kilquade in County Wicklow, which had chapels at Delgany and Newcastle. However, the 1731 report suggests that a number of Catholic parishes in 1697 did not have any chapel. For example, the parish of Naul in north County Dublin is listed as having no chapel. The parishes of Celbridge and Clontarf were also without chapels. Most significantly, however, large areas of west Wicklow were apparently without chapels, Dunlavin and Blessington being two examples. Dunlavin was one of the largest parishes in the archdiocese, covering a large area between the Kildare border and the Wicklow Mountains. The extent of the parish is evident by the fact that it was served by three chapels in the 1830s, at Dunlavin, Donard, and Donaghmore respectively. Similarly, Blessington covered a vast area, encompassing large parts of north-west Wicklow as well as a sizeable portion of north-east Kildare. By the middle of the eighteenth-century the parish of Blackditches/Boystown was formed from Blessington.⁶⁸ The lack of a chapel for such a large parish undoubtedly made it extremely difficult for many Catholics in the area to attend Mass. It is possible that Catholics could have attended Mass at ‘open altars’ or in private houses. However, the 1731 report does not record any ‘open altars’ in the area. Sandwiched in between Dunlavin and Blessington was the parish of Ballymore Eustace. In 1731 the parish had two chapels, one at Ballymore Eustace and the other at Hollywood. Parishioners from Blessington and Dunlavin may have travelled to one of these chapels to hear Mass. The

⁶⁶ Larkin states that there were forty-eight Catholic parishes in the archdiocese at this time. See Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 140.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ In the nineteenth-century this parish came to be known as Vallemount.

infrastructural poverty of the archdiocese in west Wicklow is important, however, and says much of the disparity of pastoral care available to Catholics in different areas of the archdiocese in both the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The constitution of parishes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

In the 1720s, once the Hanoverian succession was safely assured, the Irish government showed diminishing interest in implementing the penal laws.⁶⁹ Consequently the enforcing of the laws became sporadic, and were only strictly applied at times when the national security was apparently threatened. This indifference, Kelly writes, afforded the Catholic Church ‘for the first time the opportunity to put in place a Tridentine styled system’.⁷⁰ While the assertion that the Catholic Church embarked on ‘Tridentine’ reform is open to debate, it did, however, attempt to stimulate a process of reform focussing on the restructuring of the parish system and the construction of new chapels. This was due in a large part to simple demographic change. The population of Dublin City had grown significantly. Areas to the north, west and east of the city had swelled in the early decades of the eighteenth-century. The existing network of parishes and chapels was insufficient to meet growing demands on pastoral resources. Similarly, many of the existing chapels no longer satisfied the needs of the evolving Catholic community. A number of them were simply too old and too small to accommodate safely congregations at Mass. In 1716 a serious accident occurred in a chapel in Cook Street, probably due to overcrowding at a Mass. The *Weekly News Letter* carried a report of the catastrophe: ‘On Sunday last two of the lofts in one of the Popish chappels in Cook street, fell, by which 4 persons were kill’d... besides a great many wounded, some of whom, they say, will not recover’.⁷¹ This acted as a reminder to both the Irish government and to the Catholic Church of the dangers of using unsuitable chapels for growing congregations. Tragedy famously struck the parish chapel of St. Andrew’s in Hawkins Street in January 1750. The *London and Dublin Gentleman’s Magazine* recorded a ‘great storm [which] blew down a tall chimney stack at the rere of Hawkins

⁶⁹ Kelly, ‘The impact of the penal laws’, p. 152.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁷¹ *Weekly News Letter*, 3 Oct. 1716 in John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press* (Maynooth, 1965), p. 25. This chapel could have been the parish chapel of St. Audoen’s or the Franciscan Chapel, both of which were situated in Cook Street at this time.

Street, breaking through the roof of an old stable where Mass was going on, killing several of the congregation and wounding many'.⁷²

However, of most immediate concern for senior Catholic clergy was the restructuring of the parish system in the Dublin City. By 1690 the Catholic population in the city had risen to 50,000 and by 1710 it had reached nearly 70,000.⁷³ While the population had grown in the old medieval city, there was by then considerable expansion taking place to the west and north of the city. These 'new' areas were still united to the medieval parishes of the old city. To meet the pastoral demands of these new urban areas, it was decided to expand the existing parochial system. One area which had become increasingly urbanised was the ancient parish of St. Michan's, situated to the north of Liffey around the area of Oxmanstown. In 1664 the City Assembly decided to divide Oxmanstown Green into ninety-six portions for commercial and residential development.⁷⁴ In the early 1680s William Ellis began to construct quays on the north bank of the river and built a new bridge over the river at Queen Street.⁷⁵ Both of these developments encouraged an influx of new dwellers. By 1695 the population of the parish was estimated to be 8,894, making it the most populated parish in the city.⁷⁶ Thus by the beginning of the 1700s the Catholic parish and its chapel were unequal to the massively expanding population. In 1707 the parish was divided in three: the two new parishes being St. Mary's, constituting the area east of St. Michan's, and St. Paul's, constituting the area to the west. This alteration was not simply an answer to the growing demographic concerns of Catholic authorities but was also an institutional response to the civil and religious changes introduced by an Act of Parliament in 1697, which had created the Protestant parishes of St. Paul's and St. Mary's.⁷⁷ While records are inconclusive as to when the Catholic parishes formally erected chapels, St. Paul's did possess a chapel on Arran Quay by the first decade of the eighteenth-century. In 1708 the *Dublin Gazette* recorded 'that on Sunday in the evening, at the time of service, a Beam, in the Mass House on Arran's Quay, gave way, which occasioned three persons

⁷² *London and Dublin Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan. 1750 in Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii, p. 143.

⁷³ Patrick Fagan, *Catholics in a Protestant kingdom: the papist constituency in eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin, 1998), p. 51.

⁷⁴ Douglas Bennett, *The encyclopaedia of Dublin* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2006), p. 185.

⁷⁵ Edel Sheridan, 'Designing the capital city' in Joseph Brady and Anngret Simms (eds), *Dublin through space and time (c. 900-1900)* (Dublin, 2001), p. 87.

⁷⁶ Fagan, *Catholics in a Protestant kingdom*, p. 49. With the exception of the civil parish of SS Catherine and James's, which had a population of 6,282, all of the other the city parishes had below 4,000 parishioners respectively.

⁷⁷ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, x, p. 16.

killed, and several others wounded'.⁷⁸ This 'warehouse' continued to serve as the parish chapel until c. 1730 when a more commodious edifice was erected by the parish priest, Rev Patrick Fitzsimons, the future archbishop of Dublin.⁷⁹ Similarly, there is some doubt concerning the date of erection and place of the parish chapel of St. Mary's. The first chapel seemingly was built in Liffey Street in 1729. However, it seems unlikely that the parish would have been without a chapel for some twenty-two years.⁸⁰

At the same time as the city was expanding north of the Liffey developments were also taking place to the east. Due to the impending possibility of bankruptcy, members of the Commons of Dublin had petitioned the Corporation in 1663 to set aside the waste lands in the vicinity of St Stephen's Green for development.⁸¹ Subsequently the area developed as one of the city's most fashionable quarters, and in 1665 St. Andrew's was created a civil and religious parish of the Protestant Church.⁸² By 1695 the parish had a population of nearly 4,000.⁸³ However, the Catholic parish of St. Andrew's was not constituted until 1709, its first parish priest being Revd Patrick Doyle.⁸⁴ The new parish stretched from the west end of Dame Street, covering Whitefriar Street, St Stephen's Green, and Leeson Park and extended as far as Donnybrook in the south and Ringsend in the east, and occupied an area previously attached to St. Nicholas's Without. A parish chapel was constructed some time after in Hawkins Street. The 1731 Report on the State of Popery stated that the churchwardens of St. Andrew's 'had discovered that the papists had possession of an old stable at the rere of a house (Lord Ely's House) in Hawkins Street, where they had seven priests who celebrated Mass, and two Popish Schools'.⁸⁵ The parish chapel remained there until it was relocated to Lazer's Hill in 1750.

The last Catholic parish to be created in the city during the eighteenth-century was St. James's. This parish superseded a pre-Reformation parish, which comprised an area completely outside of the city walls. After the Reformation it ceased to exist as a parish in either the Catholic or Protestant churches. The Protestant Church revived it early in the 1700s, erecting a church on the site of the pre-Reformation church in

⁷⁸ *Dublin Gazette*, 7 Dec. 1708 in Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, x, p. 13.

⁷⁹ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, x, p. 19.

⁸⁰ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, xii, p. 83.

⁸¹ Sheridan, 'Designing the capital city', p. 81.

⁸² Bennett, *The encyclopaedia of Dublin*, p. 226.

⁸³ Fagan, *Catholics in a Protestant kingdom*, p. 49. Much of these new areas were located in St. Andrew's parish.

⁸⁴ O'Fearghail, 'The evolution of Catholic parishes', p. 243.

⁸⁵ Report of the State of Popery in Ireland 1731 in Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii, p. 142.

James's Street in 1710.⁸⁶ The Catholic parish was subsequently formed from St. Catherine's in 1724. A parish chapel was erected sometime before 1730, near a Mr Jennet's house in James's Street. However, this chapel did not survive for long and was relocated to the corner of Watling Street and James's Street sometime between 1738 and 1756, possibly 1745, by Revd Richard Fitzsimons.⁸⁷ This chapel continued as the parish chapel until it was replaced by the present church, erected in 1854.

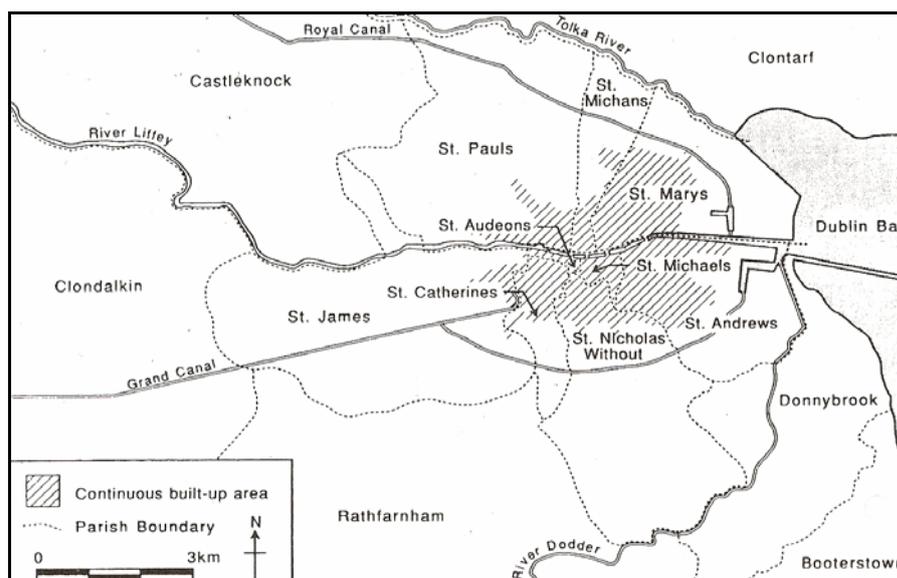
Although there were no new Catholic parishes created in the city until the erection of the parish of St Laurence O'Toole in 1853, there were a number of changes to the boundaries of Catholic parishes. The most significant change took place in 1811 when the boundaries of SS Michael and John's and St. Andrew's were altered to take into account population changes. By 1811 St. Michael's had lost a considerable number of its parishioners due to migration to the suburbs. As Catholic parish incomes were derived mostly from parochial contributions, the decline in population had an adverse effect. The fact that many of the more well-off parishioners had opted to leave for the fast growing suburbs had a devastating effect on clerical incomes. The parish priest, Dr Blake appealed to Dr Murray, parish priest of St. Andrew's, to accede a portion of his parish to St. Michael's to offset this loss. Up to 1811 St. Michael's had not extended outside of the city walls, having been limited to the area in the immediate vicinity of the Castle. A decree of 1 June 1811 stated that 'in consideration of the poverty of Rosemary Lane Parish, that part of St. Andrew's (bounded on the east side by a line passing from the River Liffey through the centre of Eustace Street, South Great George's Street, Aungier Street, to Redmond's Hill, and on the west by the Poddle)' was ceded to St. Michael, the parish for the first time extending beyond the city walls.⁸⁸ When the new parish church was erected in Exchange Street in 1815, the parish was renamed SS Michael and John's, as the new church was located in the medieval parish of St. John's.

⁸⁶ Bennett, *The encyclopaedia of Dublin*, p. 229.

⁸⁷ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 230. Bennett gives 1745 as the date of construction. See Bennett, *The encyclopaedia of Dublin*, p. 229.

⁸⁸ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 148.

Fig. 5 Catholic parishes of Dublin City and surrounding area in 1800.



Source: O’Fearthail, ‘The evolution of Catholic parishes’, p. 241.

Although the Catholic population of the archdiocese had grown significantly since the beginning of the eighteenth-century, this expansion had not necessarily been reflected in a substantial increase in the number of parishes. In 1700 the archdiocese had a total of thirty-eight parishes. Five of these were in the city while there were thirty-three rural parishes. By 1800 the overall total had only risen to forty-seven. In the city four new parishes had been created in the *interim*, while the number of parishes outside of the city had risen to thirty-eight. The total, however, paled in comparison to the number of parishes existing before the Reformation. In his *Relatio Status* of 1780 Archbishop Carpenter said that there had been ‘hundreds of parishes’ but due to the impoverished state of the diocese many had had to be amalgamated and formed into unions.⁸⁹ The parochial structure of the post-Reformation Catholic Church was in a constant state of flux. Some changes took place due to shifts in population. Parishes merged due to a lack of clergy. In the post-Reformation period the number of priests in the archdiocese was not adequate to cater for the dense pastoral network. Many parishes were no longer capable of supporting a priest and consequently many were united with their neighbours.

The parochial system outside of the Dublin City was also subject to constant change. For example, in 1730 the combined parishes of Lusk, Rush, and Skerries were broken up and three separate parishes were constituted. The reason for this alteration is unknown. However, a greater number of clergy must have become available to allow

⁸⁹ *Relatio Status*, 1780 (Dublin Diocesan Archives, Carpenter papers, AB1/116/3(19)) [hereafter D.D.A.].

such a change to take place. It may also have been connected to the increasing presence of Dominicans in the area, who had been active in north County Dublin parishes for much of the eighteenth-century. Undoubtedly their presence freed up a number of secular clergy, and may have allowed the creation of separate parishes. Rush and Lusk were, however, reunited in 1804, with Patrick Kelly as the first pastor of the united parishes.⁹⁰ At the beginning of the nineteenth-century the incomes of the parish priests of Lusk and Rush were said to be £120 and £100 respectively and were by no means the lowest in the archdiocese. The union, therefore, does not seem to have occurred solely due to economic necessity. The parishes were once again separated in 1829.⁹¹

While Lusk, Rush, and Skerries were separated, they appear, however, to have been the exception rather than the norm. It was more common to unite parishes into unions. While many unions had taken place in the previous century a number also took place during the 1700s. In 1771 Maynooth and Leixlip were separate parishes but by 1783 they had been united.⁹² In 1777 the parish of Eadestown was united to Blessington.⁹³ However, the best illustration of fluctuations in the parish system was the parish of Clondalkin.⁹⁴ By 1800 the parish included Lucan and Palmerstown as well as the parish of Clondalkin. From c. 1765 Clondalkin had been distinct from Lucan and Palmerstown.⁹⁵ In 1782 the parish of Crumlin was separated from Rathfarnham and joined with Clondalkin. This arrangement lasted until 1800 when Crumlin was eventually reunited with Rathfarnham. The union that took place in 1800 may have occurred as a result of a shortage of clergy or the poverty of the parishes. While the distances between the parishes were not insurmountable the clerical situation was certainly unusual. In 1800 John Dunn (d. 1837) became parish priest of the united parishes, a position he held until his death.⁹⁶ Dunn had previously served as pastor in Palmerstown and Lucan since 1798. However, between the years 1811-23 he was president of the Irish College, Lisbon while remaining as pastor in Palmerstown, apparently with Troy's blessing.⁹⁷ While Dunn was said to have made arrangements for

⁹⁰ This may have been the Patrick O'Kelly (d. 1824) educated at the Irish College, Louvain. See Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 278.

⁹¹ William O'Riordan, 'Succession lists of parish priests in the archdiocese of Dublin' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2 (1963), p. 325.

⁹² William O'Riordan, 'Succession lists of parish priests in the archdiocese of Dublin' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1 (1962), p. 184.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁹⁴ Number of parish priests, curates & other clergy of the archdiocese of Dublin, with the average ordinary annual income of each parish priest [of the] City of Dublin, undated (D.D.A., AB2/31/146)). The lowest recorded income was that of Donabate, which was worth £70.

⁹⁵ Nessa O'Connor, *Palmerstown, an ancient place* (Dublin, 2003), p. 37.

⁹⁶ O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 180.

⁹⁷ Patricia O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834* (Dublin, 2001), p. 71.

the running of parish until his return from Lisbon he appears to have been in no hurry to reacquaint himself with Clondalkin. In 1823 he wrote to Troy, apologising for the delay in returning but that he was ‘constantly on the look out for a vessel for Dublin’, but since none was forthcoming he might have to ‘wait for the season for shipping fruit’.⁹⁸

By the later decades of the eighteenth-century many of the city’s suburbs were expanding. Their growth was reflected in the constitution of two new parishes before 1830. The first of the new parishes was Donnybrook, established in 1787. Prior to this Donnybrook was part of a union with the parishes of Booterstown and Dundrum. In 1787 Troy constituted a new parish, consisting of Booterstown, Blackrock, Stillorgan, and Dundrum while Donnybrook was a parish on its own. Soon after what was to be said to have been the first chapel in Donnybrook was erected, on a site acquired by William Downes, later 1st Baron Downes and Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, 1803-22.⁹⁹ Nearby the areas of Rathmines and Harold’s Cross were experiencing a similar surge in population. The area had been part of St. Nicholas’s in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1823 a separate parish was constituted, called Milltown and Harold’s Cross, with the Maynooth educated William Stafford (d. 1848) as its first pastor. Previously the parish had a chapel in Rathmines dating from c. 1798.¹⁰⁰ In 1824 land was purchased from Lord Meath for the construction of a new church in Rathmines, the foundation of which was laid by Lord Brabazon in the same year.¹⁰¹ Such was the growth of the parish that by the 1830s another chapel at Milltown had also been constructed.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Revd John Dunn to Archbishop Troy, 1823 (D.D.A., Continental Colleges, 116/7) [items in this file are not individually catalogued].

⁹⁹ Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, i, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰ Church building in the diocese of Dublin (D.D.A., uncatelogued).

¹⁰¹ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vi, p. 84.

¹⁰² *Lewis’ Dublin: a topographical dictionary of the parishes, towns and villages of Dublin city and county*, ed. Christopher Ryan (Cork, 2001), p. 216.

Catholic chapels in the eighteenth-century

By the 1740s the Catholic Church in Dublin was beginning to show signs that it was slowly emerging from its ‘penal nature’, assuming some of the characteristics of a ‘Tridentine Church’. Its parochial structure had evolved from a collection of ‘Mass-houses’, often offering little more in the way of pastoral care than Mass, to a more sophisticated parish system, with more clearly defined boundaries. There was now an increasing degree of clerical and diocesan supervision over parishes. The ‘Mass-house system’ had been the product of the political climate of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries where the Church was effectively incapable of developing along Tridentine lines. Coupled with sporadic bouts of persecution, which often forced the closure of chapels, government measures restricted the Church’s ability to establish a pastoral system as recommended by the Counter-Reformation Church. Indeed the last ‘significant phase of repressive anti-Catholic activity spanned the difficult years 1739-45’, and even then these were measures designed more at ensuring the security of the kingdom against a possible Jacobite invasion from Scotland and had little to do with the persecution of Catholicism.¹⁰³ Whether or not the reluctance to enforce these laws was due to a softening of attitudes towards Catholics, a general apathy, or a realisation that their implementation was simply unworkable is unclear. What is obvious though is that their downgrading in importance allowed the Catholic Church to embark on further reform and renewal. Among elements of Catholic infrastructure in need of renewal were the chapels themselves.

While the network of parishes had been extensively reformed since the beginning of the century many chapels were still inadequate. Some had been built as temporary chapels, and were never intended as permanent structures. Although some had been modified in the early decades of the century as a whole they were becoming increasingly unsuitable. It was clear that by the 1740s many of the existing chapels had become unsafe, and posed a danger to those attending mass. Indeed it was probably the latter obstacle that caused many parish priests to upgrade or replace existing facilities. As has been illustrated already, newspapers carried accounts of accidents occurring in overcrowded and structurally unsafe chapels. *Pue’s Occurrences* reported on a near fatal accident in November 1738:

¹⁰³ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 157.

On Thursday last, being St Andrew's Day, there was a numerous congregation at the Chapel in Hawkins Street, and one of the beams being heard to crack, they ran out with such precipitation that several were trampled under foot and very much hurted. Several jumped out of the window, one of them broke his arm.¹⁰⁴

Possibly the most serious catastrophe occurred on 27 February 1744 in an 'old house' in Pill Lane 'where a priest was officiating Mass, fell down, by which accident he and nine others were killed, and several hurt.'¹⁰⁵ 1744 was a year of fear for the British and Irish governments due to the increased threat posed by Jacobites forces in Scotland. Consequently the penal laws relating to Catholic chapels were enforced in the city, resulting in their closure. In March of that year a proclamation was published by the lord lieutenant and the Council of Ireland, which commanded 'all justices of the peace and other magistrates, strictly to put in execution the several laws against Popish archbishops, bishops and other Popish ecclesiastical persons therein mentioned'.¹⁰⁶ However, upon hearing the news of the tragedy at Pill Lane the lord lieutenant, Lord Chesterfield, ordered that the pursuit of clergy and closure of chapels be suspended.¹⁰⁷ The accident at Pill Lane was probably directly connected to the closure of the chapels, which may have forced the congregation to take refuge in an ill-suited 'house', which was not capable of accommodating large numbers of people.

While penal statutes still remained, this period effectively marked the end of systematic attempts by the government to prevent the functioning of a Catholic parish system in the city. Thus while its pastoral infrastructure continued to be hampered by its legal standing, the Catholic Church was now freer than at any time since the reign of James II to embark on a second and more sophisticated phase of church building. While the newly erected parishes of St. Paul's, St. Mary's, St. Catherine's and St. Andrew's had constructed new chapels, renovations and re-constructions had also been undertaken in the chapels of the existing parishes. Much has been written concerning the architectural nature of the 'penal chapels'. Hidden away from the public gaze in the lanes and alleys of the city, these chapels supposedly reflected the impoverished and submissive nature of the Catholic Church in the pre-Emancipation period. The aesthetic degradation of these edifices exposed the pitiful nature which Catholics had endured since the seventeenth-century. While they did not generally occupy prominent

¹⁰⁴ *Pue's Occurrences*, 2 Dec. 1738 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁵ *Exshaw's Magazine*, Feb. 1744 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 65.

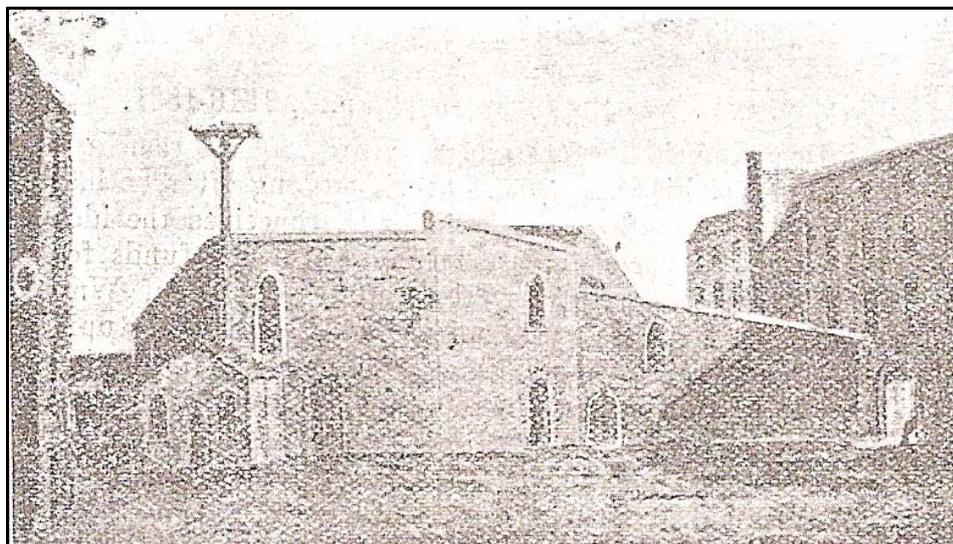
¹⁰⁶ *Freeman's Dublin Journal*, 3 Mar. 1744 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁷ Kelly, 'The impact of the penal laws', p. 158.

locations, these chapels were not as primitive as some nineteenth and twentieth century Catholic apologists made them out to be. In this instance it is helpful to consult a much quoted document from 1749 which outlined the physical condition and location of both the secular and regular chapels in the city.¹⁰⁸ The descriptions in fact contradict some of the great assumptions of the ‘penal church’ and reveal much about the contradictory nature of penal legislation. The chapels described illustrate how a supposedly illegal institution had, by this relatively early stage, assumed a moderately sophisticated appearance.

Due to a number of government reports one can say something about the architecture of the city’s Catholic chapels in the pre-Revolutionary period. As a response to the accidents of 1744 the government commissioned a report on the state and condition of Catholic chapels in Dublin in 1749. Most chapels were located in unobtrusive locations, often next to warehouses or commercial dwellings, and not fronting onto main streets. Therefore, their shape tended to be somewhat irregular, often t-shaped, l-shaped or octagonal, many containing galleries, allowing the most economical use of space.¹⁰⁹ The chapel of St. James’s near St. James’s Gate was one of the most wretched. The chapel, which remained open until 1854, barely resembled a sacred building, and undoubtedly was constructed over a period of time, with various annexes added, presumably whenever funds became available.

Fig. 7 St. James’s Chapel, St. James’s Gate.



Source: Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii.

¹⁰⁸ See Nicholas Donnelly (ed.), *State and condition of Roman Catholic chapels in Dublin, both Secular and Regulars AD 1749* (Dublin, 1904).

¹⁰⁹ *Sacred places: the story of Christian architecture in Ireland* (Belfast, 2000), p. 38.

This style was known as the ‘vernacular form’. Due to the Catholic Church’s precarious legal standing chapels were closely identifiable with secular architecture but had ‘certain inherited typologies into a new Classical synthesis’, which made them identifiable as religious buildings.¹¹⁰ Generally though they were somewhat superior to the Catholic chapels in English towns and cities, many of which were the typically penal ‘garrets’ while others were converted premises, hidden by domestic facades.¹¹¹ In Scotland Catholic chapels were more like their Irish counterparts. The chapel system there had received a severe blow in the wake of the Jacobite rebellion in 1745, with government forces systematically burning chapels throughout the Highlands.¹¹² The subsequent persecution of Catholics meant that Mass had been celebrated in barns on isolated farms or in private lodgings.¹¹³ Consequently the few chapels that were erected resembled barns, and as in Dublin, had no outward religious symbols. The chapel of St. Ninian at Tynet, Aberdeenshire, built c. 1769 was a low single storey barn; the height of the ceiling was only thirteen feet.¹¹⁴ In fact Tynet was considered one of the more commodious rural chapels in Scotland.

Fig. 8 St. Ninian’s Chapel, Tynet.



Source: Richard Surman, *Secret churches: ecclesiastical gems from around Britain and Ireland* (London, 2008), p. 287.

¹¹⁰ Niall McCullough and Valerie Mulvin, *A lost tradition: the nature of Irish architecture* (Dublin, 1987), p. 81.

¹¹¹ Roderick O’Donnell, ‘Architectural setting of Challoner’s episcopate’ in Eamon Duffy (ed.), *Challoner and his church: a Catholic bishop in Georgian England* (London, 1981), p. 59.

¹¹² Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829* (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 152.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

As has already been suggested, this vernacular style was also predominant in the Catholic chapels in Dublin. The parish chapel of St. Michan's in St. Mary's Lane, for example, was described as 'a large but irregular piece of a building'.¹¹⁵ Their exteriors were generally devoid of any architectural embellishments, usually constructed with a rubble finish, often with pebbledash rather than the more expensive cut stone.¹¹⁶ They were never accompanied by a tower, as legally both Catholics and Presbyterians were forbidden from adorning churches with either towers or spires. Their interior lay outs were generally designed to maximise capacity and were concerned little with architectural styles. Chapels in the city appear to have contained at least one gallery, but some, such as the chapel in Rosemary Lane (SS Michael and John's) and Hawkins Street (St. Andrew's) had three galleries. Most chapels contained a number of confessionals and pews, but the majority of people would have stood during Mass. It seems likely that there was a strict social division as regards seating and positioning in the chapels. The report on SS Michael and John's chapel may confirm this conjecture, describing that the middle gallery was 'for the better sort of the congregation'.¹¹⁷ The report for the parish chapel of St. Andrew's in Hawkins Street stated that there were three galleries, 'in one of which is the Communion Table and confessional. That next the pulpit is for the better sort of parishioners: and the third is in the common.'¹¹⁸ In the Dominican chapel in Bridge Street there were a number of pews, one of which was reserved for Lord Kingsland, on which was his coat of arms.¹¹⁹ In other instances seating seems to have been erected by the parish authorities and then sold to parishioners to raise funds for the cost of maintenance and renovations.¹²⁰ This had been the case in the parish chapel of Ballymore Eustace, where a Mrs Wolfe and Mrs Ormsby erected a pew in the 1780s.¹²¹

As one might expect, the altar and sanctuary were the most lavishly decorated areas in chapels. For example, the altar in Liffey Street Chapel was

railed in, steps ascending to it of oak; for part of the altar covered with gilt leather, and the name of Jesus in glory in the midst. On the altar is a gilt tabernacle, with six large gilt candlesticks, and as many nosegays of artificial flowers. The altar piece carved and embellished with four pillars, cornices and other decorations gilt and painted. The picture of the Conception of the B.V.M.... and on each side are paintings of the Apostles Peter

¹¹⁵ Donnelly (ed.), *State and condition of Roman Catholic chapels in Dublin*, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ Kelly, 'The impact of the penal laws', p. 160.

¹¹⁷ Donnelly (ed.), *State and condition of Roman Catholic chapels in Dublin*, p. 14.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹²⁰ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 55.

¹²¹ A case for the perusal of Doctor Troy Ach. Bishop of Dublin, 1794 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/6 (35)).

and Paul. Opposite the altar hangs a handsome brass branch for tapers, near it is a neat oak pulpit, on the sounding board of which is the figure of a gilt dove, representing the descent of the Holy Ghost.¹²²

Even though the altar piece and candlesticks were made of gilt, an inferior substitute for gold or silver, the setting was reasonably well-adorned with images and various other embellishments. While the description of St. Mary's was one of the most detailed and lavish it was by no means an isolated example, with many chapels comparing favourably. The altar in parish chapel of St. Michan's in St. Mary's Lane was adorned by a 'painting of the Annunciation of the B.V.M.' and on the Epistle side stood 'a large image of the B.V. with Jesus in her arms, carved in wood, which statue before the dissolution belonged to St. Mary's Abbey'.¹²³ The altar piece in Francis Street chapel contained four pillars and steps, both made of Kilkenny marble, which were 'adorned with the pictures of the Assumption, St. Peter, St. Thomas, St. Paul and St. Nicholas'.¹²⁴ The majority of altars were decorated with a painting depicting a scriptural narrative, usually of the Crucifixion or the Annunciation. The picture was a distinctive feature of the more sophisticated Catholic chapels in England until the gothic of Pugin became popular from the 1850s.¹²⁵ The multitude of paintings representing biblical scenes was probably intended to make up for the noticeable absence of stained glass windows in chapels. There was also an array of liturgical aids such as monstrances and thuribles. The O'Connor Monstrance is an excellent illustration of the more sophisticated liturgical aids used in the penal period. The sunburst style monstrance was commissioned in 1772 by the Dominican, John O'Connor to mark to the refurbishment of the Dominican chapel in Bridge Street.¹²⁶

¹²² Donnelly (ed.), *State and condition of Roman Catholic chapels in Dublin*, p. 12.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹²⁵ O'Donnell, 'Architectural setting of Challoner's episcopate', p. 67.

¹²⁶ *Maynooth College bicentenary art exhibitions. Ecclesiastical art of the penal era and art and transcendence* (Maynooth, 1995), p. 37. This was the same John O'Connor who wrote *An essay on the rosary and Sodality of the most holy name* (Dublin, 1772).

Fig. 9 The O'Connor Monstrance.

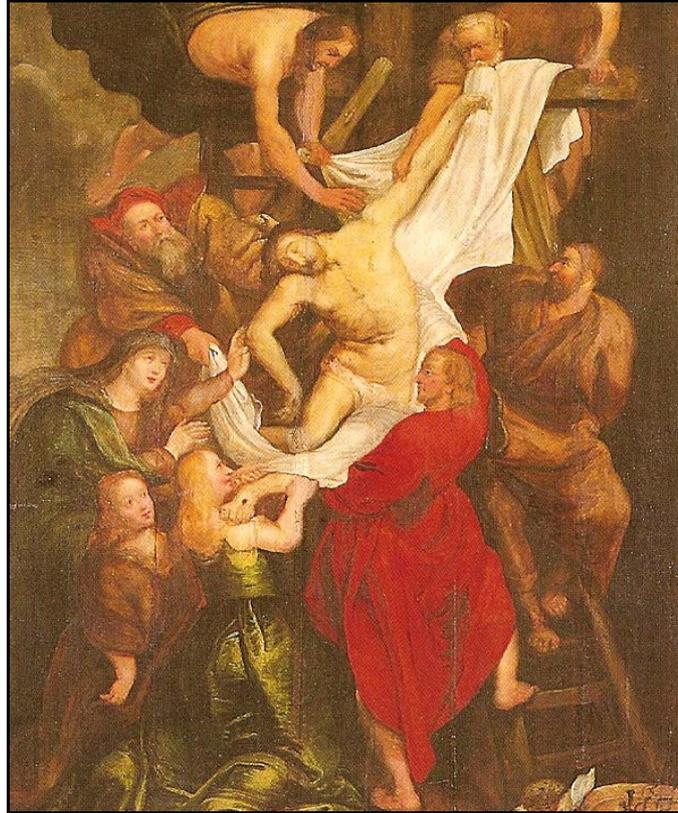


Source: *Maynooth College bicentenary art exhibitions. Ecclesiastical art of the penal era and art and transcendence*, p. 37.

Indeed the liturgical setting of the Dominican chapel was further enhanced by a large copy of Peter Paul Ruben's (1577-1640) the 'Descent from the cross'. The report of 1749 stated that the chapel's altar made 'a grand appearance, partly gilded and partly painted, the pillars are lofty, the altar piece a large painting of the crucifixion'.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Donnelly (ed.), *State and condition of Roman Catholic chapels in Dublin*, p. 16.

Fig. 10 ‘The Descent from the Cross’, Bridge Street Chapel.



Source: *Maynooth College bicentenary art exhibitions. Ecclesiastical art of the penal era and art and transcendence, p. 9.*

The chapel of the Dominican nuns in Channel Row contained a similarly imposing image. A large copy of Anthony van Dyck's (1599-1641) 'the Crucifixion' hung behind the altar, flanked on either side by paintings of St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Sienna.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

Fig. 11 'The Crucifixion', Dominican convent, Channel Row.



Source: *Maynooth College bicentenary art exhibitions. Ecclesiastical art of the penal era and art and transcendence*, p. 7.

However, the Dominican chapel was not the only regular chapel whose interior was well-decorated. The Augustinian chapel in John's Lane was described as one of the 'most regular chapels in Dublin', the altar was 'wainscoted and embellished with pillars, cornices and other decorations'.¹²⁹ Their interiors also reflected the increasing devotional activity blossoming in the city. The practice of public devotions had been one of the liturgical casualties of the post-Reformation Catholic Church in Ireland. By the 1730s, however, a number of chapels were beginning to re-introduce public devotions. Many chapels contained statues of saints associated with particular devotions. For example, the Discalced Carmelite chapel in Wormwood Gate contained a statue of the 'V.M. giving the Scapular to St. Simon'.¹³⁰ Devotion to the scapular of the Blessed Virgin had traditionally been promoted by the Carmelites and by 1749 was beginning to re-emerge as one of the more popular and accessible ways of publicly displaying Christian fellowship. The Capuchin chapel in Church Street contained a

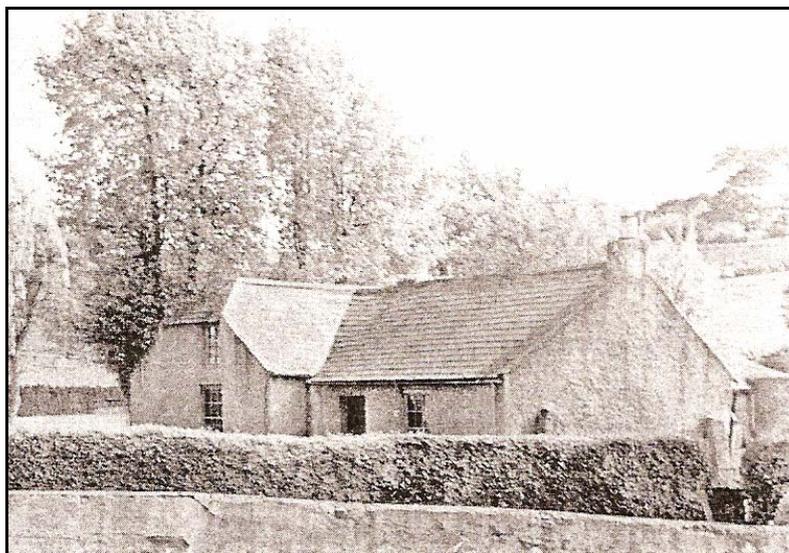
¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

statue of the 'St. Francis in the Capuchin Habit' while the Dominican chapel in Bridge Street had a painting of 'St. Dominic receiving the Rosary from the V.M.', both objects of devotion for the respective orders.¹³¹ Indeed, the regular clergy appear to have been to the fore in the enhancement of their respective chapels. Unlike the secular clergy, the regulars could not count on dues from parishioners, and were entirely reliant on chapel collections. This led to competition among the regulars, which may have persuaded them to develop their own chapels for various devotional activities, an area in which they came to dominate.

While the city chapels may have been comfortable, if admittedly irregular looking buildings with some adornment, chapels in rural areas were considerably more primitive. Most of the chapels in the city had dignified and well-adorned altars and sanctuaries; many had confessionals, some pews, galleries and separate areas for the choir, while some, such as the chapel on Arran Quay had a 'convenient Sacristy'.¹³² On the other hand, most rural chapels were Spartan in appearance, with little or no decoration, and were sometimes deemed unsatisfactory for the celebration of Mass. The chapel at Loughlinstown resembled a house or barn more than it did a religious building. It had square, plain windows, a small doorway and was without a cross or any outward religious symbols.

Fig. 12 Loughlinstown Chapel.



Source: *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 2 (1960).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Similarly the chapel at Cruice near Tallaght was more akin to a small cottage than a church. It could have been no longer than thirty feet in length, and contained only a handful of windows, once again with no visible religious symbols.

Fig. 13 Cruice Chapel, Tallaght.



Source: *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2 (1963).

One of the main reasons for this disparity was that the city parishes had considerably higher incomes than many rural parishes. In 1801 the average income of a parish priest in the city was roughly £170, while the average value of a rural parish was about £110.¹³³ Generally parishes in Dublin City had larger and wealthier populations, who could fund the material alterations to chapels. However, in general this was not a phenomenon characteristic of the situation of the Catholic Church nationally. The visitation reports of Archbishop James Butler I (1691-1774) of Cashel gave a bleak view of penal chapels in the archdiocese of Cashel in the years 1750-1774. Although Cashel was one of the wealthier Irish dioceses, possessing a strong Catholic farming class, Butler described chapels where furnishings were at a minimum; often the only form of ornamentation was a painted image of a crucifix.¹³⁴ Furthermore chapel building in Cashel proceeded at a much slower pace than in Dublin and it was only during his episcopacy that an occasional stone wall chapel appeared. Previously they

¹³³ Number of parish priests, curates & other clergy of the archdiocese of Dublin, with the average ordinary annual income of each parish priest [of the] City of Dublin, undated (D.D.A., AB2/31/146).

¹³⁴ 'Archbishop Butler's visitation book', ed. Christopher O'Dwyer, in *Arch. Hib.*, xxxiii (1977), p. 10.

had been low, mud walled buildings with thatch roofs and mud floors.¹³⁵ Butler commented that the parish chapel of Cloneen in 1752 was ‘roughly & staunchly built without an altar, roughcast, plaster or whitewash’.¹³⁶ Similarly, he said that the chapel in Moglass, while being ‘well thatched’, was only seven feet high.¹³⁷ The chapel at Ballinahinch was described as ‘a chapple newly built, not thoroughly thatched, without whitewash, plastering or glass windows’.¹³⁸ It has been estimated that in 1754 a simple thatched chapel could be built for as little as £4.¹³⁹ Such a meagre amount could not have furnished pews, statues, a stone altar or any other adornments. However, this type of building remained in use in many parts of the country well into the nineteenth-century. Writing in the 1830s Alexis de Tocqueville noted a chapel which he visited in the archdiocese of Tuam. He was particularly struck by its bare interior: ‘the floor was of beaten earth; the altar was of wood; the walls had neither paint nor pictures, but remained as the mason had left them.’¹⁴⁰

Many rural dioceses in Ireland found it more difficult to finance grander chapels than cities and towns, which had larger populations and subsequently a greater base from which to draw subscriptions. However, this does not take away from the significance of the Catholic Church in Dublin’s programme of chapel building at such an early stage. For example, by 1825 a report from the archdiocese of Tuam stated that out of 106 chapels only eighteen or fewer had slate roofs, the rest were thatched.¹⁴¹ This further illustrated the success of the Church in Dublin in developing a moderately sophisticated parochial system by 1749. Only five years previously the Catholic Church had suffered a period of comparatively severe persecution, with chapel closures featuring intermittently during the years 1739-1745. Yet the descriptions of many chapels in Dublin, especially in the city, suggest that Catholics were reasonably confident that they were emerging from their oppressed state. This suggests that the Irish Catholic community was far from being a homogenous party, characterised universally by insufficient numbers of clergy and inadequate pastoral amenities. In fact the Catholic Church in urban centres was much better organised and financed than its rural counterpart. This superiority was characterised by better chapels, more elaborate

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville in Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 109.

¹⁴¹ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 108.

liturgies, a thriving print culture and an expanding system of confraternities and sodalities.

While poverty has been traditionally cited as the principal reason for the basic nature of chapels in rural areas there may be another explanation. The Catholic community in rural areas not only lacked ‘grand chapels’ but also did not have the benefit of confraternities or a developed print culture or the religious orders, as parishes in Dublin City enjoyed. Catholic religious culture in rural areas was considerably more basic. Apart from Mass most parishes offered few formal outlets for Catholic culture to exist. In the Catholic community in rural areas there was a greater social inertia. In some parishes Catholics were forbidden from erecting chapels in towns and villages by local Protestant landlords.¹⁴² In Dublin City the climate was far more conducive to improvement. The city lacked such a dominant hierarchical system, complete with social restraints that existed in rural parishes. One could also argue that the pastoral activities were constrained by a psychological hang-up from the penal laws, long after the laws had ceased to function. As well as this, the apparent reluctance to implement pastoral reforms, Catholics in rural areas were not served by the regular clergy, who were prominent in the renewal of chapels and the promotion of devotion in Dublin City.

Chapel building from the 1760s onwards

While numerous chapels had been rebuilt or relocated in the previous centuries, often because of their unsuitability, in the 1790s a number of chapels were forced to relocate because of economic factors. As Catholics were forbidden to purchase lands under the penal laws, chapels were situated on leased or rented plots. Problems often arose if the lease could not be renewed or the price demanded was too high. By 1793 the Discalced Carmelites could not afford to pay the rent on their chapel in Stephen Street. In the same year construction was begun on a new chapel in Clarendon Street. The prior, Revd Edward Gregory O’Reilly, O.C.D. stated that the

Lease of St Stephen’s Chapel at a very extravagant rent and [there was] no chance to build a new one. We agreed to decline the very idea of retaking said Stephen Street Chapel, but to take ground elsewhere and build a new Chapel... We took a plot of ground in Clarendon Street, without the least materials on it, the 1st day of August 1793... and the 3rd day of October 1793 we laid the first foundation stone... Chapel [was] opened for Divine Service May 8th, 1797.¹⁴³

¹⁴² It should be noted that Protestant landlords were not always opposed to the erection of Catholic chapels. For example, land for a new chapel in Dunlavin was donated by Lady Tynte Caldwell. See Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (2 vols, Dallas, 1970), i, p. 583.

¹⁴³ Revd Gregory O’Reilly, O.C.D., in Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii, p. 147.

In other instances leases were not renewed, or sites were deemed unsuitable for expansion. In 1767 the chapel of St. Audoen's had been relocated to Bridge Street from Cook Street. The parish chapel was moved to an existing chapel in Bridge Street, which had previously been in the hands of the Dominicans, who left for Denmark Street in the same year.¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately in most cases the reasons for relocation are unknown. Thus little is known as to why the parish chapel of St. Catherine's was moved from Dirty Lane to Meath Street in 1782. Judging from accounts of the new chapel though, which suggest a spacious and commodious building, it was possibly because the chapel in Dirty Lane could no longer meet the parish's needs. On a visit to the chapel some years later, the Protestant travel writer Samuel Lewis described it as 'a very spacious octagon building of brick, with a gallery along five of its sides, the altar being in the centre of the other three'.¹⁴⁵ The priest who presided over the construction of the new chapel was Bartholomew Sherlock (d. 1806). Educated at the Irish College, Lisbon, Sherlock had previously been parish priest of St. Audoen's and later pastor of St. Paul's, before acceding to the parish St. Catherine's in 1783. As well as the construction of new chapels many existing structures underwent various degrees of restoration. The Augustinian chapel in John's Lane was enlarged considerably in 1781. In the same year a collection was taken up amounting to just over £350 to fund the reconstruction.¹⁴⁶ The collection enabled the friars to increase the size of the nave by some fifty-seven feet in length and twenty-four feet in breadth, as well as allowing the erection of an aisle with a gallery. When alterations were completed by 1785 the cost was said to have totalled £1,200.¹⁴⁷ This chapel existed until it was demolished in the 1850s to make way for the present church. Similarly, the parish priest of St. Paul's, Richard Talbot, restored and enlarged Arran Quay chapel in 1785-86.¹⁴⁸

Many of the chapels restored or newly erected in the earlier decades of the century continued in existence well into the nineteenth-century. James Kelly suggests that while the Catholic Church was significantly better off by the 1780s, the amount of church building that took place in the 1770s and early 1780s was considerably less than in previous decades.¹⁴⁹ The reason for this, he argues, was that the Church 'did not yet

¹⁴⁴ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii, p. 147.

¹⁴⁵ *Lewis' Dublin*, ed. Ryan, p. 148.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas Butler, *John's Lane: a history of the Augustinian friars in Dublin 1280-1980* (Dublin, 1983), p. 104.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁴⁸ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, x, p. 23.

¹⁴⁹ Kelly, 'The impact of the penal laws', p. 169.

feel secure enough to replace its existing retiring chapels and Mass houses with more commodious churches'.¹⁵⁰ However, while Kelly rightly notes that chapel building may have slowed down towards the end of the century, Catholic chapels, especially in the city, were increasingly adapting to the rising economic and social status of the Catholic community. For example, the style of the chapels in the archdiocese in many ways reflected the improved standing of the Catholic community. Their interiors were dignified and aesthetically pleasing, although their exteriors were considerably more humble, with little or no ornamentation. Indeed from the 1720s Catholics had felt sufficiently secure to erect and embellish chapels while remaining physically unobtrusive. As long as the Catholic community maintained this unobtrusive stance it was felt that government authorities would leave them unmolested. However adorned their chapel interiors were, Catholics thus remained reluctant to enhance their exteriors in any way that might cause offence to the government and Protestant authorities. To build more distinguished chapels could have been looked on by some in the Protestant establishment as more a sign of the political intent of the Catholic population than of pastoral improvement. The Revolution in France had heightened Protestant fears that Catholics were about to rise up in revolt, and combined with heightened agrarian and radical activity in Ireland, the Catholic Church at this sensitive time exercised a degree of caution regarding church building and public expressions of faith. Any programme of chapel enhancements at this politically sensitive time could have incurred some form of official sanction from the government. Therefore, while the Catholic Church and other Catholic groups were petitioning the government to repeal the penal laws, they were very careful not to do anything that would jeopardise the prospects of both civil and religious reforms for Catholics. This caution extended to chapel building, for the buildings themselves were the most obvious sign of the Catholic community's real position in society.

The 1790s saw an increase in the activity of radical societies, culminating in the rebellion of 1798. Archbishop Troy and other senior clergy were determined to distance themselves from the radicals, and consequently assumed a conservative position in both politics and ecclesiastical affairs. By doing so the bishops and the clergy consolidated the gains made by the Catholic Church from the 1780s onwards with the gradual repeal of the penal laws. At this point it was of greater importance to the Church to ensure these 'graces' would not be reversed by the government than to push ahead with a programme of church building. As well as this there was the significant fact that the

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

Church had become partially dependent on the government to finance one of its most significant new initiatives: the provision for the education of the clergy through the establishment of Maynooth College. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Catholic community in Dublin did not embark on a significant programme of church building until the 1810s. Only one chapel appears to have been constructed in the whole of the 1790s, the Discalced Carmelites chapel in Clarendon Street in 1793.¹⁵¹ The church was designed by Timothy Beahan and constructed by John Sweetman, a brewer and prominent member of the Catholic laity. Sweetman later became involved in United Irishmen and was forced into exile in the aftermath of the rebellion. It has been suggested that he was the architect for the Metropolitan Chapel in Marlborough Street. The erection of the chapel in Clarendon Street, however, proved to be a significant turning point in the fortunes of the Catholic community in the archdiocese as it was the first chapel to be erected in this phase which remains in use to this day.¹⁵² It was also the first Catholic chapel to be erected since the introduction of the 1793 Catholic Relief Bill, which eventually paved the way for Catholics to erect the churches of ‘architectural pretension’, a departure from the old ‘penal chapel’ of earlier times.¹⁵³ The new church was laid out as a rectangular hall, galleried on three sides.¹⁵⁴ However, its completion was hindered because of lack of funds and work on it continued for over a decade.¹⁵⁵

While Clarendon Street marked the initial departure from the ‘penal chapel’ to ‘church’, the construction of SS Michael and John’s church in Smock Alley was the event which effectively signalled the start of the great building programme of city churches, which occurred between 1815 and 1860. The parish chapel had previously been located in Rosemary Lane since the late seventeenth century but by the early 1800s a site was sought for the construction of a new church. Donnelly cites Dr Thomas Betagh, the parish priest from 1799 to 1810, as the first pastor to moot this suggestion, which was later advanced by Dr Michael Blake.¹⁵⁶ The new site was acquired in July 1811 for £1,600, on the spot where the old Smock Alley theatre had stood.¹⁵⁷ Building commenced sometime in the early 1810s and the church was dedicated in September

¹⁵¹ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii, p. 147.

¹⁵² The church was altered significantly in the late nineteenth-century.

¹⁵³ Brendan Grimes, ‘Patrick Byrne and St Paul’s, Arran Quay, Dublin’ in *History Ireland* (January/February 2007), p. 24.

¹⁵⁴ Christine Casey, *The buildings of Ireland: Dublin* (Yale, 2005), p. 472.

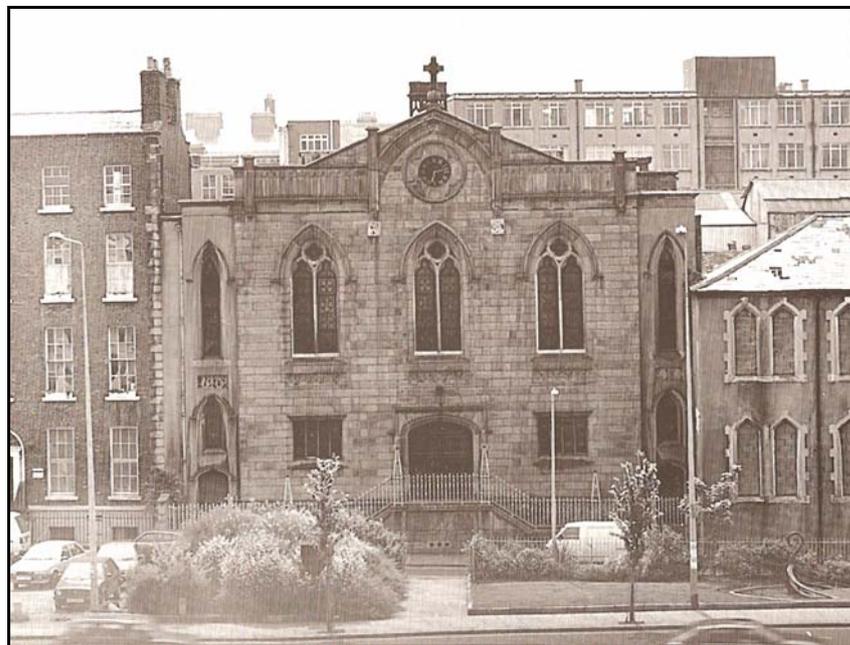
¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

¹⁵⁶ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 197.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

1813.¹⁵⁸ The church was designed by John Taylor, a graduate of the Dublin Society's Schools, who later went on to supervise the erection of the Metropolitan Chapel and designed the Protestant church of St Michael and All the Angels.¹⁵⁹ SS Michael and John's, which was one of Taylor's first commissions, had near identical granite front and rear elevations, facing West Essex Street and Lower Exchange Street respectively, giving it a square-like appearance. The building was constructed in the gothic style with Tudor and early English influences. It was a relatively small building, 'a gabbled Gothick hall', containing pointed arched gallery windows.¹⁶⁰ Taylor utilised the existing structure of the old theatre, plastering over the original doors and windows and inserting new ones.¹⁶¹

Fig. 14 SS Michael and John's Church, Essex Street.



Source: Simpson, *Smock Alley theatre: the evolution of a building*, p. 2.

It had an elaborate stuccoed ceiling in the Strawberry Hill gothick style and was fitted with an organ at a cost of £700.¹⁶² Tradition has it that the church contained the first bell to ring in any Catholic chapel since the time of the Reformation, a departure that allegedly provoked 'the fury of Orange bigots' who instituted proceedings in the King's Bench against the offending Blake.¹⁶³ Blake, however, was never brought to account for

¹⁵⁸ *Parish of SS Michael and John's* (Dublin, 1954) [not paginated].

¹⁵⁹ Jacqueline O'Brien and Desmond Guinness, *Dublin: a grand tour* (Dublin, 1994), p. 250.

¹⁶⁰ Casey, *The buildings of Ireland: Dublin*, p. 347.

¹⁶¹ Linzi Simpson, *Smock Alley theatre: the evolution of a building* (Dublin, 1996).

¹⁶² Church building in the diocese of Dublin (D.D.A., uncatelogueed).

¹⁶³ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 197.

his actions, having secured the services of Daniel O’Connell to challenge the validity of the charges of the ‘orange’ agitator, Alderman Carleton.¹⁶⁴

SS Michael and John’s lead in erecting a more noble ‘church’ was quickly followed in St. Michan’s. The parish chapel had traditionally stood on a site in St. Mary’s Lane, having been erected sometime while the renowned Cornelius Nary had been parish priest (c. 1700-1738). The population of the parish continued to grow throughout the eighteenth century and by the 1810 the chapel was insufficient to accommodate a growing congregation. Having been appointed parish priest in 1807, the Paris-educated Christopher Wall (d. 1826) set about raising funds for the construction of a new chapel from prominent parishioners, most notably a Mrs Coppinger, aunt of Sir Patrick Bellew of Bermeath, Co. Meath.¹⁶⁵ By 1812 sufficient funds had been raised to allow the commencement of a new chapel in Anne Street.¹⁶⁶ The new church was built to the designs of Messrs O’Brien and Gorman and was completed in 1817. Its interior ‘was richly decorated with stucco and sculpture’ and some of the walls were decorated with figures of the principal Irish saints.¹⁶⁷ The church was a five-bay gabled hall, containing granite front and rear elevations, not dissimilar in appearance to SS Michael and John’s. The church had a reasonable degree of decoration, containing stained glass windows at the Anne Street end, three altars ‘placed in deep recesses, and ornamented with heavy carved work’, while over the altar there was a ‘full-length figure of our Saviour beneath a painted canopy.’¹⁶⁸ To the right of the altar there was a ‘very beautiful painting of St Francis [Xavier], copied from Guido’, reflective of the long standing relationship between the Jesuits and the parish.¹⁶⁹

However, by far the most significant church to be erected in this period was the Metropolitan Chapel, later renamed St. Mary’s Pro-Cathedral. Plans had been made for the replacement of St. Mary’s Chapel, Liffey Street since the early years of Troy’s episcopacy, when he began collecting funds for a more spacious chapel. By 1803 sufficient funds had been acquired to purchase the town house of Lord Annesley in Marlborough Street. A pamphlet addressed ‘To the public’ proudly proclaimed the purchase:

The Roman Catholic Inhabitants of St. Mary’s Parish have purchased, at an Expense of £5,100, the late Earl Annesley’s House and Concerns in Marlborough-street, being a

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Annals of the Presentation convent, George’s Hill (Presentation Convent, George’s Hill archives) [hereafter P.G.H.A].

¹⁶⁶ M.V. Ronan, *The parish of St Michan* (Dublin, 1948) [not paginated].

¹⁶⁷ *Wright’s historical guide to Dublin* (Dublin, 1825) in Ronan, *The parish of St Michan*.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

simple fee estate... The situation of the present Chapel, in Liffey-street, having been found inconvenient, and the lease being expired, it is proposed to erect on these premises, A ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL, adapted to the increased population of this great City, and not unworthy of the opulence, with which God has blessed its Inhabitants. The number and respectability of the Roman Catholics of Dublin suggest the propriety, that some, at least one, of the buildings consecrated by them to the sacred Duties of their Religion, and appropriated to their accommodation, should be among the Ornamental Edifices of this metropolis.¹⁷⁰

The Catholic parishioners of St. Mary's were therefore no longer content to use the penal chapel in Liffey Street. The chapel in Liffey Street may have been a comfortable building but the difficulty for the parish may have lain in its symbolic significance. It was characteristic of a church 'existing' only through the grace, or indifference, of the Protestant establishment. The various Catholic Relief Acts had liberated Catholics from many legal restrictions. Therefore, it was only fitting that the Church shed its outward appearance of subservience and erect buildings more fitting to their improving status.

The appeal stated that

The Roman Catholics of Dublin must blush to reflect that the sacred Rites of their Religion are celebrated in alleys difficult to access, and in obscure corners. They will consider how much it is unworthy of the Honor which they owe to God, to content themselves, in days of comparative great ease and opulence, with merely preserving that appearance which could admit no other apology, than the discountenance their religion and the professors of it at a former period experienced.¹⁷¹

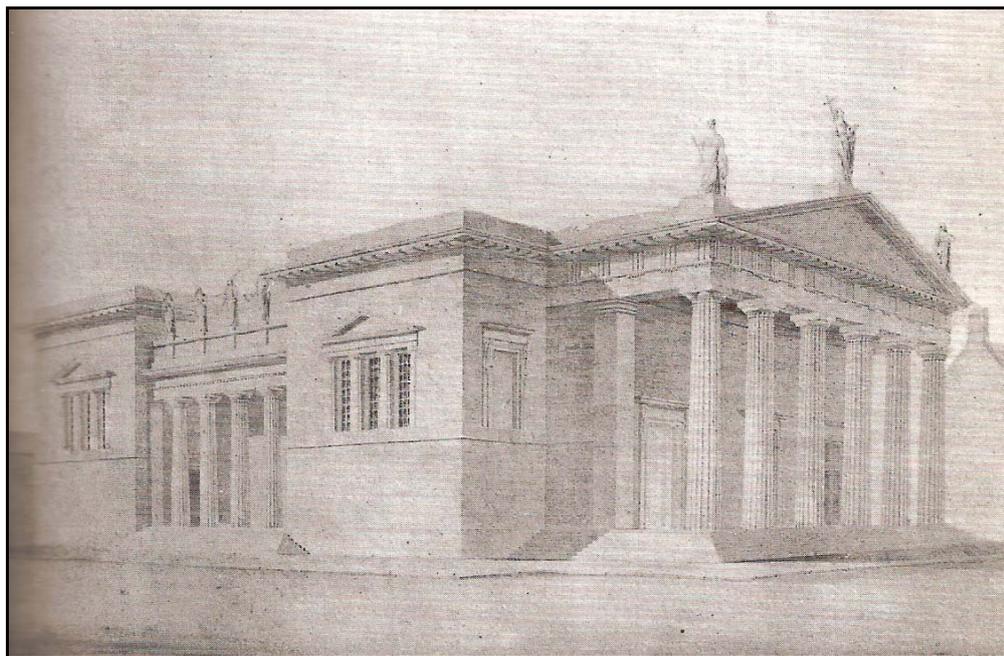
The chapels located in the lanes and alleys were acceptable only when the political situation forbade the erection of more appropriate buildings. However, in the eyes of those who compiled this report, there were no legal restrictions prohibiting the Church from replacing penal chapels with churches. Therefore, the report stated the 'parishioners of St. Mary's feel the obligation, and embrace the occasion to lead the way in complying with it. They intend on the ground, which they have purchased, to erect for the worship of God, a handsome, commodious, and Metropolitan Chapel'.¹⁷² That the chapel would be 'handsome' and 'commodious' appears to have been important to the parishioners, because in their eyes this would be a physical assertion of their equality with the Protestant neighbours.

¹⁷⁰ 'To the public', undated (D.D.A., Pro-Cathedral papers).

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

Fig. 15 ‘View of the Pro-Cathedral’.



Source: Dáire Keogh and James Kelly (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin*.

While it is important to remember that even when completed, the church was styled the ‘Metropolitan Chapel’, and not a ‘cathedral’, it was nonetheless a building of considerable magnitude and undertaking for the Catholic community in Dublin. The importance of the construction of a chapel in the parish was constantly stressed on the parishioners and Dubliners. On the death in 1797 of the parish priest, Dr William Clarke, Archbishop Troy acquired St. Mary’s as his mensal parish. The archdiocese at this stage did not possess a cathedral in the proper sense, but rather the parish chapel of St. Nicholas in Francis Street served as a sort of ‘metropolitan chapel’. Therefore, any attempt to build a cathedral-like building, particularly in Dublin, was going to be of considerable local and even national significance. This was a point stressed in the ‘Appeal to the public’, in which it was stated that ‘Although at first view this object may appear to be limited and parochial, yet they trust that it will be found, on reflection, to be a matter of general importance and convenience’.¹⁷³ Historians have suggested that it was significant because it was the first substantial Catholic church to be built in Ireland since the relaxation of the penal laws, and that up to then the Catholic Church did not know to what limits their new freedom extended.¹⁷⁴ To finance its construction a sophisticated fund raising effort had to be organised. A number of reports imploring Catholics to support the venture were subsequently printed. One such report,

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Thomas P. Kennedy, *The Church since Emancipation: church building*; Patrick Corish, ed., *A history of Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1970), v, no. 8, p. 5.

bemoaning the fact that contributions had failed to reach expected targets, stated that a 'general subscription' was needed 'not only throughout the City but throughout Ireland. To this did the Catholics of St. Mary's look forward for the accomplishing a work so great- so patriotic- so national'.¹⁷⁵ For those seeking public support the erection of the Metropolitan Chapel would mark a great turning point in the fortunes of the Irish Church and was, therefore, deserving of national support. However, their continual pleas highlighted the fact that many Catholics were yet to be convinced of the importance of contributing to such a venture.

Instead of proclaiming the equality of the Catholic Church with the Protestant Church, in true enlightenment fashion the report advocated the social usefulness of the erection of a more permanent and handsome building. Undoubtedly directed at the city's Protestant community, they hoped

that that their Fellow Citizens of other religious Persuasions, will deem an Ornamental Building in the Metropolis, entitled to Encouragement; especially when it interests the feelings, and tends to the comfort and satisfaction of a portion of the Public, so numerous, and who will so many departments of useful service and accommodation.¹⁷⁶

The appeal was directed in part at the Protestant reader, whom they recognised might have feared erection of so public a Catholic chapel. The authors of the report were conscious also of the unfavourable opinion that many Protestants had of their Catholic confreres as an organised religion. They tried to remove these fears by suggesting that if the Catholic Church was allowed to adopt the outward signs of a 'civilized' religion, its members would naturally be more inclined to assume the nature of 'proper Christians' and behave accordingly.

Although the proposed new chapel was a project of substantial size and importance, there was a certain degree of hesitation as to its location. Initially it was proposed a suitable site had become available in 1812 in the newly widened Sackville Street. For whatever reason though the site on Sackville Street was abandoned in favour of a site in nearby Marlborough Street, purchased in 1803.¹⁷⁷ It is possible that locating such a prominent Catholic church on one of the city's newest and noblest avenues might have been a cause of concern to the Protestant establishment. Therefore, the less prominent Marlborough Street was the safer alternative. However, the church erected in Marlborough Street proved to be a fitting building, catering for the needs of the burgeoning Catholic community. At 4,734 square ft, it was the largest church, either

¹⁷⁵ Report of the committee for building the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Chapel, 11 Jun. 1821 (D.D.A., Pro-Cathedral papers).

¹⁷⁶ 'To the public', undated (D.D.A., Pro-Cathedral papers).

¹⁷⁷ Keogh, "'The pattern of the flock': John Thomas Troy, 1786-1823", p. 233.

Catholic or Protestant, to be built in the post-Reformation period.¹⁷⁸ The Metropolitan Chapel may have been based on the church of St. Philippe de Roule in Paris, taking a neoclassical design with a nave, apse and ambulatory.¹⁷⁹ Its exterior was Greek revival; its focus being a large portico derived from the Temple of Theseus in Athens.¹⁸⁰ It is commonly believed that the original designs were by the Dublin builder, John Sweetman. However, there is little concrete evidence to support this attribution. The standard of design and drawing hints a ‘professional hand’, or qualified architect was responsible.¹⁸¹ It has been suggested that the design may have been the work of the French architect, Louis Hippolyte le Bas, who completed the very similar church of Notre Dame de Lorette in 1824.¹⁸²

The site for the new chapel was cleared in 1814 and the foundation stone was laid by Troy on 28 March 1815.¹⁸³ By this stage fundraising efforts had borne some success, with the original debt incurred having been reduced to £250.¹⁸⁴ The construction was also progressing steadily. By the following year the vaults had been completed and the flank and rear walls had been partially raised. However, it was soon realised that the initial plans were too ambitious and that it was necessary to introduce cost-cutting measures. Metal, brick and plaster were substituted in the interior colonnades in place of the more expensive Portland stone and a decision was taken to postpone work on the front and side porticoes.¹⁸⁵ A more drastic alteration was the dispensing with the clerestory [the windows situated above the upper part of the nave, chancel and apse] in favour of a dome placed over the chancel. The fact that funds received were insufficient was publicised in 1821 when Archbishop Troy was forced to call a public meeting in the ‘new building’ in June 1821. He stated that it was

With deep regret however... [that] the Committee long felt, and with no small pain are they now obliged to observe, that while they, preserving in the original spirit of the undertaking, have brought the building, through many difficulties to its present state- a state in which it is not viewed without mingled sensations of pride and gratulation- that spirit has not been found equally preserving in the public.¹⁸⁶

The significance of these difficulties in procuring funds may have been symptomatic of the reluctance of the greater Catholic community to commit to the Church’s programme

¹⁷⁸ Casey, *The buildings of Ireland: Dublin*, p. 126.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ O’Brien and Guinness, *Dublin: a grand tour*, p. 196.

¹⁸¹ Casey, *The buildings of Ireland: Dublin*, p. 127.

¹⁸² Seán O’Reilly, *Irish churches and monasteries: an historical architectural guide* (Cork, 1997), p. 155.

¹⁸³ Church building in the diocese of Dublin (D.D.A.).

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Casey, *The buildings of Ireland: Dublin*, p. 128.

¹⁸⁶ Report of the committee for building the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Chapel, 11 Jun. 1821 (D.D.A., Pro-Cathedral papers).

of moral reform and increased public visibility, combined with social conditioning. Although the importance of the Metropolitan Chapel was always stressed by its supporters, the supposed importance obviously was not clear to the whole Catholic community. As had been the case with the various pastoral and educational initiatives implemented in the period, the erection of this new chapel was initiated by a small group of like-minded clergy and laity. The majority of clergy and lay Catholics were seemingly unconcerned with funding new chapels.

While initially there was a paucity of funds, considerable progress was made in the following years. By 1821 the shell was in place while the interior plastering was completed by 1823.¹⁸⁷ In the same year the alto relief of the Ascension was completed and a new organ installed at costs £150 and £700 respectively.¹⁸⁸ The new ‘chapel’ was dedicated on 14 November 1825. The interior was a mixture of various architectural styles, containing traces of the classical basilica and a Greek Doric temple.¹⁸⁹ The main embellishment of the new chapel was the high altar designed by Peter Turnerelli (1774-1839). Turnerelli was of Italian origin and completed much of his early work in London and Belfast before moving to Dublin. In London his work attracted the attention of the royal family, who commissioned him to execute a number of busts.¹⁹⁰ The new altar was to be constructed of white marble, and work began on it in 1824. Turnerelli drew much of his inspiration for this work from the altar of the chapel of Wardour Castle in Wiltshire, built for the Henry 8th Lord Arundell of Wardour (1740-1808), in 1770-76.¹⁹¹ The chapel at Wardour Castle was the largest Catholic place of worship outside of the ‘embassy chapels’ in London.¹⁹² This may be another example of Catholics in Dublin following the lead of English Catholics rather than continental practices as their model. Writing to Archbishop Murray in March 1824 Turnerelli commented that he intended to visit Wardour Castle ‘to see a splendid Altar which his Lordship informed me, had cost his grandfather several thousand pounds, and its inspection may be of particular use to me.’¹⁹³ Turnerelli stated that the altar ‘was superior to any thing of the kind in this country... The tabernacle being composed of detached columns exactly correspond

¹⁸⁷ Church building in the diocese of Dublin (D.D.A.).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ See Michael McCarthy, ‘Dublin’s Greek Pro-Cathedral’ in Dáire Keogh and James Kelly (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 237-46.

¹⁹⁰ O’Brien and Guinness, *Dublin: A grand tour*, p. 250.

¹⁹¹ O’Donnell, ‘Architectural setting of Challoner’s episcopate’, p. 61.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* The embassy chapels belonged to the various ambassadors from European states in London, which were exempt from the laws prohibiting the erection of Catholic chapels. The largest and most elaborate chapel was that of the Sardinian embassy in Lincoln’s Inn, London. See O’Donnell, ‘Architectural setting of Challoner’s episcopate’; Philip Caraman, S.J., *Wardour: a short history* (Bristol, 1984).

¹⁹³ Peter Turnerelli to Archbishop Murray, 19 Mar. 1824 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/8(35)).

with my idea of that which I consider would be likely to meet your Lordships approval.’¹⁹⁴

Fig. 16 Wardour Castle Chapel, Wiltshire.



Source: Eamon Duffy (ed.), *Challoner and his church*.

The new altar was completed by 1825, adorned by a pair of kneeling angels flanking a monstrance, with a domed tabernacle surmounted by a canopy, set above a stepped podium.¹⁹⁵ To either side of the high altar were altars dedicated to the Sacred Heart and the Blessed Virgin. Interestingly, both altars contained eighteenth century aedicules brought in 1825 from the chapel in Liffey Street and reworked by Walter Doolin, a carpenter, following a plan by George Papworth.¹⁹⁶ Aedicules were a common framing device in both classical and gothic architecture, acting as a frame in a section of wall, sometimes with columns or pilasters flanking the opening. The aedicules in the chapel surmounted statues of the Blessed Virgin and the Sacred Heart respectively. While the reasoning behind their relocation is uncertain, it is possible that it may have been a symbolic gesture, a lasting reminder of less fortunate times for the Catholic Church. Similarly, their inclusion may have been a reflection of the paucity of funds available to adorn the new chapel.

While progress was made on the erection of the Metropolitan Chapel, developments were being made on other parish chapels in the city. For example, the

¹⁹⁴ Peter Turnerelli to Archbishop Murray, 5 Apr. 1824 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/8(37)).

¹⁹⁵ Casey, *The buildings of Ireland: Dublin*, p. 129.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

parish of St. Andrew's had been rapidly expanding since its erection in 1709. The parish had become so large that, in 1811, it had granted a small part of the parish to SS Michael and John's to bolster their inadequate parochial revenue.¹⁹⁷ In 1814 it was decided that the chapel in Townsend Street would have to be reconstructed. The foundation stone for the new chapel was laid on 23 April 1814 by the parish priest, Dr Daniel Murray. However, it was soon found that this new chapel was insufficiently large and in 1824 meetings were held and steps taken to enlarge the existing chapel in Townsend Street, even though it was one of the few penal chapels to have any degree of exterior architectural pretensions. A water colour of 1817 showed a bell tower adorned with a cupola above the facade, while there appears to have been a smaller belfry to the rear of the chapel. Attached to the façade was what looks like a side chapel or extension, with two Georgian windows above a number of classical pillars. While the chapel contained numerous extensions, giving it a somewhat irregular appearance, it was considerably more elegant than the aforementioned chapel at St. James's Gate.

Fig. 17 Townsend Street Chapel.



Source: Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii.

The administrator, the Maynooth-educated Edward Armstrong (d. 1828) provided the initial impetus to redevelop the chapel. The cause was enhanced by the new pastor, Revd Matthias Kelly, Armstrong having been transferred to St. Michan's in 1826. Kelly proposed that there was no need to acquire a new site and the chapel in Townsend Street

¹⁹⁷ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii, p. 148.

was to be demolished and a new one erected on the same site. Building commenced sometime after Kelly's appointment to the designs of the Dublin architect, John Leeson and by 1831 considerable progress had been made. However, Kelly's promotion to parish priest of St. James's in 1831 brought yet another development. Kelly was succeeded by Dr Michael Blake. Blake had successfully built the new church of SS Michael and John's in 1815 and was determined to replicate his endeavours in his new parish. Soon after his appointment he called a meeting of the parishioners where he announced that a more desirable site for a new church was procurable on waste land on a more central position on Westland Row.¹⁹⁸ However, appalled that the chapel in Townsend Street, on which much money had been invested, would be discarded, Matthias Kelly rallied opposition to Blake's venture. A meeting of the parishioners was called where Kelly spoke vehemently against the venture. However, the intervention of Daniel O'Connell, who was a parishioner, led to widespread support for construction of a new church on Westland Row. The architect selected was Patrick Bolger. Bolger worked as a measurer of buildings for the Board of Works in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries and later became architect for Trinity College for a short time in 1832.¹⁹⁹ The foundation stone was laid on 30 April 1832 and the church was opened for worship in 1834. The estimated cost of construction was £16,000.²⁰⁰

The construction of the new church on Westland Row was an event of much significance for the Catholic Church in Dublin. When completed it was the largest Catholic Church in Dublin. Westland Row was a prominent street, located in one of the city's most affluent areas, bordering Trinity College and in close proximity to Merrion Square and other fashionable locations. The church itself was elegantly adapted into a row of Georgian town houses. It was a prominent building, complete with a large Greek-Revival portico. Its view was unobstructed; it was not 'hiding' in an alley or lane as many of the old penal chapels had been. This church was the physical manifestation of the confidence and prosperity of reforming Catholics.

The erection of a new church in Westland Row may not have been a solely parish project. For example, Murray and other senior clergy were very much involved in the process. When Murray became archbishop in 1823 he decided to retain St. Andrew's as his mensal parish, having been parish priest there since 1810.²⁰¹ In a mensal parish the bishop was technically the pastor but in effect had little to do with the

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 150.

¹⁹⁹ O'Brien and Guinness, *Dublin: a grand tour*, p. 244.

²⁰⁰ Church building in the diocese of Dublin (D.D.A., uncatelogueed).

²⁰¹ Murray and subsequent archbishops held both St. Mary's and St. Andrew's as mensal parishes.

day-to-day running of the parish, leaving the pastoral duties to an administrator. The idea behind a mensal parish was that it would provide the bishop with an income, therefore, eating up much of the parish's funds. When the decision was taken to construct a church in Westland Row, Murray received permission from the Holy See to alienate the parish to Dr Michael Blake, who had previously been the parish priest of SS Michael and John's.²⁰² The reasoning behind this decision was to afford Blake a greater degree of freedom and more authority in the construction of the new church. The appointment of Blake as parish priest is further evidence that its construction was a diocesan as well as a parochial project. When Blake was first transferred to St. Andrew's in 1831 he became administrator of the parish, which in effect may have seemed a demotion, but later in the same year he was appointed parish priest. As the church neared completion, Blake was appointed bishop of Dromore in 1833. It is likely that Blake's appointment to St. Andrew's was purely to oversee the construction of the new church. The Catholic Church in Dublin was beginning to behave less as a collection of parishes than as a single diocese.

The churches at Marlborough Street and Westland Row were not the only new churches built in the city in this time. Other similar projects undertaken roughly at the same time were the Jesuit church of St. Francis Xavier in Gardiner Street, the Calced Carmelite church in Whitefriar Street and the Church of St. Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street. One of the city's most well-known and architectural significant buildings was the Jesuit Church at Gardiner Street. The Jesuit Order had obtained a site in Upper Gardiner Street in 1827 and began work on the site in 1829. The church was opened for worship on 2 May 1832, having been built to the designs of John B. Keane.²⁰³ Keane's architectural portfolio was not unimpressive, having previously designed the courthouses in Waterford, Ennis, Tullamore and Nenagh as well completing the work on the Metropolitan Chapel in Dublin.²⁰⁴ Catholics were now selecting architects and builders who had designed many of the Protestant state's civic buildings. The church was an imposing building, fronted with a handsome Ionic portico. The interior was laid out by Bartholomew Esmonde, S.J. Esmonde's plan for the interior was based strongly on the Gesu Church, Rome, its nave flanked by a series of low side chapels, shallow transepts and a deep apsidal chancel.²⁰⁵

²⁰² O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 36.

²⁰³ Church building in the diocese of Dublin (D.D.A., uncatelgued).

²⁰⁴ O'Brien and Guinness, *Dublin: a grand tour*, p. 247.

²⁰⁵ Casey, *The buildings of Ireland: Dublin*, p. 132.

Construction on the Carmelite Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel begun in 1825, the Carmelites having lately vacated their chapel in French Street. The architect of their new church was George Papworth. Papworth came from a distinguished family of London architects, settling in Dublin in 1806. In 1818 he designed the Dublin Library in D'Olier Street and later the King's Bridge and the Royal Bank, Foster Place in 1829 and 1856 respectively.²⁰⁶ Papworth designed a long, narrow sixteen-bay hall church, 200 by thirty-four feet, with an elegant Regency exterior, rendered in Portland cement.²⁰⁷ The high altar was surmounted by a grand Greek Ionic baldacchino.²⁰⁸ The church was dedicated and opened to the public in November 1827.²⁰⁹

Construction on the church of St. Nicholas of Myra commenced in 1829 on the site of the penal chapel. The new church was built to the designs of John Leeson, who had designed the new church of St. Andrew's. Once again the church was designed in the ever popular Greek-Revival style. Its façade contained an Ionic portico, complete with a pediment surmounted by statues of the Blessed Virgin, St. Patrick and St. Nicholas. Together St. Francis Xavier's, the Carmelite church and St. Nicholas of Myra were more examples of how the Catholic community asserted a new self assurance. The Catholic clergy and laity leading this new drive in church building were not reluctant to commission architects such as Keane and Papworth to undertake this programme.

With the exception of the Augustinian chapel in John's Lane, all of the city's penal chapels had been replaced by 1852 with larger, more architecturally fitting churches, reflecting the Catholic community's belief in its increasing status and importance. The architecture of these new churches reeked not of subservience but of new found confidence and independence. The fact that all Catholic churches erected in the period 1825-1844 were classical buildings further heightened this sense of independence.²¹⁰ It has been suggested that the prevalence of the classical style was a result of a clerical familiarity with these styles, which many Dublin priests had encountered during their time on the Continent.²¹¹ Some have suggested that the choice of classical showed the Catholic community's desire to be distinguished from the

²⁰⁶ O'Brien and Guinness, *Dublin: a grand tour*, p. 249.

²⁰⁷ Casey, *The buildings of Ireland: Dublin*, p. 471.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Church building in the diocese of Dublin (D.D.A., uncatalogued).

²¹⁰ In this period the following churches were erected in a Classical style: Metropolitan Chapel (1815), St. Andrew's (1832), St. Audoen's (1841), St. Nicholas of Myra (1829), St. Paul's (1835), Our Lady of Mt Carmel (1825) Adam and Eve (1835), and St. Francis Xavier (1829).

²¹¹ Paul Larmour, 'The styles of Irish architecture in the nineteenth-century' in *Sacred places: the story of Christian architecture in Ireland* (Belfast, 2000), p. 11.

Church of Ireland, who at this time favoured Gothic for many of their churches.²¹² However, there is distinct lack of evidence to support this theory, and it is much more likely that that parish priests simply used builders and architects with whose work they were familiar. Patrick Byrne, for example, was chosen as architect of St. Paul's (1835) and St. Audoen's (1841) as well as a number of other churches outside the city bounds. In any case a number of the city's Protestant churches were also classical in style. The most well-know of these was St. Thomas's, Mount Street. It seems more likely the choice of classical for Catholic churches was not a deliberate act to distance the Catholic Church from its Protestant counterpart but rather a mixture of their more comfortable existence within the society in which they lived as well as a response to contemporary architectural trends.

Chapel building in rural parishes

The physical appearance of the Catholic Church in Dublin city was enhanced greatly by the period of church building which commenced with the construction of the Carmelite chapel in the late 1790s. Roughly at the same time as more 'dignified' and architecturally pretentious buildings began to appear in Dublin City, new chapels were being erected and existing ones rebuilt in many rural parishes throughout the archdiocese. Unfortunately sources recording rural chapel building are not as plentiful or revealing as those for city churches. Nonetheless, something can be said about church building in rural parishes. For example, what is said to have been the first chapel in Donnybrook was erected in 1787, on a site obtained for the parish by the aforementioned William Downes.²¹³ Similarly, a new chapel was erected in the same parish in 1792 in Irishtown.²¹⁴ The new chapel constructed in Booterstown c. 1812 was described as having an Italian façade, and was paid for in its entirety by Lord Fitzwilliam.²¹⁵ When the priests' residence in Wicklow was destroyed during the 1798 Rebellion, Fitzwilliam wrote to Troy offering 'the Abbey', a building on his own land, as a new residence for the parish priest, Revd John Meagher.²¹⁶ Indeed the involvement of some Irish landed gentry in the erection of chapels seems to have been not inconsiderable during this period. Around the mid-eighteenth century Lord Castlecoote

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, i, p. 20.

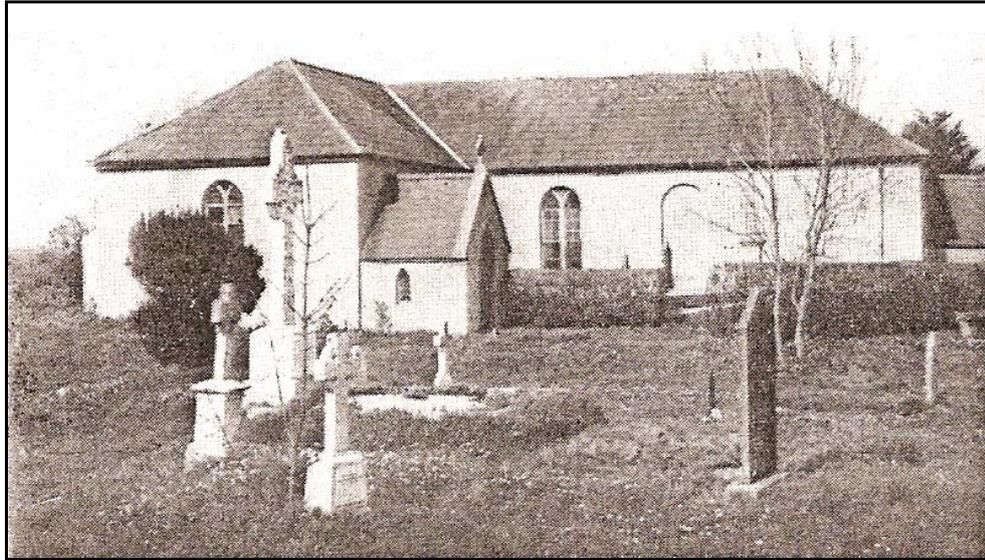
²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Peter Pearson, *Between the mountains and the sea* (Dublin, 1999), p. 258. This may have been Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion or the 2nd Earl Fitzwilliam (1748-1833).

²¹⁶ Lord Fitzwilliam to Archbishop Troy, 14 Oct. 1799 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(170)).

of Leopardstown bequeathed £500 towards a new chapel at Sandyford.²¹⁷ Likewise, the Catholic John, 15th Lord Trimlestown (1773-1839) donated land for a new chapel in Portrone, in the parish of Donabate in 1825.²¹⁸ The chapel at Portrone was described as t-shaped, as was the case with many pre-Emancipation chapels throughout Dublin. The chapel at Donabate appears to have been similar; a simple t-shaped building with a few windows and a small sacristy.

Fig. 18 Donabate Chapel.



Source: Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vii.

Indeed Larkin argues that between the years 1790-1847 there was a period of major chapel building throughout most Irish dioceses.²¹⁹ Most of the newly built chapels were functional buildings, probably with slate roofs and possibly containing a number of galleries inside. While galleries, of course, were practical in that they provided increased capacity some have suggested that they allowed for the enforcement of class distinctions.²²⁰ As has already been mentioned the parish chapel of SS Michael and John's had a gallery reserved for the 'better sort' by the middle of the eighteenth century. They would also have had at least some pews, presumably for the better-off or those who could afford to purchase one. It was common throughout all Irish dioceses to have private seating 'reserved for the more respectable members of the

²¹⁷ Pearson, *Between the mountains and the sea*, p. 331. Pearson lists the benefactor as 'Lord Castlecoote of Leopardstown'. This may, however, have been the 7th Earl of Mountrath.

²¹⁸ *Lewis' Dublin*, ed. Ryan, p. 222.

²¹⁹ Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845*, p. 148.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

congregation'.²²¹ Apart from better-off Catholics and those who reserved seats, most people presumably stood during Mass. Unfortunately there are few sources documenting the interior of chapels in the pre-Emancipation period in Dublin. However, it is likely that there were plain except for the altar and sanctuary, which sometimes had paintings depicting biblical scenes. Those chapels erected or rebuilt since the beginning of the nineteenth century probably had clear windows.

By the early decades of the nineteenth century a number of rural chapels were built in a grander style. Although the new chapel at Coolock was built with a thatched roof in 1820, many newly erected chapels were more comfortable and modern buildings. The new chapel in Clontarf was built in 1825 to the designs of Patrick Byrne. Byrne built a church in 'the late English style', 152 feet in length and sixty-three feet in width, and which Lewis said formed 'a striking ornament to the place'.²²² A noble chapel was also erected in Palmerstown *c.* 1816 in the cruciform shape. The entrance to the chapel was by way of a tiled hallway, which contained a number of carved water stoups fixed in the walls.²²³ The cruciform chapel included a number of galleries of to the rear, on the right and left sides of the altar; the centre of the main gallery was reserved for those parishioners who could afford to purchase a pew.²²⁴ In the south County Dublin parish of Saggard a new chapel was erected in 1813 at the considerable cost of £1,300 and was 'adorned with a neat belfry'.²²⁵ The majority of chapels were built thanks to a mixture of parochial subscriptions and individual benefactors. Some, such as the chapel built at Clonmethen in the parish of Rolestown in 1827 were modest edifices, costing a mere £300, while others were costlier.²²⁶ In 1809 a new chapel was erected in Lusk at a cost of £2,000, half of which was said to have been donated by Mr James Dixon of Kilmainham.²²⁷ Completion and adornment were nearly always totally reliant on parish funds. Consequently, many buildings went unfinished or unadorned for a number of years until sufficient funds were secured to allow completion. For example, building started on a new chapel in Sandyford *c.* 1806, in the form of a t-shape, but was said to have remained roofless for over sixteen years.²²⁸ While the case at Sandyford may have been an exception, it did take many years for chapels to be completed.

²²¹ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 55.

²²² Lewis' *Dublin*, ed. Ryan, p. 33.

²²³ O'Connor, *Palmerstown, an ancient place*, p. 38.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, ii, p. 220.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

²²⁸ K.R. Brady, 'The parish of Sandyford' in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 2 (1960), p. 364.

The increase in the number of chapels in the archdiocese was especially important for particular areas and parishes, which according to the 1731 Report on the State of popery, were without chapels. The aforementioned parishes of Dunlavin and Blessington were not the only parishes to benefit from the programme of chapel building in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The parish of Arklow had only one chapel in 1731 but had four by the 1830s. Similarly the number had risen from one to three in Baldoyle. The building of new chapels and refurbishment of existing chapels obviously reflected population growth experienced in certain parishes. The number of Catholics in the expanding suburban parishes of Irishtown and Donnybrook, and Milltown and Harold's Cross was increasing since the middle decades of the 1700s. The increase in their respective Catholic populations forced parishes to erect new chapels. However, chapel building was not only a response to population growth. There were numerous parishes, especially in rural areas, where the number of chapels was insufficient. Although the vast majority of parishes all had at least one chapel by the later decades of the eighteenth century there was a problem with the physical size of parishes in this period. Both Connolly and Larkin have highlighted the fact that in all Irish dioceses there were many areas without adequate number of chapels.²²⁹ Connolly suggests that even where there were chapels they were not always sufficiently large to house congregations. He comments that there were 'frequent reports of chapels too small to accommodate their congregations, so that a large proportion had to remain outside during services'.²³⁰ It was certainly true that the number of commodious chapels and those with what can be described as architectural pretensions appears to have been greater in Dublin than in other parts of the country. However, it seems unlikely that chapels in the archdiocese would have been exempt from overcrowding. For example, Donnelly says that the chapel at Sandyford was an old thatched structure, 'ready to yield to every blast with a wretched hovel adjoining and also the walls of a church partly built and lying exposed for 16 years, unfinished and without a roof, on a bleak common, without wall or fence'.²³¹ In Rathdrum, Lewis recalled that the chapel there was a 'converted hall', while he described the chapel at Leixlip, an expanding town with a sizeable Catholic population, as neat but small.²³² This surely must have been the case with many churches, especially in many rural parishes until at least the 1820s. Chapel accommodation was not only a problem in those parishes with growing populations but

²²⁹ See Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*; Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*.

²³⁰ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 108.

²³¹ Brady, 'The parish of Sandyford', p. 364.

²³² Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, ii, pp 495, 257.

also in parishes covering large geographical areas. Many parishes, especially in Kildare and Wicklow, covered large areas. The parish of Ballymore Eustace was said to have covered an area of roughly some sixty-three square miles in 1791.²³³ Ballymore Eustace was no means an overly large parish, and was smaller than the majority of Wicklow parishes in Dublin. A report made in 1791 by the parish priest, Revd Michael Devoy, stated that there were about 720 Catholic families in the parish, while there appears to have been only two Catholic chapels.²³⁴ Other parishes no doubt experienced similar problems regarding chapel accommodation. However, by 1830 the situation had improved dramatically. Most parishes had at least two chapels, with many having three while some even had four throughout the parish.

Conclusion

The development of an organised parish system was of the utmost importance to those Catholics seeking reform in the pre-Famine Church in Dublin. As the Catholic community enjoyed improved status and more freedom in society so its expectations rose. As it shed its appearance of a 'penal church', it expanded its pastoral mission to the ever growing community. It expanded its role in the provision of benevolence and education through the establishment of new indigenous religious orders, which enabled it to embark on a mass programme of evangelisation. It established catechism classes, confraternities and sodalities, devotional practices and various other organisations, which permitted religious instruction for many Catholics who had previously been outside of the sacramental fold. Central to the process was the development of the parish system, for without which such a programme of pastoral care could not have been feasible.

The large churches built in Dublin City from the early 1800s onwards were a significant departure for the Church in Dublin. As has been suggested, the motivation for building modern, grand buildings came from a select body of reform-minded clergy and lay Catholics. However, the public collections and fundraising needed to build these churches was one of the ways in which reformers attempted to coax the wider Catholic community, many of whom were outside the sacramental fold, into the practising community. Indeed when compared to the programme of church building undertaken in England and Scotland the achievements of the Church in Dublin are significant. In

²³³ Hawkes, 'Parish of Ballymore Eustace, 1791', p. 121.

²³⁴ Ibid.

Scotland, for example, the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow had large Catholic populations by the early 1800s, brought about by the immigration of Catholics from the Highlands and Ireland. Plans for a new church Edinburgh were unveiled in 1803, but due to the paucity of subscriptions it was not opened until 1814, replacing the previous chapel situated on the fifth floor of a private house.²³⁵ The new church had a simple gothic front, hiding a plain rectangular chapel with a shallow apse at one end, and an organ gallery at the other.²³⁶ In Glasgow, where there was a significantly larger Catholic community, the situation was even less-favourable. In 1819 the cost of the proposed new chapel was €20,000; a sum which it was believed could be easily cleared thanks to the contributions of the city's several thousand Catholics.²³⁷ Once again though the projected contributions were not forthcoming and the chapel went unfinished for some years. Similarly in England, there were few chapels built before 1830 that could compare either in size or in grandeur to Dublin's Metropolitan Chapel, or indeed the new church in Westland Row.

The programme of church building which was embarked on signified the transformation of fortunes which the Catholic community had gone through in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The large and lavish classical buildings erected, mainly in Dublin City, during the years 1815 to 1830 were the visible confirmation of this evolution. Everything from the choice of architect, to locations and types of architecture was an expression of the community's new found confidence. In many respects the evolution of the parish system in the period 1740-1830 mirrored changes taking place within the Catholic Church in Dublin in the corresponding period, emerging from 'penal church' to an 'emancipated church'. A significant aspect of the evolution of Catholic was an apparently new found interest in the poor, manifest in the establishment of schools and orphanages and religious orders.

²³⁵ Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829*, p. 154.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

Chapter Two:

The poor take centre stage: catechesis and poor-relief

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the activities of the Catholic community in Dublin in the period was its concern for catechesis and poor-relief. Schools, hospitals, refuges, orphanages and asylums were set up throughout the archdiocese; many of which were under the guidance of the fledgling male and female religious orders. While the religious orders were slowly beginning to assume greater responsibility in the areas of poor-relief and moral 'reclamation', the desires of certain sections of the Catholic laity to stimulate religious education and moral reform were manifest in their increasing presence in the supervision of Sunday schools and religious confraternities. Indeed it was in the areas of education, poor relief and catechesis that the public face of the Catholic community in Dublin changed most dramatically in the period 1780-1830. However, as with most instances of change, the community's renewed emphasis on education and the poor did not occur in a vacuum, but was rather brought about due to varied external factors, including the repeal of penal legislation, the French Revolution, the 1798 Rebellion, the growth of evangelical Protestantism, and the not insignificant desire of many Catholics to imitate the Protestant Church in its process of renewal and reform. This chapter has three main aims. Firstly, it will locate this supposedly new emphasis on catechesis and poor-relief within the general context of the Catholic revival/evolution taking place during this period. Secondly, it will document the developments taking place in the fields of poor-relief, education and catechesis. Finally, it will examine the attitudes of Archbishops Troy and Murray towards benevolence and by doing so will locate the motivation for this 'turn to the poor'. The establishment of religious congregations of sisters and brothers with a specifically apostolic mission will be shown as part of an overall process of 'professionalisation' of the Catholic Church in Dublin in the pre-Emancipation period.

Religious houses in the archdiocese 1780-1830

From the middle of the eighteenth century a school system catering for Catholics, however limited, had been slowly put in place throughout the archdiocese. Dublin City, because of its population, had a particular variety of schools catering for Catholics and

meeting most educational demands. Some of these schools provided a classical education. They were run by clerical and lay teachers, and were suited for those boys intending priestly ordination or a career in the professions, either in Ireland or on the Continent. At the other end of the spectrum a ‘poor school’ system provided rudimentary instruction for the less well-off. Poor schools were sometimes connected with Catholic parishes, and catered for both boys and girls. This system of education was much more *ad-hoc* in organisation to what emerged from the early decades of the nineteenth century. The structure was heavily reliant on the efforts of individual school masters and of a number of religious orders, particularly the regular clergy and the contemplative female orders, including the Benedictines, Carmelites and Dominicans. From the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had been the most prominent of the male orders involved in education in Dublin City. Traditionally they had kept a school in St. Michan’s parish but as the numbers of Jesuits residing in the city increased they were able to open the famous institution in Saul’s Court in 1750.²³⁸ The school was founded by Revd John Austin (1717-84). Having completed studies in Pont-à-Mousson, Rheims and Poitiers, Austin returned to Dublin in 1750, and sometime after established a school for poor children.²³⁹ The *Dublin Evening Post* described him as ‘a husband to the distressed widows, and a father to the helpless orphans’.²⁴⁰ Austin’s efforts were continued by a fellow Jesuit, the Paris-educated James Philip Mulcaile,²⁴¹ and later by Revd Thomas Betagh (1738-1811). Like Austin, Betagh received a higher education in Pont-à-Mousson before returning to the parish of SS Michael and John’s as curate in 1767.²⁴² The school was said to have functioned for many years as a sort of minor seminary for the diocese of Meath and by 1770 it had a boarding section attached.²⁴³ It is likely that many Dublin students had been schooled there before departing for the Irish colleges on the Continent.²⁴⁴ In addition to this classical school, Betagh opened a ‘poor’ or ‘free school’. Here boys who worked during the day came at night to get a basic grounding in reading, writing and arithmetic. Among the classical

²³⁸ Louis McRedmond, *To the greater glory: a history of the Irish Jesuits* (Dublin, 1991), p. 108.

²³⁹ Francis Finnegan (ed.), ‘Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1 (1971), p. 91.

²⁴⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 2 Oct. 1784 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 227.

²⁴¹ Mulcaile, or ‘Mulhall’ as he was sometimes known, was involved in the establishment of Catherine Mulally’s school and orphanage at George’s Hill, which subsequently became the archdiocese’s first Presentation convent.

²⁴² Finnegan (ed.), ‘Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community’, p. 91.

²⁴³ McRedmond, *To the greater glory*, p. 109. See also Betagh Papers (Jesuit Archives, Leeson Street, J469/19) [hereafter J.A.L.S.].

²⁴⁴ A Terence Dunn wrote to Betagh in 1783 from Paris, recalling his time spent in Betagh’s school (J.A.L.S., J469/19(11)). It is likely that this is the same Dunn who was ordained as a secular priest in 1782.

school's distinguished *alumni* were Daniel Murray, the future archbishop of Dublin, Michael Blake, the future bishop of Dromore, and Peter Kenney, the founder of the vice-province of the Irish Jesuits, vice president of Maynooth and founder of Clongowes Wood College. While not typical of the eighteenth century education system, the school at Saul's Court is an important example, highlighting an awareness on the part of a section of the clergy for the establishment of a system of education to cater for the needs of both better-off and poor Catholic children.

Fig. 19 Thomas Betagh, S.J. (1738-1811)



Source: McRedmond, *To the greater glory*.

One of the most important factors which permitted Catholic schools to expand was the 1782 Relief Act, finally giving Catholic schools a legal footing. Previously Catholic schools were tolerated at the discretion of the local government and Protestant clergy. The 1782 Act permitted Catholic teachers, who had subscribed to the Oath of Allegiance and Declaration and had been licensed by the local Protestant bishop, to keep a school. As a result of this act parliamentary returns were made by Protestant clergy documenting the activity of Catholic schoolmasters in their respective parishes. These returns provide an excellent insight into the state of Catholic education in the city in the 1780s. As might be expected the report for the Dublin City parishes lists a mixture of classical and poor schools. Typical of this educational disparity are two entries from St. Mary's parish. The first related to a classical school conducted by the

Dominican, Daniel Farrell, who taught twenty ‘Papist’ boys ‘Greek and Latin and prepared [them] for literary lines of life’.²⁴⁵ The other entry referred to ‘a popish charity school connected with the popish chapel in Liffey Street, where 50 children’ were ‘taught to read and write’.²⁴⁶ The report stated that many of the schools in the city were supported by annual charity sermons as well as by regular contributions. The report for the parish of St. Nicholas’s Without illustrated the growing involvement of the Catholic Church in education. It stated

In Francis St. is a popish school under the immediate inspection of the titular Archbishop of Dublin, 40 boys are clothed and educated. No fund for this school, the clothes are given by several well disposed persons and by the clergy of several chapels of Dublin. There is a Charity Sermon annually preached for them. The school-room is part of the chapel. The master has no fixed salary but depends on voluntary contributions and a few boys pay, so that the school generally consists of 100.²⁴⁷

The fact that the school was clothing the boys is significant, as it is an early example of the community attempting to provide some form of organised poor-relief, albeit in a limited way.

‘Poor schools’ were normally managed by a parochial body that organised annual charity sermons and oversaw the distribution of resources to the poor, including food and clothes. Where possible, each child contributed a nominal fee towards the school’s upkeep. On the other hand, the classical schools catered very much for children of better-off parents and thus commanded higher fees. For example, a school conducted in Clarendon Street, possibly by the Carmelite friars, charged ‘1 guinea entrance and 1 guinea per quarter’ to teach English, Latin and mathematics.²⁴⁸ Indeed many of the schools recorded in the report had a classical emphasis and therefore would have commanded some sort of entrance and maintenance fee. However, evidence suggests that by the 1780s attempts were being made to put in place a system of rudimentary education, which was parochially centred. By 1821 each of the city parishes had at least one parochial school, which as well as providing schooling often gave both food and clothing to the more destitute children. By this time many parishes had two schools, one girls and one for boys.

Central to this renewed interest in poor-relief and catechesis were the religious orders, which between the years 1796 and 1830 experienced a significant growth. In the early years the fledgling Presentation Nuns, as well as the Carmelites and Poor Clares,

²⁴⁵ John Brady (ed.), ‘Catholic schools in Dublin in 1787-8’ in *Rep. Nov.*, i, no. 1 (1955), pp 193-194.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

were fundamental to developments in benevolence. Eventually they were aided by the establishment of the Religious Sisters of Charity, the Loreto Sisters and the Christian Brothers, and to a lesser extent by the work of the Jesuits and other regular clergy. The explosion of religious orders involved in dispensing benevolence is evident if one compares the situation in 1782 with that existing in 1830. In 1782 there were only four convents in the city and no houses of religious brothers. The Poor Clares had convents in North King Street and Dorset Street. The convent in North King Street dated back to c. 1715, while its sister house in Dorset Street was formed from it c. 1751. The Dorset Street nuns had seceded from North King Street as a result of a dispute which erupted over the interpretation of how best to follow the rules of enclosure.²⁴⁹ The Dominicans had a convent in Channel Row, which they had occupied since c. 1712 when the Poor Clares settled in North King Street.²⁵⁰ Finally, the Carmelites had a convent in Pudding Lane.²⁵¹ All of these communities were involved in the provision of education, mostly in the form of running boarding schools, catering for the daughters of wealthier Catholics.²⁵² Some even allowed women to live with them in the convent without ever becoming professed members of the community. These women were daughters of wealthy Catholics, who it was said did not care for secular life or who could not find marriage partners.²⁵³ While all of these orders were supposedly contemplative in orientation, evidence suggests that the rules of monastic enclosure were not adhered to. As a result of this perceived apathy towards their respective rules a number of houses went into a period of slow decline and by the beginning of the nineteenth century their respective communities were dwindling in size.²⁵⁴

While all the houses mentioned above were apparently involved in the provision of education there is little evidence to suggest that any ever attempted to initiate a

²⁴⁹ There are numerous documents in the D.D.A. relating to this incident. One document recalls how the provincial of the Franciscan friars attempted to excommunicate the abbess and seven of her sisters for not adhering strictly to their vows of poverty and obedience, but was admonished by Archbishop Linegar for his actions. The disagreement appears to have been exacerbated by the friars, who in one instance sent the nuns a copy of the Tridentine Papal Bull *Periculose*, which specified that all female religious were required to adhere to the rules of enclosure.

²⁵⁰ Channel Row corresponds roughly to what is now North Brunswick Street.

²⁵¹ The author has been unable to identify the location of Pudding Lane. It may have been somewhere in the vicinity of Arran Quay. The Carmelites previously occupied a house in Fisher's Lane, just off Arran Quay.

²⁵² Seamus Enright states that the community in Dorset Street was not involved in education and did not keep boarders. See Enright, 'Women and Catholic life in Dublin, 1762-1852', p. 272. They did in fact run a boarding, as documents in the D.D.A. demonstrate. See Memorial of the Poor Clares, Dorset St to 'their benevolent friends', 1 Jun. 1803, (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/3(59)).

²⁵³ It has been suggested that the nuns were forced to accept these women as a means of paying for the upkeep of convent life. The women never took religious vows but were bound by some of the restrictions of religious life.

²⁵⁴ On the contrary, there are a number of documents suggesting the non-adherence to the rule and poor discipline in the Poor Clare convent in North King Street, (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/2(1,3,6,8m)).

serious programme of organised benevolence before 1800. This apparent indifference towards benevolence suggests that the poor were not a major concern for these orders in the eighteenth century.²⁵⁵ Female religious life appears hardly to have been thriving at this time either. For example, when the Dominicans moved to Clontarf in 1808 from Channel Row the community consisted of only three nuns.²⁵⁶ Indeed neither the Poor Clares nor the Carmelites began to grow in numbers until well into the nineteenth century when they added an apostolic dimension to their ministry. They managed orphanages and schools at Harold's Cross, North King Street and Warrenmount respectively.²⁵⁷ However, by the time Catholic Emancipation was granted the numbers of religious houses had risen significantly, with orders managing numerous convents, refuges, schools and orphanages. One of the early proponents of this zeal for poor-relief and education was the newly founded Presentation order. The nuns had succeeded in establishing communities in George's Hill (1794) and Fairview (1820).²⁵⁸ In George's Hill they carried on the work of the lay philanthropist Teresa Mulally (1728-1803), who managed an orphanage and school. Similarly, communities were founded by the Poor Clares in Harold's Cross (1806) and North King Street, the Carmelites at Ranelagh (1788), Warrenmount (1813), Clondalkin (1824) and Blanchardstown (1828), the Dominicans in Cabra (1819), the Religious Sisters of Charity in Stanhope Street (1819) and Gardiner Street (1830),²⁵⁹ while the Loreto Sisters had established a house in Rathfarnham (1821). Many of these communities attempted to provide the poor with some sort of relief in a systematic manner.²⁶⁰ As well as the growth in the number of schools and orphanages run by religious orders there was also a considerable increase in the number of lay sponsored bodies, many of which flourished well into the nineteenth century. This transformation was manifested in the number of newly established parochially centred institutions, mainly in the form of parish 'poor schools' and orphan institutions. The phenomenon of newly established lay controlled organisations appears

²⁵⁵ The author is speaking of the orders referred to in the paragraph, namely the contemplative orders and not the Presentations Nuns, who did of course provide poor-relief before 1800.

²⁵⁶ Mrs Thomas Concannon, *Irish nuns in penal days* (London, 1931), p. 77.

²⁵⁷ The Carmelites had moved from Pudding Lane to Ranelagh in 1788. This appears to have been a relatively successful venture. The community survived until late in the twentieth-century. While the Poor Clares of Dorset Street moved to Harold's Cross to run the orphanage, their confreres in North King Street never assumed apostolic ministries. They moved to Kingstown in 1826 and disbanded in 1836. See Enright, 'Women and Catholic life in Dublin', p. 272.

²⁵⁸ The Nuns of George's Hill established a convent in James's Street in 1807, which was subsequently transferred to Fairview in 1820.

²⁵⁹ The first convent was in North William Street where the Sisters had taken charge of the Trinitarian Orphanage Society. They left here in 1829 and the orphanage was later transferred to the care of the Poor Clares. The Sisters moved to Summerhill in 1829 [temporary accommodation] and then to Gardiner Street in 1830.

²⁶⁰ For a more complete account of state of religious life in the archdiocese see Appendix Two.

to be inconsistent with the views held by a number of modern historians who suggest that poor-relief and catechesis were the sole domain of religious orders. For example, Maria Luddy argues that ‘philanthropy through religious communities was the only form acceptable to Church authorities’.²⁶¹ While it is possible to argue the validity of this view for the post-Famine period, it is certainly not applicable to pre-Famine Dublin, where the numbers of religious were insufficient to have a monopoly on benevolence. This view is particularly misleading since both philanthropy and education went hand-in-hand in the pre-Emancipation period, with many schools dispensing poor-relief along with education. This theme will be examined in greater detail further on in the chapter but here it suffices to say that the coexistence of lay and religious run organisations in this period was characteristic of the fluidity and interdependences of the pre-Famine Catholic community in Dublin.

While female religious orders experienced something of an explosion in numbers the expansion of their male equivalents was considerably less dramatic. The Christian Brothers were the first indigenous male order to be founded with an educational and benevolent charism in the early nineteenth century. The Brothers’ first school in Dublin was established in Hanover Street in 1812. Schools were subsequently established at Mill Street and James’s Street in 1818 and 1820 respectively.²⁶² Prior to the arrival of the Christian Brothers there had been a number of male religious run schools in the city. The Dominicans had a school in Denmark Street while the Augustinians’ school was situated in John’s Street. As previously mentioned, the Jesuits managed a number of schools in the parishes of SS Michael and John’s and St. Michan’s. However, apart from the Jesuits, the male religious orders appear to have been reluctant to embark upon a serious educational drive in the late eighteenth century.

Approaches to providing poor relief and catechesis: adapting religious orders’ rules

If Catholics ventures into benevolence in Dublin in the nineteenth century came to be characterised by a definite, methodical approach, efforts in the eighteenth century were rather more impromptu. This fact has been highlighted by writers who examined the activities of lay women such as Teresa Mulally. Initially Mulally had operated her school and orphanage independently and without clerical sanction, and is often cited as

²⁶¹ Maria Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1995), p. 24.

²⁶² Dáire Keogh, *Edmund Rice 1762-1844* (Dublin, 1996), p. 57.

an example of a response to the Catholic Church's supposed inaction in this area.²⁶³ However, the activities of Archbishop Troy regarding poor-relief and catechesis have often been overlooked, with Murray being seen as the first prelate to deal seriously with these issues. Nevertheless, Troy was aware of worsening poverty in the archdiocese. He recognised the dangers, which he felt were associated with poverty, especially vice and general immorality. He frequently wrote about these in his Lenten pastoral letters. The pastorals suggest that he recognised the need to initiate a process, which would set about providing Dublin with an effective system of benevolence and education. This process was enhanced greatly by Murray, who inherited a Church vastly different from that of the 1780s, a Church which was politically more secure, though not yet emancipated, and a Church of growing wealth. Troy's awareness of the need to provide 'social' and 'religious' services can be seen relatively early on in his episcopate in the numerous pastoral letters and appeals in which he highlighted continually the worsening plight of the poor.²⁶⁴ In the pastoral of 1798 he appealed to the faithful to practise self-denial and charity. He implored people to avoid

Sumptuous Entertainments, and to confine yourselves to plain Food, of which a considerable portion should be boiled, in order to comfort the poor with nourishing Broth. Seek them in Garrets and Cellars, where so many languish on the Mournful Bed of Sickness, without means of procuring Whey, or any necessary Medicine. We hope that your Alms will be proportioned to their Wants, and to your respective abilities to remove them.²⁶⁵

Here it is important to note the timing of this appeal. This was 1798. Ireland was engulfed in radical activity and faced a serious threat of French invasion. In this year he published four pastoral letters. While attempting to pacify those rebelling and ensuring the safety of the country may have been his foremost concern, he was not unconcerned with the problem of poverty. Later in an 'appeal to the public', he stated that

From the authentic report of many respectable Persons appointed to investigate the numbers and state of the distressed poor in this Metropolis, it appears that no less than Twenty Thousand Fellow-Creatures, expiring under the accumulated evils of Famine, Nakedness and Disease.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Mulally established a charity school for girls in a house in Mary's Lane in 1766. By all accounts Mulally was a relatively wealthy woman, having worked as a milliner for most of her life. Her relative wealth was augmented by winning a couple of hundred pounds in a state lottery. With this money she retired from business and set up a school and a later an orphanage and boarding school of sorts (1771). She was aided by the contributions of parishioners and a number of wealthy benefactors. However, she did not undertake these ventures completely without clerical assistance. Revd J.P. Mulcaile and a number of other Jesuits were involved in the school and orphanage.

²⁶⁴ Both 'social' and 'religious' services were linked inextricably and in the Catholic context should not be seen as separate entities. That Troy was aware of the plight of the Catholic poor is shown by the fact that in all of his published pastoral letters he never enforced the official Lenten fast. He always made allowances due to the high cost of provisions showing a awareness of the plight of the poor.

²⁶⁵ Lenten Pastoral, 10 Feb. 1798 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(65)).

²⁶⁶ An appeal by Troy for the poor, undated (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(24)).

To respond to this tragedy he informed readers that

On Sunday next a Collection will be made for this Charitable and Humane purpose, in all our Chapels in this City; and Sermons preached in those of Francis-Street, Liffey-Street, Adam and Eve, and Townsend-Street... We flatter ourselves that that you will on this Occasion afford and additional and memorable Proof of that Benevolence and Charity, for which this City is so justly celebrated, and therefore acquire the grateful blessings of many Thousands; and also powerfully recommend yourselves and Families to the special favour and protection of Heaven, promised to all those who relive the distressed; in the inspired Words of the Royal Prophet; *Blessed is he that understandeth concerning the needy and the poor: The Lord will deliver him in the evil Day.*²⁶⁷

The fact that a report was commissioned to examine the extent of poverty in the city suggests that it may have been a cause of concern to some Catholics. Here it is significant to note also that the method of fundraising used was a charity sermon. The hosting of charity sermons in times of need was characteristic of the eighteenth century approach to fundraising for benevolent activities. Newspapers regularly carried accounts of charity sermons preached in the city and it is likely that charity sermons were one of the main sources of income for each venture.²⁶⁸ While these events raised considerable sums of money they were as much a social event as a means of fundraising, providing social outlets for the burgeoning Catholic merchant class, and showcasing the often cordial relations between sections of the Catholic and Protestant communities. As early as 1783 Dublin newspapers were carrying occasional accounts of these events.²⁶⁹ In December 1785 *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* described an event in the parish chapel of St. Andrew's. It stated that

a most excellent charity sermon was preached in Lazer's-hill chapel when a collection was made amounting to 38l. 10s. Some of the most respectable Protestant parishioners attended the occasion- a happy instance of that general philanthropy and general liberality of disposition that now so fortunately pervades all descriptions of men in this kingdom.²⁷⁰

In the same parish in 1791 the *Dublin Chronicle* reported on a more opulent occasion. This time the preacher, the Revd Mr. Connolly, was accompanied by an orchestra consisting 'of forty violins, twenty basses, and a proportional number of wind

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ While this is probable, many charities were sustained by the contributions of a number of wealthy families. It appears that a system of organised giving was not in use in the eighteenth-century, with the possible exception of Teresa Mulally who had initiated a system for the poor of St. Michan's parish. See 'An address to the charitable of St. Michan's Parish, 1766' (P.G.H.A., FD/46).

²⁶⁹ This is relatively early as newspapers before this were carrying only occasional accounts of Catholic related matters, and when they did they were often disparaging tales of thefts in Catholics churches mixed with clerical obituaries etc.

²⁷⁰ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 22 Dec. 1785 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 232.

instruments' which performed a 'grand Te Deum, composed by the Signor Giordani'.²⁷¹ 'After the performance', it said, 'a collection amounting to upwards of £437 was made for the purpose of the day'.²⁷² While this was an exceptionally large amount, substantial collections were not uncommon. Collections taken up in St. Andrew's in 1792 and 1793 amounted to £103 5s. 2d and £123.15.0 respectively.²⁷³ Although it is possible to view the use of charity sermons as a somewhat *ad-hoc* method of fundraising, there appears to have been a centrally organised series of charity-sermons in place by the early nineteenth century. A schedule of charity sermons to be preached in 1814 illustrates a growing sense of organisation in this area. It stated that the programme was decided 'At a meeting of the Rev. Gentlemen, convened this day, for the purpose of regulating the Order in which Sermons are to be preached for the Charitable Institutions of this city', with Dr Troy in the chair.²⁷⁴ This published document laid out a schedule for thirty-four Sundays for sermons to be preached in aid of a wide array of city charities, which included orphanages, widows' homes, asylums and infirmaries.²⁷⁵

Although sometimes portrayed as a conservative figure, Troy showed his willingness to adapt to the times in his evolving attitude to the poor. Apart from his pastoral letters and public appeals instances of his concern for poor-relief are found in the numerous appeals he made to Propaganda Fide.²⁷⁶ In these appeals Troy asked that the rules governing contemplative orders be relaxed to take into account the unusual situation of the Irish Church. In an appeal to Propaganda Fide on behalf of the Poor Clares of Dorset Street he wrote that due 'the decrease in their funds, the increase of Taxes and Imposts, and the immoderate rise in the prices of Provisions are reduced to such indigence, as to render it impossible for them to support their house any longer, and to live in the Community'.²⁷⁷ He asked for permission for the nuns to transfer their convent to Harold's Cross, where 'Some pious & opulent Persons' had obtained a site

²⁷¹ *Dublin Chronicle*, 29 Nov. 1791 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 279.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 4 Dec. 1792 and *Clonmel Gazette*, 1 Dec. 1793 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, pp 285, 291.

²⁷⁴ List of charity sermons to be preached in Dublin from Sept. 1813 to Jun. 1814 (D.D.A., AB2/30/1(170)).

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ Propaganda Fide was the Roman congregation which had authority over all Catholic countries in which the Catholic Church was not legally established. See Corish, *The Catholic Community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, p. 20.

²⁷⁷ Copy of a memorial from Archbishop Troy to Holy See, undated (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/10(20)). It is probable that this appeal was made between the years 1804-05 as the Poor Clares were still resident in Dorset Street at this point.

for a new convent, school and orphanage.²⁷⁸ This request was made ‘on the condition of their taking on themselves the duty of instructing poor Female Children in the Principles of the Holy Catholic Religion and in the Christian doctrine’.²⁷⁹ Troy stated that the nuns were willing to accept this proposal if they were released from their obligation to recite the Divine Office in favour of the shorter Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁸⁰ Here it appears that the initiative to redirect the apostolic focus of the order towards the poor was taken by the nuns themselves and was not imposed by Troy. In 1803 their superior, Elizabeth Byrne, and the community had signed a memorial and addressed it to ‘their benevolent friends’, in which they highlighted their worsening plight. The memorial described how, after many years of managing a boarding school ‘for the education of Young Ladies’, they were forced to abandon their convent due to two main factors. Firstly, ‘the number of their Boarders has greatly diminished (chiefly supposed on account of the many Boarding Schools lately established in this City)’.²⁸¹ Secondly, an increase in rents had made their position in Dorset Street untenable.²⁸² To halt what might have been considered the terminal decline of their community, they stated their willingness to undertake the education of poor children. Whether or not the nuns viewed this ‘turn to the poor’ as the price to be paid for their survival or whether they openly embraced this change in focus is uncertain. What is clear though is that they established a large poor school at Warrenmount, where by 1821 upwards of 300 children were educated.²⁸³ The large apostolic mission of the school may have helped foster recruitment for the community. By the same year the community had grown to include eighteen professed nuns as well as three novices and one postulant.²⁸⁴

In December 1807 Troy made a further appeal on behalf of the Poor Clares, who were by this time resident in their new convent at Harold’s Cross. This time he requested that the nuns be dispensed from fasting and abstinence and, once again, from their obligation to recite the Divine Office, on the grounds that it would prove too restrictive on their work with the children. He asked that they be allowed recite the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary instead. While this document is important as it may suggest that Troy’s attitude towards the provision of catechesis and poor-relief was evolving, the reasons for this appeal are equally important. Troy stressed that Protestant

²⁷⁸ Here Troy was referring to the aforementioned Mr John O’Brien, husband to Anna Maria O’Brien, and brother-in-law to Mother Frances Ball.

²⁷⁹ Copy of a memorial from Troy to Holy See, undated (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/10(20)).

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Memorial of the Poor Clares, Dorset Street, 1 Jun. 1803 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/3(59)).

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Patrick Cunningham (ed.), ‘The Irish Catholic Directory 1821’ in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 2 (1960), p. 346.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

proselytisers were busy in the city and that the work of the Poor Clares was ‘a project all the more necessary and useful seeing that powerful and wealthy enemies of the Catholic faith are working by means of gifts and in other ways to lure the poor children away from the faith’.²⁸⁵ Troy was undoubtedly referring to the actions of the Methodists and other evangelicals. He implored Propaganda Fide to remind the nuns that their endeavours to provide these vulnerable children with religious instruction ensured the children’s salvation.

In 1814 he made a similar appeal to Propaganda Fide, this time on behalf of the Carmelites, who sought to establish a poor school at Warrenmount.²⁸⁶ He asked that they be granted the same relaxations to their rule as were given to the Poor Clares.²⁸⁷ As was the case with the Poor Clares, the Carmelites at Warrenmount had been given a ‘fourth solemn Vow for the Instruction of destitute female Children’.²⁸⁸ What is interesting in these examples is that it appears that the impetus for attaching a fourth vow for the instruction of the poor came from Troy himself. When writing to the superior of the Poor Clares in 1808 Troy quoted a letter which he received from his agent in Rome. His agent wrote that ‘The form of their profession [the nuns’ professions] for the future is changed as you [Troy] directed, & inserted in the Brief. By said form they are bound to the fourth Vow of instructing the poor orphan girls’.²⁸⁹ This suggests Troy played a central role in the process and saw that there was a very real need of utilising these largely contemplative orders in an ‘active’ and socially useful manner.

This approach to modifying the ministries of traditional religious orders may be an example of the Catholic application of the enlightened principle of ‘usefulness’. One of the reasons which Teresa Mulally stated for conducting her school in St. Mary’s Lane was to render the girls ‘usefull to Society, and capable of earning honest bread for themselves’.²⁹⁰ This emphasis of usefulness was of course a common theme with many eighteenth century philanthropists. Troy seems to have been attempting to make the nuns ‘useful’ in the eyes of society in general by imploring them to look after poor orphans and to prepare them for an honest and respectable role in the community.

²⁸⁵ Archbishop Troy to Propaganda Fide, Dec. 1807 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/11(48)).

²⁸⁶ The Carmelites had a convent in Ranelagh since 1788. The convent at Warrenmount was founded because of dissension over the strict implementation of the Carmelite rule in Ranelagh.

²⁸⁷ Archbishop Troy to the Holy See, Jun. 1814 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/2(2)).

²⁸⁸ Sister Teresa Clare [Catherine Lyons, prioress of Warrenmount] to Propaganda Fide, 23 Nov. 1815 (D.D.A., AB3/30/2(96)).

²⁸⁹ Archbishop Troy to the superior of the Poor Clares, 6 Jul. 1808 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/11(110)).

²⁹⁰ An address to the charitable of St. Michan’s parish, 1766 (P.G.H.A., FD/46).

Francis Moylan (1735-1815), the future bishop of Kerry, wrote to Troy in 1786 regarding the possibility of the Presentation Nuns coming to Dublin.²⁹¹ He stated that Nano Nagle's schools in Cork had proved useful and that there were 'many and great advantages, as Religion & Society have experienced'.²⁹² Moylan stated that the city of Cork was 'principally indebted for whatever religion & morality, remains among the lower class of our people'.²⁹³ To Moylan their work was visibly useful to both society and to the Church. This 'usefulness' was something which Troy, and later Murray, sought to foster with the establishment of the Sisters of Charity, the Loreto Sisters and the Christian Brothers. In these instances Troy emerges as a pragmatist. It is evident that in the early 1800s he had only the support of the Presentation Nuns in George's Hill and James' Street, and their numbers were relatively small. The Sisters of Charity were not founded until 1815 while the Mercy Sisters did come to exist until 1830. Thus he had little option but to work with what was at hand and adapt the rules of the Poor Clares and the Carmelites to deal with the situation.

Changing attitudes to education and poor relief: the role of Archbishop Murray

In many ways what differentiated Murray and Troy was the former's attitude towards and capacity for providing the Catholic community with a professional organization capable of dispensing poor-relief and catechesis. The Church which Murray inherited was in many ways better suited to deal with this task. By the 1815 there was a sizeable Catholic middle-class. Murray was fortunate enough to be part of a wider community of Catholic philanthropists, of whom the O'Briens, the Balls and the Corballises were the most important. Murray harnessed their support to make the provision of charity and religious education one of the most significant and lasting achievements of his episcopacy. Once again pastoral letters are helpful in documenting this development. In his pastoral of 1817 Murray publicised strongly the plight of the poor and stressed the importance of alms giving.²⁹⁴ In this letter he wrote

"Break your bread," says the Lord by the Prophet Isaiah, "to the hungry man: Bring the needy and forlorn into your house: When you see the naked man, cover him, and despise not your Fellow-Creatures." Remember that your superfluities are the property

²⁹¹ Francis Moylan at this stage was a parish priest in Cork city and an influential figure in the early years of the Presentation Nuns in Cork. He later went on to become bishop of Kerry.

²⁹² Revd Francis Moylan to Archbishop Troy, 7 Nov. 1786 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/4(71)).

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ While Troy was still archbishop Murray had assumed responsibility for much of the day-to-day running of the archdiocese.

of the poor, and that by withholding them from the forlorn and distressed, you become guilty of cruelty and injustice.²⁹⁵

1817 was a particularly bad year with a famine and a typhus epidemic. The severity of the situation possibly drove Murray to labelling those who withheld alms as ‘guilty of cruelty and injustice’.²⁹⁶ In his pastoral of 1823 he emphasised the importance of a newly formed charity, the Mendicity Association, which, he said, ‘preserved thousands from misery and death’.²⁹⁷ They did this by providing food to the poor, the greater proportion of which had been derived ‘from the contributions of broken meat collected from door to door through this City’.²⁹⁸ In his pastoral letter of 1827 he pleaded once again that Catholics give generously to the poor:

We beseech you, dearest brethren, to compensate for as far is possible, for this indulgence by more abundant Alms to the Poor, in whose favour only it has been granted; and whilst it relaxes in some respects the manner of observing the fast, not to allow it to diminish that spirit of self-denial which is at all times essential to a Christian life²⁹⁹

These comments were characteristic of his pastoral letters up to 1830, in which he made general but regular appeals to the public to give alms to those most in need.

While Murray publicly promoted almsgiving and poor-relief he never discussed religious orders or education in these pastorals. This omission may suggest that the Catholic Church in Dublin was not yet confident enough to deal publicly with these issues. This perceived reluctance was demonstrated over the matter of the taking of perpetual vows by the Sisters of Charity in 1816. It appears that the work of the Sisters had become widely known and that their spiritual advisor, Peter Kenney, S.J., felt that it was time for the Sisters to take their perpetual vows in a public ceremony.³⁰⁰ Murray, however, thought it was unwise and instructed that the ceremony take place at a later date and in private. This was characteristic of his sensitive approach to publicising the works of the new religious orders.

It was his role in the establishment of religious congregations which in many ways defined Murray’s attitude to poverty and benevolence.³⁰¹ As has been indicated Dublin was not without schools, hospitals, refuges, orphanages and asylums when

²⁹⁵ Pastoral letter, 8 Feb. 1817 (D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/3(108)).

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Pastoral letter, 6 Feb. 1823 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/6(76)).

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Pastoral letter, 24 Feb. 1827 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/10(1)).

³⁰⁰ Donal Blake, *Mary Aikenhead (1787-1858): servant of the poor* (Dublin, 2001), p. 35.

³⁰¹ The term ‘congregation’ refers to the Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy. The women in these congregations were not strictly ‘nuns’ but were rather classed as ‘sisters’ as they did not take solemn vows but rather took simple vows, which they renewed yearly. They did not keep the stricter ‘papal cloister’ but rather ‘episcopal cloister’. This meant that they could move outside of their convent, but not outside their diocese, without the permission of the ordinary.

Murray became coadjutor in 1809. Apart from those establishments managed by the aforementioned religious orders there were numerous institutions run by lay committees. Some of the more well-known examples were the Maria Orphans Society in Hawkins Street,³⁰² the Trinitarian Orphanage Society in North William Street,³⁰³ the Penitent Asylum in Townsend Street³⁰⁴ and the House of Refuge in Ashe Street.³⁰⁵ By 1830 the guardianship of all these institutions was in the hands of female religious orders. Maria Luddy suggests that

it was often a very wise decision to hand over the work of a lay committee. In many instances, through either financial or managerial neglect the particular charity would have disappeared quickly without the intervention of religious congregations.³⁰⁶

The comments of a Mr Elliott, writing on behalf of the Trinitarian Orphanage Society, in a letter to Murray in 1817 appear to give credence to Luddy's argument.³⁰⁷ In it Elliott stated that

The declining state of our orphan institution in North William Street this time past has given me much trouble of mind... it would be a great relief to my mind if your Grace would Consent to disburthen me of the obligations I may have towards it altogether[,] the Ladies of the Convent will feel it a happy duty to act [entirely] in this great work of mercy under your Graces advice and directions... I look forward to from the beginning that the Good Ladies from their zeal and interest would bring an increase of every blessing both Spiritual and Temporal to the poor Children.³⁰⁸

The 'good ladies', which Elliott was referring to were, of course, the newly formed Religious Sisters of Charity, who had been resident in North William Street since 1815. This was thus one of the early examples of an overall shift from lay to religious management. However, it can be argued that what Murray sought to do was to professionalise the provision of poor-relief and catechesis rather than stymieing the activities of lay Catholics by introducing religious, of which he is sometimes accused.³⁰⁹ This evolution is evident in all the cases mentioned above. For example, the Sisters of Charity also took control of the House of Refuge in Stanhope Street in 1819 and the

³⁰² This society was founded in 1801 by the well-known philanthropist Anna Maria O'Brien, sister of Mother Frances Ball, founder of the Loreto Sisters. The orphanage was transferred to Harold's Cross in 1806 where it was run by the Poor Clares.

³⁰³ The orphanage was founded some time in the late eighteenth-century, but the exact date is unknown. The Sisters of Charity took over the management of the orphanage in 1815.

³⁰⁴ The asylum was founded by Bridget Burke c.1798. It was managed by a niece of Dr Troy, Miss Ryan up to 1833 when the Sisters of Charity took control. It was transferred to Donnybrook in 1837 where it became St. Mary Magdalen's Asylum.

³⁰⁵ This was founded in 1808 for girls who were feared would turn to prostitution. It was transferred to Stanhope Street in 1814 and was taken over by the Sisters of Charity in 1819. Mary Aikenhead had worked there as a lay volunteer when she visited Anna Maria O'Brien in 1808.

³⁰⁶ Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 35.

³⁰⁷ However, a statement of accounts seems to indicate that the society may have been in a relatively positive financial situation.

³⁰⁸ Mr C. Elliott to Bishop Murray, 18 Jun. 1817 (D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/3(114)).

³⁰⁹ See Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*.

Penitent Asylum in Townsend Street, which later became the St. Mary Magdalen's Asylum in Donnybrook in 1833, while the Maria Orphans Society had already been transferred to the control of the Poor Clare's at Harold's Cross in 1806. However, the best-known instance was that of Catherine McAuley's House of Mercy. This became the first house of the newly established Sisters of Mercy in 1831, apparently at the behest of Murray and other clergy. Thus by 1830 there appears to have been put in a place a movement towards religious controlled schools, institutions and other benevolent establishments. While it is true that the Church would always have favoured religious control where possible, it should be remembered that in pre-Famine Ireland the indigenous religious orders were still very much in their infancy and their numbers still relatively small. In these circumstances the Catholic community in Dublin had little option but to encourage the growth of lay organisations. The very idea that philanthropy 'through religious communities was the only form acceptable to Church authorities' in pre-Emancipation Ireland is, therefore, inaccurate.³¹⁰ Irish Catholic directories provide information which contradicts this common but incorrect view. The growth of orphanages and orphan societies can be seen in Henry Young's *Irish Catholic Directory* (Dublin, 1821). This directory lists eighteen orphan institutions in the archdiocese.³¹¹ Of these eleven had been established since 1800, and only three were managed solely by religious orders.³¹² The 1842 edition lists seventeen orphan societies and still only three were in the hands of religious.³¹³ Both directories state that there were three Catholic orphan societies managed by the lay committees surviving from the eighteenth century: namely the Patrician Orphan Society (1750), the Josephian Orphan Society (1770) and the Teresian Orphan Society (1790). However, a dramatic increase in the number of societies occurred between the years 1810-30, and especially during the 1820s. In this decade there were thirteen new societies founded, five in 1822 alone, all apparently under lay patronage.³¹⁴ Here it may be noted that the majority of these were 'societies' or 'institutions' rather than orphanages. In many instances the children were not reared in centralised homes in Dublin but rather were sent out to families in neighbouring counties. A number of societies looked after what were described as 'real orphans' at

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

³¹¹ See Appendix Two.

³¹² These were the Poor Clares orphanage at Harold's Cross, the Trinitarian Orphanage in North William Street run by the Sisters of Charity and an 'Orphan Poor School' in Summerhill, also managed by the Sisters of Charity.

³¹³ *Irish Catholic Directory 1842* (Dublin, 1842). It appears that only four overlap with the 1821 directory.

³¹⁴ Some of these referred to were 'parochial societies' and it is unclear of how much influence clergy exerted over these societies.

Tullow, County Carlow.³¹⁵ These societies possibly raised funds and paid orphanages to look after the children rather than being directly involved in the ministry themselves. Their existence in the 1840s, however, suggests that lay philanthropy, rather than waning, was in fact increasing significantly in early decades of the nineteenth century.³¹⁶

Confraternities and catechesis

Central to the provision of poor-relief and catechesis during this period was the activity of an intelligent, articulate and active middle-class laity, whose role in the establishment of charities, particularly orphanages, asylums and refuges, has often been understated. In fact the development of these institutions owed much to the endeavours of a closely knit network of benevolent families. Indeed members of the same families involved in lay philanthropic enterprises went on to assume important roles in indigenous female religious orders during the orders' formative years. Often family members became religious themselves while in other instances they were involved in acquiring lands for new convents or fundraising for their apostolic activities. As has been noted previously, many of the religious institutions in the early decades of the nineteenth century had been established initially by lay committees. The work done by both groups was often similar, the only significant difference being the greater emphasis placed on catechesis by religious orders.

In the closing decades of the eighteenth century philanthropic work became an important feature of life for a section of the Catholic middle-class. The charitable drive of this period was closely connected with the establishment of religious confraternities and sodalities established in this period.³¹⁷ The growth of confraternities was paralleled by a renewed concern for the poor, manifested by the aforementioned religious orders and various lay charities and orphan societies. The public works of many confraternities complemented the increased emphasis on poor-relief and apostolic care whilst at the same time meeting the spiritual needs of its members. The Purgatorial Society of Adam

³¹⁵ Here the directories often distinguish between 'real orphans' and presumably those children who had been abandoned or simply rescued from poverty but whose parents remained alive. Some of the children are stated to have been 'rescued from vice' or 'rescued from schools dangerous to the faith.'

³¹⁶ The only sphere of philanthropy with which this theory does not correspond is 'rescue work' and the management of asylums and refuges. While these were relatively few in number in pre-Famine Dublin, most of them were in the hands of female religious i.e. the House of Mercy (Mercy), the House of Refuge (Charity) and the Magdalen Asylum (Charity).

³¹⁷ Rosemary Raughter, 'Pious occupations: female activism and the Catholic revival in eighteenth-century Ireland' in idem (ed.), *Religious women and their history: breaking the silence* (Dublin, 2005), p. 33.

and Eve's Chapel was one such group which married successfully both objectives. Members of the society visited the sick, prepared them for the last rites and generally provided spiritual comfort in whatever way they could. They also prayed for the dead and offered Masses for their salvation. The rules for the society stated 'That, when it shall please God, to call any of said Subscribers out of this Life, a solemn Office with High Mass and all the Masses of the Day, shall be offered for the eternal Rest of such Subscriber and Benefactor'.³¹⁸ Thus spiritual assistance was assured for the deceased member. This succour, or religious fraternity, was a means of achieving the objective of 'collective redemption' proposed by the reformers of the seventeenth century, where a fraternal approach was taken towards to redemption and salvation.³¹⁹

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there were a number of confraternities, societies and sodalities active in the archdiocese. These included the Purgatorial Society, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament as well as a number of 'third orders' connected with the various congregations of regulars. Generally there were two distinct types of confraternity: those with a devotional bent and those whose primary focus was catechesis and stimulating moral reform. By the eighteenth century the majority of confraternities existed for devotional and spiritual purposes. Many bishops encouraged 'Christo-centric and Eucharistic observations' as opposed to the more traditional devotions to the cult of saints.³²⁰ However, in Ireland by the later decades of the eighteenth century reform-minded clergy began to recognise the importance of groups with a catechetical focus, particularly the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. Like many others, this confraternity had its roots in the Tridentine reforms of the sixteenth century. It was founded in Italy by a priest, Castellino de Castello for the purpose of educating children and unlettered persons in the basic tenets of the Catholic faith. The first confraternities in Ireland were founded some time in the mid-eighteenth century when autonomously run Sunday schools began to appear. A more uniform and structured approach had been adopted by the 1780s, especially in Kildare and Leighlin and Dublin. A branch had existed in Tullow, Co. Carlow in the early 1780s, where members were even holding an annual *Corpus Christi* procession.³²¹ By 1788 Pius VI had granted members of the

³¹⁸ Dublin Friary [Purgatorial] Society, list of subscribers, 1778 (Franciscan Library, Killiney, C86) [hereafter F.L.K.].

³¹⁹ Ro Po-Chia Hsia, *The world of Catholic renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 202.

³²⁰ McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, ii, *The religion of the people and the politics of religion*, p. 186.

³²¹ McGrath, *Religious renewal and reform in the pastoral ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834*, p. 30.

confraternity plenary indulgences for their works. In the same year the bishop of Kildare, Dr Delaney, wrote to Troy thanking him for forwarding the notice of said indulgences. Delaney stated that he was 'bold to assert with a holy confidence that they, [the confraternities] cannot fail to be productive, [h]ere long, of the most estimable fruits among our poor people'.³²² Delaney, therefore, was in little doubt about the usefulness of the organisation. During the early years of the nineteenth century confraternities were set up throughout the archdiocese. In the *Irish Catholic Directory 1821* (Dublin, 1821) the objectives of the society were summarised as the following:

Confraternities of the Christian Doctrine, are instituted in every Chapel, where poor children are taught the Catechism for a full hour every Sunday after last Mass: the boys are taught in the Aisle, and the females in the Galleries, and after instruction the Little Office of the most Holy Sacrament, with other devout prayers are recited. These Confraternities are governed by a Rev. Clergyman, as Guardian, by a President, Vice-president and Treasurer, who are annually elected. The members subscribe 6 ½ d. per month, or 6s. 6d. a year, which provides catechisms, prayerbooks and devout premiums for the children, and which purchases candles for the Evening Office, and for attending at processions of the most venerable Sacrament.³²³

As the confraternity existed predominantly for catechetical purposes many, but not all, of its members acted as catechists. While most other confraternities had associations with the regular clergy the Christian Doctrine was primarily a parochially based organisation. Although records do not provide a formal date of establishment, Troy's letter to Dr Delaney in 1788 attests to their existence in Dublin at that stage. In the Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ireland, compiled in 1820, Murray stated that 'in the diocese of Dublin, as long as I have been in the ministry, it [the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine] has been very much recommended.'³²⁴ It is known, for example, that a confraternity was erected in St. Michan's parish in 1799, records showing that it had seventy members in its first year of existence, all of whom were said to be female.³²⁵ A branch was later established in the parish of SS Michael and John's in 1818, succeeding Dr Betagh's poor schools, which had provided similar religious instruction for many years.³²⁶ By the 1820s the confraternity had been established in all of the city parishes.

The confraternity's structure was relatively straightforward. Ideally members were to be drawn from a respectable and reasonably well-educated background. It

³²² Bishop Delaney to Archbishop Troy, 14 Nov. 1788 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/4(72)).

³²³ Cunningham, 'The Irish Catholic Directory 1821', p. 358.

³²⁴ Report of the Royal Commission on education in Ireland, 1824 in Martin Brennan, *The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in Ireland, A.D. 1775-1835* (Dublin, 1934), p. 9.

³²⁵ Ronan, *The Catholic apostle of Dublin*, p. 123. Records for 1800 and 1801 show that membership had decreased to twenty-six and twenty-one respectively.

³²⁶ *Parish of SS Michael and John*.

would seem that prior membership in the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament was required before admission into the Christian Doctrine, therefore ensuring the integrity of the candidate.³²⁷ Members attended the various prescribed liturgical services, and some were involved in the catechetical classes which took place on Sundays. Catechism classes took place before or after Sunday Mass. Boys and girls were taught separately and classes were divided along the same lines as secular schools, with children being grouped together by age. The rules for the confraternity of St. Michan's parish outlined the catechetical programme to be followed: '1st. Class, Prayers, including the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity. 2nd Class- Small Catechism. 3rd. Class- Abridgement of the General Catechism. 4th. Class- General Catechism. 5th. Class- Fleury's Historical Catechism. But to this last class no one is to be admitted but such as shall be declared fit by some priest of the Chapel'.³²⁸ Some confraternities had their own lending library, while others were attached to parish libraries. From 1826 their efforts were assisted by the establishment of the Catholic Book and Tract Society. This society aimed 'to assist in supplying to Schools throughout Ireland, the most approved Books of elementary Instruction.'³²⁹ The plan implies that a comprehensive system of catechesis was in place, which if implemented and received correctly, would have given the children a more than adequate catechetical grounding. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not the desired standard of knowledge was ever realised. For example, Connolly argued that

At a time when the Catholic clergy were unable to enforce universal compliance even with the more fundamental obligation of attendance at Sunday mass, it is difficult to believe that there were not at least some children who attended only irregularly or not at all.³³⁰

However, coming from a position of infrastructural poverty it seems unlikely that Catholic clergy would have been so naïve as to believe universal compliance was possible in the pre-Famine period. The Catholic community was after all following a programme of gradual pastoral improvement, in which its mission to those outside regular sacramental life was one of gradual progression. The fact that attendance at confraternity meetings may have been somewhat 'irregular' was not of major importance, as a growing number of children were coming into contact with regular

³²⁷ Brennan, *The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in Ireland*, p. 16. However, other sources suggest that it was easy to gain membership of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, stating that all one had to do was register with the parish priest, which were in stark contrast with the strict guidelines laid down for the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. See McGrath, *Religious renewal and reform*, p. 130.

³²⁸ Rules for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, St. Michan's parish cited in Ronan, *The Catholic apostle of Dublin*, p. 124.

³²⁹ Aims of the Catholic Book and Tract Society, 1827 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/10(26)).

³³⁰ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845*, p. 100.

pastoral supervision and religious instruction. This gradual progression was sufficient for the period in question as it afforded the Catholic community an opportunity to lay the basic foundations for the more extensive process of evangelisation that would take place in the post-Famine era. Archbishop Troy was obviously aware of the benefits confraternities afforded his programme of pastoral reform. In a letter to Sir Henry Parnell, M.P., Troy bemoaned the pitiful situation in Rathdrum, a rural parish in Dublin. He wrote that the parish was ‘totally destitute of any moral or religious instruction as far as the Catholics are concerned’.³³¹ He believed that this moral destitution was in part due to the extremely low priest-parishioner ratio but, more interestingly, the destitution was as a result of a lack of confraternities for lay Catholics. This was, however, in contrast to the situation of Dublin City. He commented that

No parish can therefore be without some degree of moral & religious instruction; of which there is no want in the Capital & other cities where there are many charitable institutions for the religious & moral education of the Catholic Orphans & other Children of both sexes.³³²

By 1820 the activities of the confraternity had become so well-known that the Royal Commission on Education in Ireland examined its work in some detail. The commissioners were considerably alarmed at its activities, compiling a report outlining their suspicions regarding the confraternity’s perceived influence over Catholic children. They alleged that the members were ‘obliged to... exercise a vigilant Superintendence over the moral Conduct of each other... we believe, [that there are] but few Chapels in Ireland in which religious Instruction is not imparted on Sundays’.³³³ It may have been the case that the commissioners believed that the influence of the confraternity was thwarting the efforts of influential Protestant evangelicals in both Ireland and Britain, who amongst other things sought to bring ‘Ireland into line with the economic and political as well as religious trends taking shape in Britain’.³³⁴ The Westminster government was becoming increasingly mindful of the importance of supporting the religious establishment in Ireland against the mounting threat of Catholic politicisation, and therefore any significant process of pastoral or catechetical reform was going to be of interest.³³⁵ The apparent success of

³³¹ Archbishop Troy to Sir Henry Parnell, M.P., 1816 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/3(8)).

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ireland, 1824 in Brennan, *The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in Ireland*, p. 8.

³³⁴ Irene Whelan, ‘The Bible gentry: evangelical religion, aristocracy and the new moral order in the early nineteenth-century’ in Crawford Gribben and Andrew Holmes (eds), *Protestant millennialism, evangelicalism and Irish society, 1790-2005* (New York, 2006), p. 52.

³³⁵ Ibid., p. 65.

the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and those Catholic Sunday schools without canonical approval was detrimental to the efforts of the Protestant Sunday schools, which had been educating Catholic children since the early 1800s.³³⁶ For example, the London Hibernian Society reported a decline in enrolment figures for 1824, a decline which may have been due to the establishment of Sunday schools at Catholic chapels in the early 1820s.³³⁷

The catechetical efforts of the Christian Doctrine were complemented by the activities of other lay societies involved in catechesis and those concerned with affecting change by eliminating so-called societal vices. For example, indulgences for membership of the Purgatorial Society of SS Michael and John's parish stated that the society was founded 'to promote the pious dispositions of the faithful of this city, and to render them more charitable to the poor sick, and more zealous to relieve, by their suffrages, the souls in Purgatory'.³³⁸ Out of a renewed zeal for piety and charity came the erection of numerous orphanages, asylums and refuges, all of which were run by lay organisations before 1794.³³⁹ Confraternities played a significant part in creating an environment conducive to an increased involvement by the Catholic laity in apostolic ventures and it was partly out of this climate that a prominent network of charitable families arose. The most well-known Catholic philanthropic family network in this period was the O'Brien/Ball family. This family exemplified the interconnectedness between religious and lay charitable activity in this period. One of its best known members was Anna Maria O'Brien, the most famous lay Catholic philanthropist of the early nineteenth century.³⁴⁰ O'Brien had helped establish the Maria Female Orphans society in Hawkins Street c. 1801, which was later transferred to the Poor Clares at Harold's Cross. Along with Isabella Sherlock, Matilda Dennis and Alicia Scully, she also helped found the House of Refuge, Ashe Street in 1808. Indeed O'Brien is credited with introducing Mary Aikenhead, founder of the Religious Sisters of Charity, to

³³⁶ During the first decades of the nineteenth-century Catholic children attended Sunday schools in large numbers. Occasionally Catholics priests applied for funds from the Sunday School Society to establish their own schools. See Irene Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland: the Second Reformation and the polarization of Protestant-Catholic relations* (Dublin, 2005), p. 109.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³³⁸ Indulgences granted to the Purgatorial Society of SS Michael and John's parish, April-June 1820 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/5(28)). This branch of the society was founded in 1820.

³³⁹ The author gives the date 1794 as it was the year when the Presentation Sisters established their convent at George's Hill. Before this there were no religious orders involved in these activities. The contemplative nuns involved themselves in boarding schools but never in orphanages or in 'moral reclamation'.

³⁴⁰ Anna Maria was married to a wealthy Catholic merchant, John O'Brien. She was sister to Mother Teresa Ball, foundress of the Loreto Sisters.

Archbishop Murray.³⁴¹ She invited Aikenhead to assist her in the House of Refuge, thus affording her a first taste of charitable work in the city. Even when the Sisters of Charity assumed responsibility for this venture O'Brien was retained as president, presumably for her expertise and experience in the provision of charity, but possibly due to her knowledge in acquiring funds for the venture. O'Brien was also retained as president of St. Mary's Parochial School.³⁴² Her husband, John O'Brien, was one of those 'pious & opulent Persons' to which Troy referred regarding the acquirement of land for the Poor Clares at Harold's Cross.³⁴³ However, the best-known member of the family was Anna Maria's sister, Frances Ball, later Mother Teresa Ball, founder of the Loreto Sisters.

Fig. 20 Anna Maria O'Brien



Source: Desmond Forristal, *The first Loreto sister: Mother Teresa Ball 1794-1861* (Dublin, 1994), p. 33.

The Corballis, Dennis, Auger, Poland and Quarterman families were also important in the evolution of Catholic charities and religious orders. Richard Corballis was instrumental in securing land at Rathfarnham for the Loreto Sisters to establish

³⁴¹ See Blake, *Mary Aikenhead (1787-1858): servant of the poor*.

³⁴² Cunningham, 'The Irish Catholic Directory 1821', p. 330. While this school was a 'parochial school' it was under the care of the Sisters of Charity and thus deserves to be included. Also see Beatrice Bayley Butler and Katherine Butler, 'Mrs. John O'Brien, her life, her works, her friends' in *Dublin Historical Record*, xxxiii (1980), pp 141-56.

³⁴³ Archbishop Troy to Holy See, 1804 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/10(20)).

their first convent.³⁴⁴ His involvement may have had been due to the fact that a number of the early Sisters were his relations. One of the order's early postulants was Mary Catherine (Margaret) Corballis of Dundrum, while another religious was Mary Joseph Gonzaga (Elizabeth) Corballis.³⁴⁵ This interrelatedness was a feature of the fledgling religious orders. Lists of postulants and novices had a very local flavour in their early years. It is interesting to note the response of many local women to the call to join these new orders. Looking at the nuns professed for George's Hill convent up to 1830 one sees that thirteen out of twenty were born in the city parishes, while forty of the novices who entered the Sisters of Charity up to 1830 were from the city.³⁴⁶ Hence to see religious and the laity somehow as separate Catholic constituencies appears to be a mistake. The religious who evolved were not unfamiliar with either the social climate or the laity to whom they succeeded in many charitable enterprises as the century progressed. In many instances the religious had first hand experience of the charitable efforts of the laity while in others they were directly related to those teaching or dispensing poor-relief. Indeed when religious eventually became prevalent in the fields of education and charity in Dublin they did not dispense with lay assistance. As has been pointed out Anna Maria O'Brien continued to work closely with the Sisters of Charity and donated funds to their many projects.³⁴⁷ Nor did the laity retreat immediately from their involvement in orphan societies and schools. While Catholic benevolence was channelled strongly through religious in post-Famine Ireland, before 1840 there was still a great dependence on the efforts of the laity. Even the institutes with close parochial connections were, in reality, lay organisations while many convents had lay management committees which were responsible for the financial matters.³⁴⁸ While there was a steady retreat of laity from work with prostitutes and other aspects of moral reclamation this was not the case in other areas of poor-relief and catechesis. Groups such as the Mendicity Association continued to flourish and acted as important means of moral reformation and poor-relief. However, the most important lay groups to flourish were the sodalities and confraternities. Of these the aforementioned Confraternity of Christian Doctrine was the most active. It can be argued that its Sunday

³⁴⁴ There are three documents pertaining to the acquisition in the D.D.A.. See D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/6(35, 37, 38).

³⁴⁵ Verse by Mother Frances Ball to Archbishop Murray, 30 Aug. 1825 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/9(20)).

³⁴⁶ Register of postulants, novices and religious of George's Hill Convent (P.G.H.A., P1(B)). Figures for the Sisters of Charity were received from Sister Marie-Bernadette, R.S.C., archivist of the Irish province of the Religious Sisters of Charity.

³⁴⁷ Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 36.

³⁴⁸ Desmond Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1983), p. 128.

school type catechism classes were one of the main factors affecting a ‘devotional revolution’ in the pre-Famine period.³⁴⁹ When a member joined the confraternity they did so in the knowledge that they would be required to assist the priests of the parish ‘at all times in instructing the ignorant, teaching catechism, reading pious books aloud, preparing children for their first holy communion and assisting sick persons to die in the Lord.’³⁵⁰ Therefore, far from retreating from educational and charitable spheres, a certain proportion of the Catholic laity were in fact empowered and given positions of responsibility as catechisers and as agents of social change.

Education for the middle classes

While there was much emphasis placed upon educating the poor both Troy and Murray recognised the importance of establishing a separate education system for wealthier middle-class Catholic families. Catholic sponsored education did not deviate from traditional practice and stratified its educational system firmly along established social lines.³⁵¹ In this instance it is not coincidental that separate religious orders were established, and in some cases orders remoulded to deal specifically with certain sections of society. It has already been demonstrated how Troy was influential in remoulding the apostolic focus of orders such as the Poor Clares and Carmelites, directing them from their previously contemplative orientation towards a more active ministry. Their educational focus also shifted away from the middle-classes to the poor. This was copper fastened by adding a fourth vow dedicating their lives to the service of the poor. Likewise Murray’s role was crucial in the establishment of the Sisters of Charity and the subsequent shaping of their ministry. Murray was keen to establish a new congregation along the lines of the French Daughters of Charity, a group which was not bound by enclosure but which spent much of their time visiting the sick in their own homes.³⁵² However, he also placed a renewed emphasis on education for the middle-classes which was spearheaded by the recently restored Jesuits and the newly founded Loreto Sisters.

³⁴⁹ This was not of course the ‘devotional revolution’ which supposedly occurred in post-Famine Ireland and which was allegedly instigated by Cardinal Cullen, characterised by an almost universal attendance at the Sacraments as well as at ‘devotional’ ceremonies. What is referred to here is the significant growth in those attending church services, in Dublin especially, which had its roots much earlier in the nineteenth-century.

³⁵⁰ Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 138.

³⁵¹ Catriona Clear, *Nuns in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Washington D.C., 1987), p. 27.

³⁵² Blake, *Mary Aikenhead (1787-1858): servant of the poor*, p. 22.

As was the case with the Sisters of Charity, the encouragement of Murray was also crucial in the establishment of the Loreto Sisters. Murray had come to know the founder, Frances Ball (1794-1861) through her philanthropic sister, Anna Maria O'Brien. Like a number of wealthy Catholic girls from Dublin, Frances was educated in the Bar Convent, York.

Fig. 21 Mother Frances Teresa Ball (1794-1861).



Source: Morrissey, *As one sent: Peter Kenney SJ, 1779-1841*.

After the death of her father she returned home to Dublin in 1804 where she met with Murray, who became a close friend and her spiritual director.³⁵³ Ball subsequently became active in the charitable activities of her sister, Anna Maria. It is significant that when Ball decided to pursue religious life Murray recommended the Bar Convent in York, and not a convent on the Continent, as the place to complete her novitiate. Once again this highlights the importance of the Catholic community in England as a model for Dublin. The Bar Convent was home to the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, an order which had traditionally been associated with the education of middle-class girls. Since its founding in the sixteenth century by Mary Ward, the order's mission had become steadily more contemplative, gradually reducing its mission to poor. This

³⁵³ Rosemary Mitchell, 'Ball, Frances (1794-1861)' in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 2004), iii, p. 557.

eventually resulted in enclosure. The way of life was said to have had a great impact on Ball and its rule was similar to that adopted by the Loreto Sisters. Consequently the two orders which Murray was so influential in establishing had distinct apostolic missions and rules. The Loreto Sisters had a considerably more disciplined inclination than the Sisters of Charity, a leaning which eventually led to their own enclosure. While education was their main ministry, it was the education of children belonging to better-off Catholics. As the Sisters did not have to visit the sick and poor it was not necessary for them to be as active in the community, unlike the Sisters of Charity whose apostolic focus was more varied.³⁵⁴ Therefore, while originally permitted to work outside of their convents, many of the Sisters quickly petitioned Murray for enclosure. According to the wisdom of the time activity in the community meant involvement in poor-relief. Since this was not part of the Loreto Sisters's mission there was no reason why they should not have been subject to enclosure. It appears that Murray was not unduly worried about their longing for enclosure. In 1825 he granted permission to a request made that would allow the Sisters recite the more complete Divine Office.³⁵⁵ This request was made by means of a verse and read as follows:

Though to your will we're all resigned
To ours eve hope you'll be enclined
We beg, the Office in Choir to recite
And thus for Heaven, we will doubly fight,
And while we are doomed to Earthly food
From the Saints, may we learn to be good
Oh! grant it this day & night
For you our Prayer we will recite,
May every grace from Heaven descend
And Angels guard you to the end.³⁵⁶

The line 'to your will we're all resigned' was a reference to the fact that the Loreto Sisters were subject to Murray, as the ordinary, unlike the Sisters of Charity who retained autonomous government under Mother Aikenhead. It was under these circumstances that the order's first house, Rathfarnham Abbey was founded in 1821. The fact that it was called an 'abbey', as opposed to a convent, or even 'house' says much about how the Sisters viewed their mission. The Abbey grew steadily and by 1842

³⁵⁴ For the Sisters of Charity education was only a part of their ministry, which otherwise included visiting the sick, providing medical assistance and evangelising.

³⁵⁵ As has been noted the more active orders did not recite the more complete Divine Office but rather prayed the shorter version, the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

³⁵⁶ Verse signed by Mother Frances Ball and eight other Loreto Sisters asking Murray to allow them recite the Divine Office in choir, 30 Aug. 1825 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/9(20)).

it housed forty sisters, 200 hundred day pupils as well as sixty boarders.³⁵⁷ In the period 1828-1833 sixteen girls educated there became sisters, illustrating the close links between the Catholic middle-class and the religious in their early years.³⁵⁸

If the Loreto Sisters were the early proponents of education for middle-class girls, the Jesuits were very much their male equivalent. While the order had traditionally been involved in education, developments in the nineteenth century meant that they assumed a specifically middle-class focus. While figures like Austin and Betagh had been famous champions of education for both the wealthy and the poor in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries respectively, after the order's restoration in 1814 it modified its mission to focus on the better-off. In 1815 Peter Kenney, S.J., founded Clongowes Wood College, near Clane in Co. Kildare, which went on to become the leading boarding school for Catholic middle-class boys in the country.³⁵⁹ The order continued to operate a number of classical schools in the city until they established a more permanent and central institution in Hardwicke Street, St. Francis Xavier's School, established in 1832, the predecessor to Belvedere College.³⁶⁰ As well as catering for the needs of those wealthier Catholics who sought a quality education for their sons, schools such as Clongowes and Belvedere played the equally important role of safeguarding the faith of young Catholics.³⁶¹ Prior to their establishment many wealthy Catholics had been sending their sons to Protestant schools because of a shortage of suitable Catholic schools. It was therefore seen as imperative that wealthy Catholics had a viable educational option, one in which the faith of the young was not jeopardised. This highlights the fact that the Catholic authorities perceived proselytisers as posing a threat not only to poor and vulnerable children but also to those from the middle-classes. Thus while Catholic education was concerned with preserving the existing social stratification on many levels it was also anxious to protect Catholic youths from Protestant evangelisers.

³⁵⁷ *Irish Catholic Directory 1842*, p. 285.

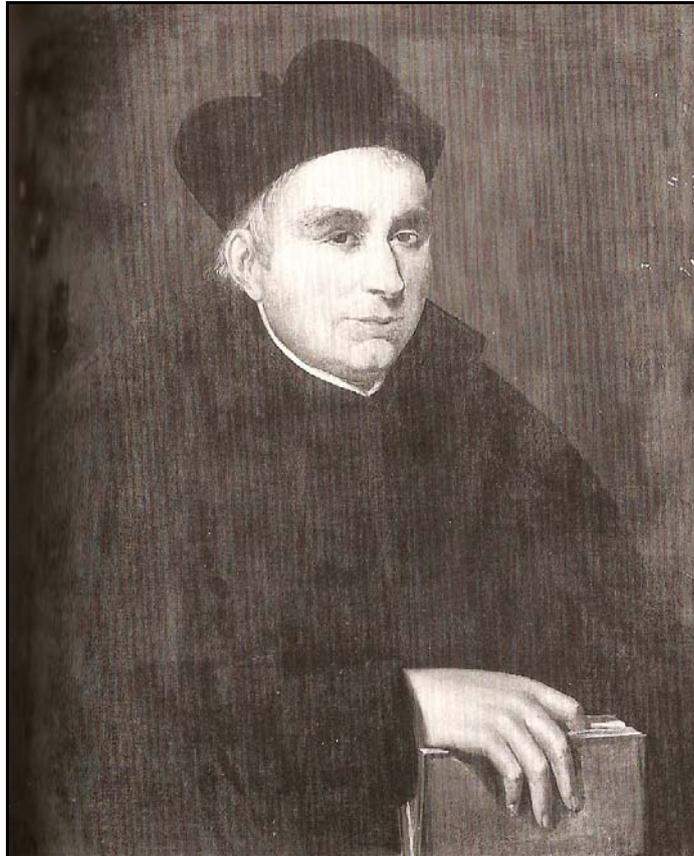
³⁵⁸ Forristal, *The first Loreto sister: Mother Teresa Ball 1794-1861*, p. 81.

³⁵⁹ Thomas Morrissey, 'Kenney, Peter James (1779-1841)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxi, p. 293.

³⁶⁰ McRedmond, *To the greater glory*, p. 172.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Fig. 22 Peter Kenney, S.J. (1779-1841)



Source: McRedmond, *To the greater glory*.

Reformation and reclamation: asylums and refuges

The advent of indigenous religious orders, each with their own apostolic and societal focuses, indicated that the Catholic community in Dublin was finally attempting to bring its teachings to broader sections of the community. The Catholic community was especially concerned with the education of females at elementary level. This preference was particularly manifest in the early decades of the nineteenth century when there was a definite drive to establish new, indigenous female religious orders to cater for the education and care of girls and young women. The community's emphasis on female education says much about the religious conditions and priorities of the day. In eighteenth century Dublin the education of girls was generally not a priority. The change appears to have commenced in the 1780s when Teresa Mulally began the expansion of her school at George's Hill. As the century drew to a close there was a definite shift in emphasis towards female education and especially in catering for the

needs of what those involved in poor-relief labelled 'vulnerable young girls'. While the Enlightenment ideals of universal instruction and social utility may have influenced this phenomenon, it may also be viewed as part of the community's attempts to stimulate a reformation of public morality. It should be seen also as part of the reformers' efforts to foster a more universally practising laity. Firstly, if the Catholic community wished to cultivate a climate where regular religious communication, combined with an increased sense of morality, was more universally adhered to it first had to embark on a collective educational drive to instil increased sections of the laity with a basic knowledge of Christian doctrine. The means through which it attempted to do this were confraternities, schools, religious literature and preaching.³⁶² However, it perceived women as an especially important medium in this process for two main reasons. Firstly, it was widely acknowledged that children received most of their moral and religious formation from their mothers. Secondly, many believed that women were morally and spiritually superior to men and that it was through the work of women that a moral regeneration of society in general could be attained.³⁶³ It was commonly accepted across all religious denominations that if successful evangelisation were to take place it would be done by their 'womenfolk'.³⁶⁴ Women were to be visibly active in this attempted moral reformation and it was hoped that through their example the rest of society would feel compelled to undergo their own moral regeneration. Thus girls became the focus of much attention for philanthropists of all religious persuasions in this period. Teresa Mulally's 'Address to the charitable of St. Michan's' stated that among 'the real Objects of this parish there are none whose necessities require more to be considered, than the poor Children of the Female Sex'.³⁶⁵ This emphasis on the female sex was enhanced particularly when dealing with 'vulnerable girls' who came in for special attention. This resulted in the establishment of numerous orphanages, refuges and asylums specifically designed to cater for girls and young women.³⁶⁶ An appeal for the Maria Orphans Society in 1801 stated that one of the principal reasons for the establishment of the society was 'to stop the torrent of such growing vice and

³⁶² An example of this was the establishment of the Catholic Book Society in 1828. Its aims were to 'to furnish to the People of Ireland, in the most cheap and convenient manner, useful information on the truths and duties of the Christian Religion. To supply all classes of persons satisfactory Refutations of the prevailing Errors and Heresies of the present age. To assist in supplying to Schools throughout Ireland, the most approved Books of elementary Instruction' (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/10(26)).

³⁶³ Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 214.

³⁶⁴ Clear, *Nuns in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 7.

³⁶⁵ An address to the charitable of St. Michan's parish, 1766 (P.G.H.A., FD/46).

³⁶⁶ The term 'vulnerable' referred to girls who were said to have been in danger of falling into crime or prostitution. It also referred to those who some Catholics felt were susceptible to proselytisers.

wickedness'.³⁶⁷ It stated that this was a 'time when vice and impurity prevail in the city, where numbers of poor destitute female orphans are left to prey to infamy and immorality'.³⁶⁸ Those involved in rescue work supposedly feared that if they did not intervene these girls would end up turning to crime and prostitution. Consequently one of the society's goals was to turn destitute 'orphans' into 'such objects fit members of Society' through instruction 'in the principles of Religion, [and] the love and fear of God'.³⁶⁹ Similarly an appeal for the House of Refuge, Ashe Street declared that much of its work involved 'destitute orphans, who had been saved by charity from early ruin, but who afterwards, when depending for subsistence in their own industry, deprived of employment and consequently of support' turned to prostitution.³⁷⁰ Rather like Catherine McCauley's House of Mercy, the House of Refuge provided care and practical training for older girls, which it was hoped would help the girls secure employment in domestic service or in dressmaking or in other skilled positions. The appeal expressed the wishes of the benefactors that the refuge would 'encourage industry' and 'diffuse virtue'.³⁷¹ By encouraging industry and diffusing virtue the refuge embodied two of the most recognisable religious traits of both the Enlightenment and of the early nineteenth century's 'moral reformation'. Central to the efforts of the 'moral reformers' were the teachings and conduct of women, who acted as the 'moral governors of society and mans moral reflectors'.³⁷²

By the 1790s there was an increasing effort by Catholic groups to provide a means of prevention and reclamation for females whom were perceived to have fallen, or were in danger of falling, into lives of 'wickedness and vice'. Of these vices prostitution was seen as the gravest, having not only solemn effects on the individual's own salvation but also impinging on wider society. While civic authorities established the Lock Hospital in 1755, it did little to tackle the problem of prostitution and catered only for those suffering from venereal diseases.³⁷³ However, the aims of those institutions run by religious groups were twofold. Firstly, they were attempting to alleviate a societal vice. Secondly, they were attempting to 'reclaim' the prostitute from

³⁶⁷ Appeal for funds for the Maria Orphans Society, 1801 [The author does not have a reference for this document. It was received as part of file entitled 'Women religious in Dublin 1629-1831' from Sister Marie-Bernadette, RCS, archivist of the Religious Sisters of Charity, *Caritas*, Sandymount].

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.* As has been noted, it is probable that not all children in orphanages were 'orphans'. Rather, some had parents but had been 'rescued' from supposedly threatening situations.

³⁷⁰ Appeal for the House of Refuge, Ashe Street, c. 1809 [The author does not have a reference for this document. See footnote 367].

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² Clear, *Nuns in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 30.

³⁷³ Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 105.

a sinful life. The earliest asylum with a specifically religious focus had been established in 1766 in Leeson Street by the Protestant, Lady Arbella Denny.³⁷⁴ The first specifically Catholic asylum was not opened until 1798 when the General Magdalen Asylum, Townsend Street was founded by Mrs Ryan, a niece of Archbishop Troy.³⁷⁵ By 1821 this asylum was home to thirty-seven residents, who were sustained through their employment in needlework and laundry.³⁷⁶ The aforementioned House of Refuge in Ashe Street was set up in 1808 for the purpose to ‘train and relieve women from vice’.³⁷⁷ In 1819 the management of the house was taken over by the Sisters of Charity, having been transferred to Stanhope Street in 1814. By 1821 it housed thirty residents and six sisters.

While the Catholic community placed a great deal of emphasis on female education in this period, which resulted in the development of numerous pastoral services, this phenomenon should not be viewed as something imposed by the Catholic clergy. In many instances it was women themselves who brought about the improvements in poor-relief and catechesis. Women like Teresa Mulally were not cajoled into undertaking their various apostolic ventures. Mulally entered into poor-relief at a time when there was relatively little encouragement by the institutional Church to do so. However, while it is true that by the 1780s the bishops and clergy were beginning to take a greater interest in these areas, poor-relief and reclamation work at this time was very much a female preserve. Women provided funding and patronage.³⁷⁸ In her appeal to the parishioners of St. Michan’s Mulally outlined her plans for her school. In this she spoke of the ‘danger of uniting both Sexes in one School’. She said it was imperative that the teacher be female as it was found ‘by experience that a Man is ill-qualified for such a task as the tuition of Girls, which requires the peculiar abilities of a discreet and skilful Woman’.³⁷⁹ Her appeal for funds was, however, equally revealing. She wrote that such

a School, so long wanting, and so happily commenced has nothing to support it, but what it expects from the Charity of the Faithful. Though it hopes encouragement from all good Parishioners, its chief dependence is on the Ladies, whose usual tenderness for the Poor in General, can but show a particular feeling for the distressed members of their own Sex’.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 110.

³⁷⁵ Cunningham, ‘The Irish Catholic Directory 1821’, p. 333.

³⁷⁶ Ibid. This was a sign of the professional nature which asylums were forced to adopt due to the rising number of residents, which donations alone could no longer sustain.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Raughter, ‘Pious occupations’, p. 31.

³⁷⁹ An address to the charitable of St. Michan’s parish (P.G.H.A., FD/46).

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

Contributions to the school up rose steadily in the early years, increasing from £33 in 1766 to £120 by 1770.³⁸¹ Furthermore, the capability of Mulally to develop services was enhanced by a substantial benefaction by a Mrs Coppinger, who allegedly bequeathed the enormous sum of £10,000.³⁸²

Here it is important to remember that this disposition for moral reformation was not exclusively a Catholic phenomenon but rather was mirrored by groups representing all mainstream Christian denominations. Particularly important in this process were groups with an evangelical Protestant disposition. Groups such as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Association for Discountenancing Vice were to the fore in attempts to affect moral reform and improvement with an emphasis on the promotion of virtue, especially temperance.³⁸³ Through the distribution of Bibles and religious tracts these organisations sought to encourage the renewal of Protestantism, the promulgation of religious knowledge, the restoration of Sabbath observance and the reformation of the criminal poor.³⁸⁴ Evangelical activity in the areas of poor-relief and moral reform was based upon one central belief: that man was in need of regeneration. Since man was born with a sinful nature he could only be redeemed through a process of regeneration and conversion.³⁸⁵ What made this process even more pressing was the belief of many evangelicals in the imminent return of Christ. Millenarian expectation had been heightened in the early part of the nineteenth century by the events in France and revolutionary Europe, which caused many evangelicals to believe that the thousand year reign of Christ was at hand.³⁸⁶ It was from this desire for moral reformation that the numerous societies involved in popular education and reclamation work emerged.

Enlightenment beliefs and the impact of the French Revolution on poor relief

Preaching at the official institution of the Religious Sisters of Charity in September 1817 the Jesuit, Peter Kenney made the following pronouncement regarding the Sisters:

³⁸¹ Annals of the Presentation Convent, George's Hill (P.G.H.A.).

³⁸² Ibid. Coppinger was aunt of Sir Patrick Bellew of Bermeath, Co. Louth. She allegedly gave £10,000 to the convent, which was paid in part, £2,000 of which remained in the hands of the Bellew family who paid the interest at £5 per cent per annum.

³⁸³ Alan Acheson, *A history of the Church of Ireland 1691-1996* (Dublin, 1997), p. 10.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 52.

³⁸⁵ Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland*, p. 66.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 69.

'I propose to speak of this Institute as a source of evangelical perfection'.³⁸⁷ Their evangelical perfection, he said, was due to their apostolic mission: the service of the poor. He went on to remark that to 'live to serve the sick, the wretched Poor, for the love and imitation of Jesus Christ, - Oh sublime vocation! Precious servitude, Oh rich and happy Poverty, glorious Humility!'³⁸⁸ While Kenney was of course referring to the lives of the Sisters assuming a mission to the poor he was also calling on the entire Catholic community to extend to the hand of friendship to the poor and needy. He said

To dedicate your lives to the service of the Poor is not your vocation, but every state of life affords frequent opportunity of exercising this species of charity... remember at least, that for you and for all, that charity is pronounced to be the accomplishment of the Law.³⁸⁹

Kenney was speaking at a time when growing numbers of women were devoting their lives to religious orders active in the provision of poor relief and catechesis. For the first time in the history of the Irish Catholic community 'the poor' were becoming a major concern. Mary Aikenhead famously remarked that 'in all points bear in mind our being servants of Christ's own poor'.³⁹⁰ While numerous charitable women and men embarked on their mission to the poor mindful in the knowledge that they too were 'Christ's own poor', it may be a mistake to view the Catholic community's renewed interest in the underprivileged in purely humanitarian terms. It is important to recognise that other factors moved Catholic reformers to act in this manner. Archbishops Troy and Murray, and indeed women like Teresa Mulally and Mary Aikenhead, did not embark on their educational and benevolent mission purely for the sake of educating the poor and alleviating their suffering. Rather they viewed their activities predominantly in terms of providing catechesis as a means of stimulating moral reformation and religious revival, not unlike the mission of evangelicals active in Dublin at the same time.³⁹¹ As early as 1766 Teresa Mulally outlined the reasons for establishing a school for poor girls. In her address to the charitable of St. Michan's parish she stated

They are, many of them, Orphans, and the rest, by the helpless condition of their Parents, scarce better than Orphans. They suffer all the hardships of extreme Poverty: but their Poverty, extreme as it is, is not the worst of their miseries. Their chief misfortune is to be without any means of Instruction; for want of which they grow up in

³⁸⁷ Sermon preached by Peter Kenney, S.J., at the formal erection of the Religious Sisters of Charity, 24 Sept. 1817 (J.A.L.S., J474(43)1/B/38).

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Mary Aikenhead cited in Blake, *Servant of the poor*, p. 33.

³⁹¹ Moral reclamation is included here as many efforts concentrated on women involved in prostitution and those who had turned to other forms of crime.

such habits of Ignorance, Idleness and Vice, as render them for ever after not only useless, but highly pernicious to themselves and the Publick.³⁹²

Mulally perceived numerous dangers arising from the educational neglect of children. She believed that many of those who strayed into to what she described as ‘vice and idleness’ did so primarily because they had not been educated in the tenets of the Christian faith. To rectify this she allotted much of the school day to catechesis and moral instruction. The children she wrote

came to school at half past seven, joined in the morning prayer, went to 8 o’clock Mass, returned and said the Hymn of the Holy Ghost. Next, they answered their tasks of the Catechism and spelling. Then they sat down to work; the spellers spelt in class, and the readers read in class until three o’clock. The Angelus and Acts [were said] at three o’clock... They concluded at six o’clock with the psalm: “Praise the Lord, ye children,” and some other prayers.³⁹³

By allotting such a substantial portion of the school day to religious practice and catechesis Mulally highlighted what she saw as the importance of religious education for both personal salvation and for society as a whole. She combined religious education with training in more practical skills such as ‘reading and writing, knitting, quilting, mantua-making, plain-work’ so that the children ‘be rendered usefull to Society, and capable of earning honest bread for themselves’.³⁹⁴ This emphasis on combining catechesis with practical training was true for all those Catholic institutions providing poor-relief and catechesis. The House of Refuge in Ashe Street, for example, employed its residents in ‘washing, mangling, plainwork, and other branches of female industry’ while at the same time taking care to

enlighten their [the residents] minds and to impress the duties of religion more deeply on their hearts; so that during their temporary residence at the House of Refuge, they are not only rescued from the hardships they were suffering... which will render them more certainly useful to those who shall hereafter employ them.³⁹⁵

Enlightening people’s minds and impressing on them the ‘duties of religion’ was central to their mission for one particular reason. It was a commonly held view at the time that ignorance and idleness lead to immorality, crime and more importantly damnation. In his pastoral letter of 1807 Troy stated his belief that religion was the bulwark of all healthy societies. He remarked:

³⁹² An address to the charitable of St. Michan’s parish, 1766 (P.G.H.A., FD/46).

³⁹³ ‘Rules observed in the school for poor girls who began May 1766, in St. Mary’s Lane’ cited in Burke Savage, *A valiant Dublin woman: the story of George’s Hill 1766-1940*, p. 61.

³⁹⁴ An address to the charitable of St. Michan’s parish, 1766 (P.G.H.A., FD/46). It is likely that the ‘mantra’ referred to here was actually a mantua- a woman’s gown.

³⁹⁵ Appeal for the House of Refuge, Ashe Street, c. 1809 (see footnote 369 above).

*Without religion, no society can exist long. It affords consolation to man, and support to good order and to the administration of government under any constitution... Without religion, subjects become licentious, arrogant, ungovernable and seditious.*³⁹⁶

Traditionally it was believed that religion was at the centre of every healthy European society. Troy implored his people to look at the situation in France and see what a godless society was truly like. He lamented ‘the sad and frightful picture which France exhibits to an amazed world must fill the Christian and every human beholder with concern and anxiety’.³⁹⁷ There, he said, those ‘impious demagogues have destroyed everything valuable and dear to man. They have torn up the very foundations of society and of religion. They have reversed everything’.³⁹⁸ While Troy was writing here in a slightly different context, his sentiments are nonetheless applicable to the Catholic community’s evolving attitudes to catechesis and moral reformation. The point Troy was attempting to make in both cases was that ‘society’ without a healthy climate of religious belief would become overrun with immorality and eventually become ungovernable. The godless revolutionaries in France had little concern apart from appeasing their own selfish gratifications

To them the very idea of religion and virtue appear criminal. From one excess they pass to another, until their impiety which necessarily leads to licentiousness and sedition becomes equally disastrous and detestable fills the honest, the religious mind with horror and consternation. Publick security vanishes before them; and the passions concentrating in the baseness of self-gratification, the inclinations these dogmatizing philosophers become entirely carnal and brutalized.³⁹⁹

The sole reason for France’s descent into depravity was because of the revolutionaries ‘Contempt of religion’, which according to Troy was ‘the parent of anarchy’.⁴⁰⁰

Protestant evangelicals and Catholic education and poor-relief

At first glance it appears that the work of reformers in Dublin yielded positive results in the early nineteenth century. A pamphlet addressed to the ‘mechanics, workmen and servants’ by the Mendicity Institution in 1828 recalled how, in its opinion, Dublin had once been filled with beggars. By 1828, however, the pamphlet alleged that beggars were not as prevalent as it they had been previously. The institution took heart from this

³⁹⁶ Pastoral letter, 16 Feb. 1797 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(23)). While Troy was speaking about the development of radical societies his sentiments are nonetheless characteristic of his views on the dangers of ‘unbelief’.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

supposed transformation, and argued that moral reclamation was a definite possibility if approached from the right perspective. They claimed that the city had been rid of this so-called public scourge by providing the ‘wretches’ with food and employment, stating that they were ‘immediately received and employed, fair wages paid them for their work, and clean, wholesome, hot food provided for them twice in the day’.⁴⁰¹ However, the authors laid the initial emphasis on the need of the ‘wretches’ themselves to recognise their decrepit state and seek change. This approach was characteristic of the then prevalent idea of the ‘deserving poor’. They wrote that ‘You can see that no persons however poor, however weak, however old, however hungry, need disgrace themselves by begging, (for begging is a disgrace, a mean action, when a comfortable and honest subsistence can be so easily obtained.)’.⁴⁰² The institution was not concerned with, nor did it recognise the legitimacy of other factors which might induce begging. Rather, the only factor that could force a person to turn to this ‘mean action’ was laziness. The pamphlet declared that

those persons, therefore, who still idle about the streets, are plainly those who will not work, and yet are not ashamed to beg; and will you give your alms to such persons?... Who lead a life of idleness and vice, not wishing to earn their bread in honest industry, and who are wicked enough to rear up their little children in the same course in the streets.⁴⁰³

For many involved in moral reformation, poverty went hand-in-hand with sin. Reformers often looked upon people’s conditions as self-inflicted and argued that what was needed was reformation and not simply indiscriminate benevolence. They stressed the idea of a ‘deserving poor’: those willing to take part in their own moral reformation.⁴⁰⁴ The pamphlet stated that those deserving of assistance were fed, the weak supported and ‘the deserving clothed’.⁴⁰⁵ The provision of alms was in no way indiscriminate and those selected to receive relief were chosen because they were seen as inclined towards ‘moral reformation’.

As has been suggested, the emphasis on religious education and moral reformation during this period was, however, in no way unique to the Catholic community. In the early nineteenth century religion was a driving force of charitable actions of all

⁴⁰¹ Pamphlet addressed to Dublin mechanics, workmen and servants. A statement of the Mendicity Institution and how it works and how it had lessened street begging, Feb. 1828 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/11(17)).

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ This was a universal theme in the nineteenth-century. Often institutions selected those who were considered ‘deserving’ and helped them. Asylums allegedly did not admit ‘hardened’ prostitutes or those they thought would re-offend. Society frowned on the indiscriminate allocation of alms, which it was thought would only foster vice and immoral activity.

⁴⁰⁵ Pamphlet addressed to Dublin mechanics, workmen and servants, Feb. 1828 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/11(17)).

denominations.⁴⁰⁶ The Protestant churches, and in particular the Church of Ireland, were quick to identify the benefits to both society and to their own church, by establishing charities and dispensing poor relief and catechesis. The Church of Ireland had begun a systematic process of benevolence at an earlier stage than the Catholic Church and by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had a well-organised and extensive system in place.⁴⁰⁷ As was the case with Catholic benevolence, poor-relief was associated closely with catechesis, evangelisation and even proselytising. There is little doubt that it was the Protestant churches, especially the Church of Ireland that prompted this ‘moral reformation’ said to have taken place early in the nineteenth century. In doing so it obliged Catholics to follow suit. It was precisely because the Protestant churches were involved extensively in education and charity that Catholics felt compelled to enter the sphere. While the Church of Ireland had historically administered a system of education, targeting Catholic children through its Charter Schools, the scale on which proselytising occurred in the nineteenth century was greater. It was therefore hardly surprising that there emerged an apparently new found concern for poor-relief and catechesis by the Catholic community. This emphasis on catechesis and poor-relief by some Catholics was part of a reaction to the activities of Protestants involved in the ‘Second Reformation’, and their earlier efforts to stimulate a moral revolution. While the ‘conversion of Catholics by evangelicals was not a priority in the eighteenth century’,⁴⁰⁸ serious efforts at proselytising did come with the establishment of groups such as the London Hibernian Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge in Ireland, the Baptist Society for Promoting the Gospel in Ireland and the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Troy and Murray perceived these organisations as posing a very real threat to the salvation of Catholics. In a letter to Sir Henry Parnell, M.P., Troy commented that the ‘Spirit of Proselytising may not prevail in your neighbourhood [Maryborough] but it is very active here & else where, especially amongst the Methodists, who frequently bribe Catholic Parents & Children for the purpose’.⁴⁰⁹ By 1824 the schools established by Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge had a total attendance of 9,578 Protestant and 6,344 Catholic children throughout Ireland.⁴¹⁰ This society required the Protestant children to learn their church catechism, while no other religious instruction was allowed to those of other denominations.⁴¹¹ Thus while

⁴⁰⁶ Raughter, ‘Pious occupations’, p. 36.

⁴⁰⁷ See Acheson, *A history of the Church of Ireland 1691-1996*.

⁴⁰⁸ Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland*, p. 86.

⁴⁰⁹ Archbishop Troy to Sir Henry Parnell, 1816 (D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/3(8)).

⁴¹⁰ Acheson, *A history of the Church of Ireland*, p. 122.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Catholic children were not required specifically to learn the Church of Ireland catechism they were nonetheless exposed to it and were forbidden to receive any Catholic instruction.

Salvation of the poor had become a dominant issue of Catholic teaching in the nineteenth century. In marked contrast with the often universalist interpretations espoused in some quarters in the eighteenth century, salvation in the nineteenth century was viewed strictly along denominational lines. At the turn of the century there existed a certain cordiality between Catholic and Protestant 'enlightened' prelates regarding the idea of 'communal prayer', which may suggest that both churches recognised the legitimacy of either to call their church 'Christian'.⁴¹² An example of this can be seen from a number of letters between Troy and the Protestant bishop of Killala, Joseph Stock in 1802. Troy had been informed of the concerns of the local Catholic clergy that the bishop was forcing Catholic servants to attend communal prayer. However, Troy's concerns were apparently eased when the bishop informed him that he 'took care to use no prayer, nor offer any instruction, that militated against the creed of any christian whatsoever.'⁴¹³ It seems that Troy was happy with Stock's reassurance, commenting that if 'everyone acted on the enlightened and liberal principles of the Bishop of Killala no controversy, no difficulty or doubt could possibly arise'.⁴¹⁴ However, examples of this type of respect became less common when denominational differences were no longer respected and proselytising was seen as a necessary by some Protestants who sought the moral reformation of Ireland through the mass conversion of Catholics. The Catholic Church responded and organised itself to counteract this offensive. Murray's efforts in halting the progress of proselytisers were praised by Cardinal Somaglia, prefect of Propaganda Fide. The Cardinal praised Troy for frustrating the 'efforts being made to wean unlettered youths from the faith' and encouraged his plans to set up Catholic schools and protect adolescents from proselytisers.⁴¹⁵ Somaglia advised Murray that

You will already be aware that recently the Holy Congregation strongly recommended both the Archbishop of Dublin, and the other Metropolitans that, in order to counter the efforts of the heretics who try to trap Catholic youths with false doctrine and to entice

⁴¹² It was common for the heads of households, both Protestant and Catholic, to require their servants and workers to attend morning and evening prayers. Sometimes this caused acrimony between the head of the household, the workers and local clergy. However, once there was no attempt at proselytising it was accepted generally. This situation changed as the nineteenth-century progressed when inter-church relations worsened gradually.

⁴¹³ Bishop Joseph Stock to Archbishop Troy, 17 Apr. 1802 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/9(4)).

⁴¹⁴ Archbishop Troy to Bishop Joseph Stock, 19 Apr. 1802 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/9(5)).

⁴¹⁵ Cardinal Somaglia to Bishop Murray, 24 Jun. 1820 (D.D.A., Troy /Murray papers, AB3/30/5(3)).

with all sorts of blandishments, that they set up Catholic schools and do all in their power to free the youths from these traps.⁴¹⁶

In June of that year Propaganda Fide wrote once again that they were aware of the growing threat posed by the ‘Methodists’, who ran schools and taught their own version of scripture. Somaglia implored pastors to be vigilant and to combat this, parents were to be warned and schools built.⁴¹⁷

Both Troy and Murray were no doubt conscious of the mounting threat posed by proselytisers and were not slow in implementing measures to ‘safeguard’ the Catholic population, especially the poor who were seen as particularly susceptible to conversion. Therefore, education became a key battleground, with the plight of the orphan featuring prominently. In many cases ‘salvation of souls’ rather than the eradication of the causes of evils became the main goal of the reformers.⁴¹⁸ Thus from the 1810s one finds a number of Catholic schools and orphanages springing up to cater specifically for the needs of those children who were to be seen to be at risk from proselytisers. For example, the *Irish Catholic Directory 1821* mentions St. Bonaventure’s Charitable Institution established in the parish of SS Michael and John’s in 1820, which catered for the needs of those ‘children rescued from schools dangerous to the faith’.⁴¹⁹ St. Bonaventure’s is an important example as it highlights the activity of some lay Catholics in these matters. At the same time though it shows the limitations of lay philanthropy as the society provided accommodation for only four orphans. At a time when mass catechesis was becoming a priority for Catholic reformers, it was inevitable that it would prefer those in religious life for the task, as they had the time, the expertise, the financial resources and the personnel to face these challenges.⁴²⁰ Records show that orders that immersed themselves in the provision of child care were quite successful in attracting relatively large numbers of men and women to follow their way of life. The Carmelites, who managed an orphanage and poor school at Warrenmount, had eighteen professed nuns, three novices and a postulant by 1821.⁴²¹ The Warrenmount foundation was an offspring of the Carmelite convent at Ranelagh, and had been established only in 1813. The aforementioned Poor Clares of Harold’s Cross had fifteen professed nuns and one novice, and their resident orphan population had risen to 100 by 1821.⁴²² Similarly, the

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Propaganda Fide to Bishop Murphy, Clogher, 22 Jul. 1820 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/5(5)). [Later in that year this letter was published].

⁴¹⁸ Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 216.

⁴¹⁹ Cunningham, ‘The Irish Catholic Directory 1821’, p. 341.

⁴²⁰ Clear, *Nuns in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 53.

⁴²¹ Cunningham, ‘The Irish Catholic Directory 1821’, p. 336.

⁴²² Ibid.

Sisters of Charity's House of Refuge had five novices in the same year. However, the statistic which most impressively demonstrates this remarkable turnaround in the numerical strength of the nuns and sisters concerns the Dominican Sisters at Cabra. Previously it was mentioned that when the Dominicans left their convent in Channel Row in 1803 the community consisted of only three nuns; by 1842 this figure had risen to twenty-one.⁴²³ Likewise the Christian Brothers experienced rapid growth in their early years. In 1821 its communities in Hanover Street and Mill Street had two professed brothers, five novices and four postulants between them.⁴²⁴ All of the aforementioned orders were involved in the provision of poor-relief and catechesis, often for those children considered to have been most at risk from Protestant proselytisers.

Rosemary Raughter argues that this increased concern for the poor was in part humanitarian but also revealed a conservative anxiety concerning the potential impact on society and religion resulting from poverty.⁴²⁵ Raughter suggests also that this apprehension was compounded on the Catholic side by the much higher proportion of Catholic poor and, more importantly, by the implications that such an undesirable section of society would have on the future development of the Catholic Church in Ireland.⁴²⁶ Philanthropic Christians of all denominations believed that poverty and a lack of education were the main reasons behind immorality and sin.⁴²⁷ An example of this can be seen in contemporary understandings of the problem of 'vice'. Many reformers believed women turned to prostitution because of two factors: poverty and a lack of religious education. This reasoning contributed to the establishment of numerous refuges and asylums in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴²⁸ If young girls received religious instruction they would recognise that acts such as prostitution were gravely sinful and perpetuating these would condemn them to damnation. In many instances those who managed asylums and refuges sought not to eradicate the conditions which fostered prostitution and other forms of criminality but rather to remould the 'sinner' through a process of penance and self-contemplation.⁴²⁹ At a

⁴²³ *Irish Catholic Directory 1842*, p. 285.

⁴²⁴ Cunningham, 'The Irish Catholic Directory 1821', p. 336.

⁴²⁵ Raughter, 'Pious occupations', p. 36.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴²⁷ 'Immorality' was very much an eighteenth-century term. It ran contrary to the Enlightenment ideal of civic 'usefulness' and was concerned very much with communal rather than individual actions. 'Sin' on the other hand was more characteristic of nineteenth-century religious attitudes to misdeeds. The consequences of sin were focused very much on the individual, the result of which was damnation.

⁴²⁸ Maria Luddy notes that fourteen such establishments were founded in Dublin in the nineteenth century. See Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 109.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

sermon preached at the formal erection of the Sisters of Charity, Peter Kenney said that the Sisters would practice ‘deeds of charity for the Redemption of Captives from the power of the Turks and Saracens’.⁴³⁰ He preached that the work of the Sisters was the most perfect example of the Catholic Church’s new apostolic focus:

I propose to speak of this Institute as a source of evangelical perfection, - 1st because its object displays the most generous love of our neighbour, 2^{ndly} because the motive which sanctifies this object is the most perfect, viz: the love of God. “Greater love than this” says JC “no man hath that a man lay down his life for his friend.”⁴³¹

The Catholic community in Dublin was attempting to embark on a mass process of ‘moral reformation’ and to do this it needed congregations like the Sisters of Charity to propagate a form of Christian morality which had been previously unfamiliar to vast sections of the Catholic community. Those in most need of reformation were the poor, whose alleged ignorance and immorality was in contrast to Christian values.

Other factors that encouraged this change in attitude included the economy and the international political situation. Like most countries in war time the Irish economy had thrived in the years of the Revolutionary Wars. However, peace resulted in a dramatic slump in its economic fortunes. In his Lenten pastoral of 1816, Troy said that there were consequences for peace:

We have obtained through God’s mercy, a state of Peace: we see abundance in the Land: but new causes of Misery have succeeded: Commerce has declined; Trade languishes; Credit is fallen; Thousands of industrious class are reduced to poverty.⁴³²

The pastoral of 1823 reiterated again the deterioration of the economy. Murray wrote that there was ‘almost general unemployment of the manufacturing classes’ and ‘depression of agricultural pursuits and labours’, which once again forced him to suspend the Lenten fast.⁴³³

The expansion of religious orders in education and benevolence

The worsening economic situation and increased poverty endured by many Catholics in Dublin was undoubtedly one of the factors that persuaded some Catholics to join religious orders. In the early years the orders experienced steady growth. When Archbishop Murray died in 1852 there were twenty-eight communities of female religious in the archdiocese as well a growing number of communities of Christian

⁴³⁰ Sermon preached at the formal erection of the Religious Sisters of Charity, at Stanhope Street, 24 Sept. 1817 (J.A.L.S., J474(44)).

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Pastoral letter, 20 Feb. 1816 (D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/3(42)).

⁴³³ Pastoral letter, 6 Feb. 1823 (D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/6(76)).

Brothers and other religious involved in poor-relief and education.⁴³⁴ Catholic Dublin truly had experienced a renewal to which the provision of poor-relief and catechesis were central. Peter Kenney's famous sermon was in many ways characteristic of this phenomenon. Kenney concluded a dramatic and innovative sermon with the famous words of St. Paul: *Caritas Christi urget nos*.⁴³⁵ In the sermon Kenney juxtaposed the self-denying lives of the young sisters with the indolent existence of many of their contemporaries.⁴³⁶ He appealed to Catholics to take stock of their opulent lifestyles and compare them with the frugal ways of the young sisters:

Indolent slumbers waste the morning of your day, the sun hath made half a world's course, before you have offered one moment to reason and to religion. From toilets you roll to entertainments, Assemblies, Balls, Concerts, Theatres, Suppers, and when the morning, Alas! proclaims the glory of the Heavens, to the coming day, you sink insensible to Nature's voice, whilst from her you seek the strength to recommence the dissipation of another day. This is your life, which is theirs, until the same moment death marks you both. Gracious heavens! What a contrast. Count your visits, pleasures, friends, all are gone!⁴³⁷

Kenney contrasted this frivolous and wasteful lifestyle with that of the Sisters. Theirs, he said, was a life of continual self-giving in which

They meet their friends pining on the bed of sickness, or environed with the pangs of death. Their visit ended, they rerun to offer it at the foot of the Cross, and the Archangel who stands at the right hand of the Altar of incense, bears to Heaven the odour of their daily sacrifice.⁴³⁸

This sermon was possibly the first public oration of this level to deal with the promotion of religious life and the provision of charity, and was a subject which was reiterated in countless sermons over the following century. By 1821 the evolution of poor-relief, catechesis and moral reformation was well under way. Dublin had been successful in establishing three indigenous religious orders: the Sisters of Charity, the Loreto Sisters and the Christian Brothers, which had all been tailored to suit the needs of the evolving Catholic community. It would soon establish the most influential religious order the Catholic Church in Ireland: the Sisters of Mercy. Also new lay organisations were still being founded and those in existence were in a process of consolidation.

Thus at first glance it appears that a climate conducive to propagating charity had been successfully established in pre-Famine Dublin. However, while religious orders grew in size, as did the numbers of societies advocating charitable acts, there is

⁴³⁴ Enright, 'Women and Catholic life in Dublin, 1766-1852', p. 292.

⁴³⁵ This means 'the charity of Christ urges us', which was the motto of the Religious Sisters of Charity.

⁴³⁶ Thomas Morrissey, S.J., *As one sent: Peter Kenney SJ, 17791-1841: his mission in Ireland and North America* (Dublin, 1996), p. 361.

⁴³⁷ Sermon preached at the formal erection of the Religious Sisters of Charity, at Stanhope Street, 24 Sept. 1817 (J.A.L.S., J474(44)).

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

enough evidence to suggest that a sizeable proportion of Catholics had yet to be convinced to contribute regularly to charitable organisations. Often the anticipated support for these organisations never materialised. In the case of institutions run by religious this had sometimes the effect of limiting their apostolic mission. However, those most affected were not the newly established religious orders but rather the well-established lay institutions. Frequently these organisations were forced to reduce the numbers receiving their assistance, and in some cases organisations were forced to cease operations due to a paucity of contributions. This suggests that while there may have been a core of benefactors, contributing regularly and often generating large sums of money, religious and lay philanthropists found it difficult to harness support from the wider Catholic community. Lay orphanages and orphan institutions were particularly affected by religious orders venturing into education and child care. The Patrician Orphan Society is an example of how established societies were forced to limit their mission due to a reduction in benefactions. Founded in 1750, this was the oldest surviving Catholic charity in the city.⁴³⁹ By 1821 the governors had to reduce the number of orphans it supported due to ‘lower donations’.⁴⁴⁰ This decline was also experienced by another venerable institution, the Josephian Orphan Society. Founded in 1770, the society at one point supported 100 orphans but by 1821 numbers had fallen to sixty.⁴⁴¹ However, the society did not cease to exist as one might expect. The Josephian Orphan Society was succeeded by St. Joseph’s Female Orphanage, Mountjoy Street. A larger building was acquired in 1866 and the society was eventually transferred to the care of the Sisters of Charity, thus ensuring its survival.⁴⁴² By the 1820s the city possessed numerous Catholic orphanages, all vying for support from the same pool of benefactors. The medical dispensary for the parishes of St. Mary and St. Thomas experienced similar problems. In 1817 this multi-denominational society made an appeal for an increase in donations. While the dispensary movement brought many advantages to those of all religions, it stated, regrettably, ‘that from the scanty contributions of the last four years, the existence of the charity’ was endangered.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ Cunningham, ‘The Irish Catholic Directory 1821’, p. 341.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.* There are a number of exceptions to this trend. One such example is the Magdalen Orphan Society, located in the parish of St. Catherine. In 1821 it was supporting twenty-six orphans but by 1842 that number had risen to forty.

⁴⁴² Robert Gahan, ‘Old alms-houses of Dublin’ in *Dublin Historical Record*, v (1942-43), p. 25. [hereafter *D.H.R.*].

⁴⁴³ Notice of a charity sermon to be preached by Revd Ed. Herbert for the support of the dispensary serving the parishes of St. Mary and St. Thomas, 1817 (D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/3(116)).

In this battle for financial support it appears that the religious were better equipped to dominate. Nevertheless, as has been shown, lay Catholic institutions involved in the provision of care for orphans continued to exist into the 1840s. However, it was not only lay charities that experienced a fall in their incomes but also many of the institutions in the care of religious. For example, the Carmelite convent at Warrenmount, where the nuns managed a poor school, found it difficult to meet their expenses in the early years. The school was opened in 1813 and by December 1814 it catered for 307 children, a number 'greater by far than any Institution in this country, founded on voluntary contributions has ever supported'.⁴⁴⁴ A report compiled in 1814 recorded that the school had been fitted out

in which the education of the grown females is superintended by a community of religious ladies; and finally, they have undertaken to provide education, lodging, clothing, and maintenance, for the entire number of children on the establishment, amounting at present to Three hundred and seven of both sexes, many of whom are the offspring of soldiers and sailors who have fallen in the service of their country.⁴⁴⁵

In the eyes of the author the nuns were providing a valuable service to both the poor children and society as a whole. The reference to the fact that many of their children were the offspring of fallen soldiers and sailors may have been designed to encourage public support for a venture of such civic importance. However, sufficient support never materialised. The report stated that

It becomes, however, their painful duty to submit, that the support which they have experienced has not corresponded with what have induced to anticipate; and the instances are but too numerous in which the promises held out at the commencement, have been totally unproductive, and the engagements then entered into, hitherto, unfulfilled!⁴⁴⁶

As a consequence the school had accrued debts of over £1,200. To bolster support the nuns chose to stage an 'oratorio' in Clarendon Street Chapel which they hoped would 'operate powerfully towards inducing you to interest yourself in their behalf at the approaching Oratorio'.⁴⁴⁷ Some years later in 1828 the prioress, Sister Gertrude White, wrote to Murray asking leave to sell a small debenture due to rising debts. She stated also that both the schoolrooms and the chapel were in a bad state, as both were taking in rainwater.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ Statement of accounts by the governors of the Poor School at Warrenmount, 26 Dec. 1814 (D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/2(32)).

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Sister Gertrude White to Archbishop Murray, 5 Dec. 1828 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/11(42)).

Nevertheless, these cases were not characteristic of all societies and institutions. While many institutions that experienced financial difficulties disappeared, many survived and even prospered. Indeed the Carmelite convent at Warrenmount was relatively successful, surviving late into the nineteenth century.⁴⁴⁹ Nuns from this convent moved to old Sisters of Charity's complex in North William Street to take charge of an orphanage and later established an orphanage and 'industrial school' at Lakelands, Sandymount.⁴⁵⁰ The House of Refuge in Stanhope Street, for example, had increased its number of residents from thirty in 1821 to fifty in 1842, while the numbers at many institutions in 1842 were on a par with figures for 1821. At a time when much competition for limited funds existed it was inevitable that some charitable institutions would disappear. In this process it was not surprising that the majority of religious run institutions survived. Religious orders were in a prime position to attract public funds as their 'selfless lifestyle' was publicised as the embodiment of Catholic philanthropy. While many Catholic lay charities survived in pre-Famine Dublin, the trend towards developing a more professional system of providing poor-relief and catechesis in the form of religious orders had been set in place.

Conclusion:

This chapter has attempted to illustrate how the development of a system of poor-relief, education and catechesis evolved in the period 1780-1830. The evolutionary process mirrored other changes taking place in the Catholic community in the period. While education and poor-relief were not entirely new concerns for Catholics in Dublin in the nineteenth century, their advancement had been hampered greatly by the political and social climate of the previous century. In the intervening years there existed a limited educational system, which sometimes combined aspects of poor-relief such as the distribution of food and clothing. The process, however, relied heavily on individual organisations and unlike the system of Catholic education and poor relief that emerged in the nineteenth century it did not have a coherent and structured basis from which to operate. Also poor-relief and catechesis, as opposed to conventional education, was not

⁴⁴⁹ The convent was taken over by the Presentation Sisters. This is interesting because the Carmelites retreated back to their 'contemplative' roots. The Carmelites by the late nineteenth-century did not involve themselves in apostolic ministries. This may be an example of how Murray adapted religious orders to suit the needs of a particular situation. By the late century there was a sufficient number of 'active' orders for such ministries.

⁴⁵⁰ Sister Marie Bernadette, 'Charity-Carmelite Connections' (Privately circulated article, date of compilation unknown).

such a priority in eighteenth century Dublin. While Enlightenment emphases concerning civic values stressed the importance of education and benevolence as a means of rendering subjects ‘useful to society’, this reasoning did not convey the same urgency as the more important matter of ‘salvation’ that emerged in the nineteenth century. The growing emphasis on personal salvation in the 1800s was an important reason for the community’s involvement in poor-relief on such a mass scale. However, the reasons for this apparent sudden interest in the welfare of the poor can also be explained by the increased activities of Protestant proselytisers, who threatened to ‘lure’ Catholics away from their faith. In many instances these groups were well-organised and received financial backing from both Irish and British benefactors. The fact that there was widespread proselytising in Dublin from the 1820s onwards directed from Britain no doubt alarmed some Catholics and forced them into constructing adequate bulwarks against these alleged incursions. It is difficult to say whether or not the Catholic community would ever have embarked on its educational and benevolent drive at a time when they sought to acquire a legal footing without proselytising. The Catholic community was, however, undoubtedly influenced by changes taking place within European Catholicism. The religious revival that occurred throughout Catholic Europe saw the establishment of numerous religious orders and an increased prominence on catechesis and the poor.⁴⁵¹

The evolving systems of poor-relief and catechesis had a profound effect on those asked to be the public face of Catholic charity, the religious orders. This time saw the first congregations of indigenous brothers, created specifically for the education of children. The rules and constitution of the Christian Brothers afforded many the opportunity to flourish as educational providers, as it gave them a tangible *raison d’être*. To a certain extent this was also a renewal for the female religious as well. It was the female religious who were most affected by this evolution. For the first time in the history of the Irish Church they were given a clearly visible role of the utmost importance. They were asked to implement a programme of mass catechesis which would attempt to turn the Catholic population into an educated, moral, practicing and charitable multitude. Their responsibility in this process was encouraged by both Troy and Murray.

⁴⁵¹ In particular there were many orders founded in France. For example, small orders such as Sisters of St. Andrew and the Augustinian Sisters of the Holy Heart of Mary were founded in 1806 and 1827 respectively while the numerically greater Bon Secours were established in 1822. See Peter Day, *Dictionary of religious orders* (London, 2001), pp 9, 23, 56.

While there were obvious differences between the eighteenth and nineteenth century approaches to poor-relief and catechesis one would be mistaken to look at these as two completely separate phenomena. The Enlightenment emphasis on the importance of 'social usefulness' was not neglected by nineteenth century reformers. It has been suggested that institutions such as the House of Refuge sought to encourage industry and to render residents 'useful to society'. However, Catholic philanthropists in the nineteenth century wished to combine existing emphases with a renewed zeal for catechesis and moral reform. Similarly, those Catholics working in these areas in the late 1700s were not simply interested in rendering people socially useful but had a genuine religious aspect to their mission. What differentiated the two was the balance between the different motivations and external factors such as economics and proselytising. One system was not simply replaced by another; this was an evolutionary process which was affected not only by the Catholic community's changing priorities but also by external circumstances.

Chapter Three:

Popular piety: print culture and devotional confraternities

Complementing the renewed emphasis in catechesis and poor-relief was the development of Dublin's Catholic religious print culture and the growth of religious confraternities. While very much separate- one heavily stimulated by commercial interests, the other supervised by clerical reformers- there was one characteristic common to both: the role played by the Catholic laity. Both Catholic print culture and religious confraternities were key lay Catholic factors in the evolution of Catholic culture in Dublin in the period before Catholic Emancipation. Improvements in printing and the waning of the Irish government's desire to enforce penal legislation provided Catholic printers and booksellers with an opportunity to expand and supply the burgeoning Catholic population with religious books. Successive archbishops were directly involved in the promotion of the Catholic trade. The expansion of the Catholic print trade, whilst predating the modernisation of the network of confraternities by some years, was in many ways connected to the Catholic community's desire for increased devotion and piety, and in later years, moral reform.

This chapter will illustrate the workings of the Catholic print trade in Dublin during 'penal times', and how it subsequently evolved later in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It will present a picture of the physical and geographical changes occurring in the trade while at the same time identifying parallels between the general relaxations of the penal laws and the growth in the availability and variety of Catholic literature. It will be suggested that the fortunes of the Catholic print trade were to an extent dependent on the vagaries of government policy. At the same time this chapter

will document the evolution and modernisation of religious confraternities as a means of stimulating devotion, religious education, and moral reform. Print played a pivotal role in producing the ready material, both of a public and private nature, which permitted confraternities and sodalities to grow, consequently creating a climate, which in part, was conducive to moral reform and the modernisation of religious practice.

The structure of Dublin's Catholic print trade

Thomas Wall in his study of the penal print industry in Dublin, *The Sign of Doctor Hay's Head* (Dublin, 1958), suggested that by the 1780s Dublin had 'attained to a certain pre-eminence in the field of publishing for the Catholic English-speaking world'.⁴⁵² From roughly the middle of the eighteenth century the Catholic print trade had grown rapidly, reflecting the greater demand of the Catholic community for works of both a political and spiritual nature. The publication and sale of Catholic related material grew significantly, so much so that by the 1780s it occupied a sizeable share of the overall print market in the city. This was despite the proscription of the publication and sale of Catholic literature. Indeed as early as the 1750s the Catholic trade had grown so significantly that it had begun to take on the appearance of a fully legitimate trade, with numerous Catholic printers and booksellers opening their doors for business. Many were located in and around Dame Street, where they coexisted with Protestant booksellers and printers. From humble beginnings the fledgling print trade of both Protestants and Catholics had grown slowly. In 1709 there was said to have been about ten printers in the city, the majority of whom were Protestants.⁴⁵³ The Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist acted as regulator for the city's book trade.⁴⁵⁴ Catholics were, however, proscribed from becoming full members of the Guild until the passing of the 1793 Act of Parliament. Before this some Catholic booksellers were admitted as 'quarter brothers', but were denied any say in matters concerning the Corporation.⁴⁵⁵ An affiliation to the Guild was not, however, a pre-requisite for Catholic printers and booksellers. In fact nearly two thirds of printers, both Catholic and Protestant, mentioned in the records of the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist were not members.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵² Thomas Wall, *The sign of Doctor Hay's head* (Dublin, 1958), p. 31.

⁴⁵³ Mary Pollard, *Dublin's trade in books, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 1989), p. 69.

⁴⁵⁴ For further reading on the workings of the Guild see Mary Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade based on the records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist* (London, 2000).

⁴⁵⁵ James Phillips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin, 1670-1800* (Dublin, 1988), p. 30.

⁴⁵⁶ Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin*, p. xv.

The Catholic print trade was allowed to grow as a result of mixture of indifference from the Irish administration and a number of loopholes relating to printing. One of the principle problems for the Irish government in regulating the trade was that the British Copyright Act of 1709 had not extended to Ireland and thus, in effect, there was little or no legal protection given to literary property.⁴⁵⁷ Like England, 'Ireland possessed no body, organisation or institution charged with the task of censorship either at the pre-publication or post-publication stage'.⁴⁵⁸ This supposed oversight on the part of the British government in fact allowed the growth of the Catholic bookselling. In effect Irish printers, of all denominations, were at liberty to reprint works first published in other countries. Therefore, the practice of reprinting popular spiritual works like Richard Challoner's *Think Well On't* became common. Indeed the Dublin market became renowned for its sale of London imprints sold on the local market.⁴⁵⁹ This may have been one of the contributory factors to the overall growth of the print and bookselling industry in the city. Between the years 1703-1775, 264 printers and booksellers opened their doors for business in the city.⁴⁶⁰

While Catholic printers and booksellers went for the most part unmolested, there were occasions when Catholics were arrested for publishing allegedly seditious material. If convicted of printing material that was considered to violate the public peace, the printer was subject to penalties.⁴⁶¹ Early in the century arrests were connected, but not exclusively, to publishing works of a political and sometimes Jacobite nature. Possibly the most well-known example involved Cornelius Carter, who was arrested in 1708 for printing a 'Popish Prayer' book. An account of Carter's arrest was carried in the *Dublin Intelligence* of 20 November 1708, which read

On Friday, Saturday and Monday last, the following persons were taken into custody of her majesty's messengers, on suspicion of printing and vending Popish Prayer-Books contrary to the law, viz. Cornelius Carter and Edward Waters [Protestant] printers, Mr Malone, Mr Dowlin, Mr Murtagh, Mr Lawrence, Booksellers and Mr Bermingham, merchant.⁴⁶²

The arrests may, however, have been motivated by prayers to the Pretender, James Stuart contained in the publication rather than to theological or denominational

⁴⁵⁷ Pollard, *Dublin's trade in books, 1550-1800*, p. 66.

⁴⁵⁸ James Kelly, 'Regulating print: the state and the control of print in eighteenth-century Ireland' in *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, xxiii (2008), p. 142. [hereafter *E.C.I.*]

⁴⁵⁹ Máire Kennedy, 'The domestic and international trade of an eighteenth-century Dublin bookseller: John Archer (1782-1810)' in *D.H.R.*, xlix (Spring, 1996), p. 95.

⁴⁶⁰ Robert Ward, *'Prince of Dublin printers': the letters of George Faulkner* (Lexington, 1972), p. 8.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴⁶² *Dublin Intelligence*, 20 Nov. 1708 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 10.

objections. Similarly in December 1719 the *Post Boy* reported the seizure in London of ‘a box full of Romish books, some of them adorned with fine pictures and other manuscripts, brought over from France, were seiz’d at the Custom house’, presumably due for the Dublin market.⁴⁶³ This increase in harassment may once again have been connected to Jacobite fears. Instances such as this appear to have been isolated, and generally Catholic printers involved in the publication of spiritual works were free to conduct business for much of the century. Indeed this seems to have been the overall trend throughout the period. Nonetheless, as Kelly suggests, the ‘near total absence’ of Catholic devotional texts in the in the 1710s ‘attests to the effectiveness of barriers then in the way of Catholic religious publication’.⁴⁶⁴ As the century progressed, however, the authorities turned a blind eye to Catholic works once they were not perceived as threatening the ‘public order’.

While Catholics were denied the rights afforded to Protestant printers and booksellers, this subordinate position did not prevent ‘their publishing proscribed books and publishing them frequently in a manner without the savour of the underground press’.⁴⁶⁵ Commenting on his trip to the city in 1775, the English writer Richard Twiss noted the newly flourishing city’s print trade existed in spite of the population’s most wretched state. He wrote: ‘neither is the keenness of necessity less conspicuous with regard to literature, for every printer in the island is at liberty to print, and every bookseller to vend, as many vile editions of any book as they please’.⁴⁶⁶ The fact the Catholic print trade in Dublin did not assume the nature of an ‘underground press’ is evidence not only of the re-emergence of Catholics into the various spheres of the city’s public and commercial life by the mid-century but also of the Irish administration’s complex attitudes towards Catholics. For example, contemporary Protestant newspapers were sometimes comfortable with discussing newly published Catholic books. As early as 1729 *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal* reported on the sale of Catholic books: ‘Newly arriv’d a book intituled. *Jus Primaetiale Armacanum &c.* This book contains about 500 pages in quarto... Neatly bound, and sold by Mr Luke Dowling, Bookseller in High street, Dublin, for two British crowns’.⁴⁶⁷ This account hardly gives the impression of an underground industry, even informing the reader where copies of this ‘neatly bound’

⁴⁶³ *Post Boy*, Dec. 1719 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 34.

⁴⁶⁴ Kelly, ‘Regulating print: the state and the control of print in eighteenth-century Ireland’, p. 149.

⁴⁶⁵ Phillips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin, 1670-1800*, p. 308.

⁴⁶⁶ Richard Twiss, ‘A tour in Ireland in 1775’ in John P. Harrington, ed., *The English traveller in Ireland* (Dublin, 1991), p. 169.

⁴⁶⁷ *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 8 Nov. 1729 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 50.

text were available. However, there were some in the Protestant community who were not so comfortable with the increasingly public sale of Catholic texts. In May 1765 the *Freeman's Journal* carried a letter from a disgruntled writer, who had taken offence at being offered a Catholic Bible while out walking in the city. The letter ran:

Gentlemen, as I was passing over Essex Bridge not long since an advertisement was put into my hand to the following effect: "that Richard Fitzsimons, Bookseller in the High-street had then just published, in five volumes, the holy bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate; diligently compare with the Hebrew, Greek and other editions in divers languages. First published by the English College at Doway in 1609... The whole being corrected and with the greatest care, and recommended to the publick after unquestionable approbation".⁴⁶⁸

The writer, we are told, took the offer up and purchased a set of volumes out of curiosity. The edition, however, was not to his liking, and he lamented the dangers of permitting the public trade of Catholic books: 'The dangerous tendency, and evil consequence of the work of this kind, (than which nothing could be better compiled for the seducing the unthinking and unwary Protestant) in this kingdom, and at this time is so glaring as to need no comment'.⁴⁶⁹ The account suggests that the growth in the Catholic book trade was for some a most an unwelcome development. Indeed the growing number of Catholic books available in the city was so that in October of the same year the *Freeman's Journal* highlighted what they considered an undesirable phenomenon. The newspaper stated that

The great number of Popish books lately printed and published (some of which besides traducing the characters of the reformers, ridicule and vilify the established religion, is really an alarming circumstance to every true Protestant) shew the numbers of Jesuits &c. are lurking amongst us, and how indefatigable they are in corrupting the truth, and attempting to undermine the foundation of our constitution. If the persons that lately presumed to print a vile edition of the holy scriptures, were called to an account for it, and punished according to the law, they would be then taught not to abuse the liberty granted to them, which is notoriously despised.⁴⁷⁰

However, despite the disdain of some Protestants, the Catholic book trade grew rapidly after the 1730s. The relaxation in the application of the penal laws against Catholics 'encouraged the adoption of a more tolerant attitude to the importation of Catholic devotional literature'.⁴⁷¹ Catholics were now confident about publishing works of controversy. A year later, in 1766, James Byrne of Cook Street printed Henry VIII's *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*. Byrne's edition carried a list of over 250 subscribers,

⁴⁶⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 4 May 1765 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 113.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Oct. 1766 cited in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 123.

⁴⁷¹ Kelly, 'Regulating print: the state and the control of print in eighteenth-century Ireland', p. 150.

many of whom were bishops and senior figures in the Dublin Catholic community. The publication may be significant as it suggests that Catholics were now willing to engage publically and in print with Protestants in matters of controversy.

The confidence of Catholics to participate openly in the city's print trade was most evident by the inclusion of subscription lists in Catholic works from the 1760s. Subscription was the rule rather than the exception in the eighteenth century, with most books being printed by subscription until the early nineteenth century.⁴⁷² Selling books in this way was a way of underwriting the venture in case of failure. Sometimes the printer or seller canvassed prominent members of the Catholic community to subscribe to one or more copies. In turn their names were usually then included in the subscription list, which was appended to the book. Regularly lists included the names of bishops and other senior clergy, whose inclusion gave credence to the particular publication. Thus before the printer published a work he had a minimum number of clients who had already subscribed to the work. While ensuring an underwriting effect, it could also be argued that subscription lists helped ensure the popularity of that particular work. When prominent clergy allowed their names to be included in these lists they were effectively endorsing that publication. The name of the aforementioned John Austin, S.J., frequently headed lists of subscribers.⁴⁷³ Austin was a well-known Dublin priest, who amongst other things managed the Jesuit seminary at Saul's Court, near Fishamble Street. This suggestion appears more credible when one examines the numbers of clergy included in proportion to lay subscribers. For example, in Alban Butler's *The lives of the saints* (Dublin, 1779), 170 of the 380 names listed were priests.⁴⁷⁴ Occasionally members of the remaining Catholic aristocracy also subscribed, and were given prominent positions on lists. For example, Lord Fingall and his wife 'the Right Honourable Countess Lady Dowager Fingall' are listed as subscribers to many Catholic books in the 1780s.

The distribution of Catholic printers and booksellers in the city

By the 1750s many Catholic printers and booksellers had moved their businesses to the High Street area of the city. By this stage their location was distinct from their Protestant counterparts, who were mostly situated around Dame Street, which had

⁴⁷² Phillips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin 1670-1800*, p. 283.

⁴⁷³ Wall, *The sign of Doctor Hay's head*, p. 11.

⁴⁷⁴ Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin, O.F.M., 'The early Dublin editions of Butler's *Lives of the Saints*' in *I.E.R.*, c (July-December, 1963), p. 242.

become the fashionable centre of the retail book trade by this time.⁴⁷⁵ Skinner's Row had numerous printers and booksellers, so too Essex Street, Crane Lane and Parliament Street. Later in the century there was a shift eastwards away from the old city to Dame Street towards College Green. The Catholic trade had blossomed in two distinct areas in the west and north of the city. The centre of the print trade in the western suburbs corresponded to what is the modern day Liberties, mostly in the areas around High Street and Thomas Street. Catholic printers and booksellers north of the Liffey were located in and around the ancient settlement of Oxmanstown, in a small district straddling the parishes of St. Michan's and St. Paul's.

The printing area south of the river was situated around the main thoroughfares of the medieval city. Cook Street had long been associated with the Catholic print industry, its association going back to mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁷⁶ Among others it had been home to Catholic printers such as the well-known Patrick Lord (d. 1785) 'at the Angel and Bible', and Jemmy Byrne (c. 1726-1802) 'at the corner of Keyser's Lane'. The ancient thoroughfares of High Street, Fishamble Street and Bridge Street were also well-populated with Catholic stationers' shops. Thomas Browne I of High Street was a well-known Catholic bookseller and printer, having been admitted to the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist in 1718 as a quarter brother. Guild records allow one to chart his progress and that of his son, Thomas Browne II (1717-69). Browne set up the business some time before 1718.⁴⁷⁷ He moved to the 'Three Candlesticks' on High Street in 1731 and remained there for a further nine years, until 1740 when his press was relocated in the same street to 'the Bible'.⁴⁷⁸ The Browne family trade was mainly in Catholic piety, histories and schoolbooks, much of which was destined for the 'country trade'. The demand for schoolbooks of a Catholic nature reflected the increase in the number of Catholic schools established during the later decades of the century. This increase in trade may have been a contributory factor in his relocation to 'the Bible', possibly requiring larger premises. By the middle of the century Browne was said to have amassed a considerable fortune.⁴⁷⁹ Interestingly printers and bookshops were known by shop signs rather than by a street number. Many were associated themselves with

⁴⁷⁵ Kennedy, 'John Archer', p. 96.

⁴⁷⁶ Wall, *The sign of Doctor Hay's head*, p.5.

⁴⁷⁷ Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 59.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Phillips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin, 1670-1800*, p. 31.

appropriate symbols, or famous writers, thus names such as ‘the Bible’ in Church Street, or the Stationer’s Arms in Mary Street, were taken.⁴⁸⁰

The city’s most famous Catholic printer and bookseller was, however, Patrick Wogan (c. 1740-1816). Wogan’s shop was located at ‘the Sign of Dr Hay’s Head’ in Bridge Street from 1773-1804, but he later moved to the Old Bridge in 1805, and subsequently relocated to Ormond Quay in 1808, from where he operated until his death in 1816.⁴⁸¹ Between the years 1775-82 he was in partnership with Patrick Bean, a fellow Catholic printer, and a Quaker, Wight Pike, an ironmonger from Meath Street.⁴⁸² However, the partnership ended in 1794 when Bean, who had been a member of the Catholic Committee in 1793, was declared bankrupt. In 1777 *Hoey’s Journal* carried an advert on behalf of Bean, Pike and Wogan: ‘on Monday will be published by Wogan, Bean and Pike: Ortelius improved: pr a new map of Ireland, by Charles O’Conor, 3s. 3d; apprentice wanted to bookselling by Patrick Wogan’.⁴⁸³ Wogan became the best known printer of Catholic material, with the imprints of many Catholic books bearing his name either as printer or bookseller, or both. He also printed numerous schoolbooks and primers. In 1785 he is recorded as having printed 4,000 copies of Dilworth’s spelling book as well as 10,000 copies of the ‘Rational spelling book’.⁴⁸⁴

While the area around Bridge Street was well-populated with Catholic printers and booksellers their absence was notable though in and around the streets east of the Castle. In some respects this absence might have been expected. Some of the city’s more prosperous inhabitants had embarked on a migration from the older districts around the core of the medieval city to recently developed streets and squares in the east of the city. The newly vacated premises of the wealthy in the old city provided homes for many of the city’s new migrants, the majority of whom were Catholics, often in crowded tenements. The city’s eastern civil parishes, namely St. Andrew’s and St. Anne’s, had sparse Catholic populations. The relative paucity of the Catholic population in these districts was reflected in the fact that there were only two Catholic chapels situated in the city’s eastern regions: the secular chapel at Lazer’s Hill/Townsend Street and the Carmelite chapel in Stephen’s Street. It may also have been the case that the city’s civic authorities would not have wished for Catholic printers and bookshops springing up around the centre of the Protestant Irish government.

⁴⁸⁰ Máire Kennedy, ‘Politicks, coffee and news: the Dublin book trade in the eighteenth-century’ in *D.H.R.*, lviii (Spring, 2005), p. 81.

⁴⁸¹ Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 632.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ *Hoey’s Journal*, 31 Jan. 1777 in Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 633.

⁴⁸⁴ Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 633.

An interesting phenomenon was that many Catholic printers and booksellers were situated in close proximity to Catholic chapels. Logically Catholic printers and booksellers established themselves where demand was greatest. It is not surprising that since the majority of the city's Catholic population lived in these areas bookshops selling Catholic literature were located in close proximity. For example, there were secular chapels at Francis Street, Rosemary Lane, Dirty Lane, James's Street and Cook Street, while the Carmelites had a chapel in Ashe Street, the Franciscans at Adam and Eve's in Cook Street, the Augustinians in John's Lane and the Dominicans in Bridge Street. In total there were nine chapels knitted tightly together in the area roughly corresponding to the present day Liberties. However, it is interesting to examine the immediate locations of printers and bookshops, in relation to these chapels. Nearby was Corcorans' shop on Arran Quay, close to the parish chapel of St. Paul's. Bridge Street had the successful partnership of Wogan, Bean and Pike, as well as Richard Cross, to name but a few. Thomas Wall suggested that their location was a deliberate ploy on the part of the printers and booksellers, commenting that these 'chapels provided a regular clientele for the printers, each of whom tried to associate himself as closely as possible with one particular chapel, printing its favourite prayers and disciplines'.⁴⁸⁵ It is possible that the regulars themselves were importing books, which they may have sold at their respective chapels.

There were also a few Catholic printers who conducted their businesses north of the Liffey. The industry, located in a small area in St. Michan's and St. Paul's, was centred on Church Street, the Inn's Quay, Arran Quay and the areas adjoining St. Mary's Lane. Catholic printers and booksellers began to establish themselves in this area considerably later than those who started trading in the High Street area. The seemingly late development of the industry in the area probably reflected the population growth, which took place in the later decades of the century. The earliest of the Catholic printers and booksellers, somewhat ironically, was probably the most successful. The aforementioned Ignatius Kelly (d. 1753) was one of the city's first successful Catholic printers of prominence. Kelly spent his early years in the trade working for another Catholic printer, Luke Dillon (d. 1740), at the Bible in High Street.⁴⁸⁶ In 1738 Kelly was recorded as a quarter brother of the Guild, with premises at the Stationers' Arms in St. Mary's Lane. In 1740 the *Dublin Journal* recorded that Kelly had 'furnished himself with school books, histories, books of devotion, stationery, and will buy old

⁴⁸⁵ Wall, *The sign on Doctor Hay's head*, p. 6.

⁴⁸⁶ Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 156.

books'.⁴⁸⁷ Kelly's business appears to have been particularly successful and he was succeeded by his wife Eleanor. The business then passed from Eleanor to their son, Dennis, who in turn was succeeded by his brother John. Apart from the Kellys, Bartholomew Corcoran and his successors ran a thriving business, initially situated on the Inn's Quay and later on Arran Quay.

Archbishop Troy and the promotion of Catholic literature

As books became cheaper and literacy levels rose reading flourished among even larger sections of the Catholic community. While the increased printing of Catholic spiritual and devotional books may be seen as meeting the growing demand amongst the Catholic laity for this type of literature, the success of the trade may in part have been due to the promotion given by Archbishops Troy and Murray. Thomas O'Connor suggested that 'for Catholic bishops print was an important means of ensuring doctrinal orthodoxy, moral improvement, and political obedience'.⁴⁸⁸ The situation in Dublin was no different. Troy was particularly aware of the need to encourage and harness the trade, which he saw as central to the programme of mass catechesis and moral reform. Troy's interest in the industry had also been shared by his predecessor, Archbishop Carpenter, who was also conscious of the advantages to the Church coming from the promotion of Catholic spiritual books. Indeed it has been suggested that by the end of the eighteenth century, 'the Patronage of the Irish Prelates & Clergy was an indispensable instrument for any group anxious to exercise influence on nascent public opinion'.⁴⁸⁹ In 1784 Archbishop Carpenter wrote to Troy regarding the publication of George Hay's *The devout Christian*. Carpenter wrote: 'Some days ago I received from Dor. Hay the Devout Christian. It is larger than his former work, but will be sold to Subscribers at the same price: I am convinced it will please you, and would be glad you had an opportunity of seeing it before publication'.⁴⁹⁰ Carpenter's involvement in the editing process was such that he told Troy that he was 'at present revising it for the press' since 'several inaccuracies and Scepticisms have crept into the work'.⁴⁹¹ Troy gave his *imprimatur* to Richard Cross's edition of Challoner's translation of the Douai Bible in

⁴⁸⁷ *Dublin Journal*, 24 Jun. 1740 in Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 336.

⁴⁸⁸ Thomas O'Connor, 'Religious change, 1550-1800' in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (eds), *The Oxford history of the Irish book*, iii: *The Irish book in English 1580-1800* (Oxford, 2006), p. 188.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁴⁹⁰ Archbishop Carpenter to Bishop Troy, 16 Mar. 1784 (D.D.A., Carpenter papers, AB1/116/3(141)).

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

1791.⁴⁹² When Troy became archbishop of Dublin he was in regular correspondence with the Scottish devotional writer, George Hay (1729-1811) regarding the publication of religious books. In April 1798 Hay wrote to Troy regarding *The devout Christian*, copies of which Troy wished to have shipped to Dublin. Hay said that he had been successful in obtaining ‘a Mercht. in Greenock to get them shipped by first occasion for Dublin & an order... I hope Mr. Wogan will not refuse to accept them, and whatever incidental expenses he may be put on their account, I shall most chearfully repay him’.⁴⁹³ The ‘Mr Wogan’ which Hay referred to was none other than the aforementioned Patrick Wogan, at the Sign of Dr Hay’s Head, Bridge Street.

Troy’s role in the printing process may, however, have extended beyond that of a simple interested party. A letter to Troy from James Caulfield, bishop of Ferns, in 1787 implies that he took a much more active role in the printing process. Caulfield wrote that

you gave me the Proposals for printing the pious Christian, before & I shall, if time permits, send here with the Names of my Clergy as Subscribers: there are Some Religious, I must omit, till I consult them, which shall be very soon. I have ordered Revd. John Corrin Pastor of Wexford to call on Mr. Wogan in my Name for the Directories as there are frequent opportunities from them to the City.⁴⁹⁴

Caulfield’s letter suggests that some bishops played an active role in promoting the sale of Catholic books. Indeed Troy had his own publisher, a Mr James Coghlan in London, with whom he regularly corresponded. As well as publishing works by Troy Coughlan also acted as a sort of promoter of various spiritual and Biblical works.⁴⁹⁵ In 1797 Coughlan wrote to Troy regarding a new edition of Alban Butler’s *Lives of the saints*. Coughlan implored Troy to recommend this new edition to ‘the Patronage of the Irish Prelates & Clergy’.⁴⁹⁶ It is known that Troy sent books to various bishops and clergy throughout the country.⁴⁹⁷

Religious works in the Irish language

⁴⁹² *Imprimatur* sent by Archbishop Troy to Richard Cross, printer, to print Bernard McMahon’s edition of the Challoner Bible, 28 Sept. 1791 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(57)).

⁴⁹³ Bishop George Hay, Edinburgh to Archbishop Troy, 13 Apr. 1792 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(98)).

⁴⁹⁴ Bishop Caulfield to Archbishop Troy, 24 Dec. 1787 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/4(36)).

⁴⁹⁵ See *The correspondence of James Peter Coghlan (1731-1800)*, eds Frans Blom, Jos Blom, Frans Korsten and Geoffrey Scott (Woodbridge, 2007).

⁴⁹⁶ James Coughlan, London to Archbishop Troy, 3 Feb. 1797 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(26)).

⁴⁹⁷ An example of this is Bishop Plunkett’s letter to Troy thanking him for books sent, 13 Dec. 1798 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(85)).

The output of Catholic printers in Dublin consisted almost entirely of works in English, with only a small number of Irish language texts of a religious nature appearing. Dix lists only fifteen works were printed in Irish in Dublin during the eighteenth century.⁴⁹⁸ Between the years 1800-09 there was only one Irish work printed in Dublin, Paul O'Brien's *Practical Grammar of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1809). There are a number of possible explanations for this low figure. Wall suggested that one of these reasons was that the great driving force behind the Gaelic revival in the archdiocese, Archbishop Carpenter, leaned towards the literary or classical dialect rather than the simple spoken dialect of the people.⁴⁹⁹ This suggests that much of what was being printed was intelligible only to those with an academic background in the language. As well as this there had been little or no domestic tradition of printing works in Irish. While the Franciscans in Louvain had developed a reputation for printing Irish works in the seventeenth century, this appears to have declined by the eighteenth century. Certainly the Irish colleges did not provide consistently anything like the indigenous brand of religious literature that, for example, the English College at Douai did for English Catholics.⁵⁰⁰ In the seventeenth century there were only two works printed by Dublin printers in Irish, Archbishop William O'Donnell's *Tioma nuad ar dtighearna* (Dublin, 1602) and Godfrey Daniel's *Catechism, or Christian doctrine* (Dublin, 1652). Irish scribes, it seems, often preferred to have their works copied out into manuscript form rather than be published as a printed book. The fact that the utility of print was never fully realised was undoubtedly one of the contributory factors for the decline of the language in the archdiocese in the nineteenth century.

However, the greatest obstacle that Irish language books faced was that they had a limited market in Dublin. While the number of Irish speakers in the archdiocese was not insignificant, most of those who were literate would have been literate only in English. Furthermore many schoolmasters taught only English, thus, Irish as a written language declined. There were of course a number of editions of catechisms and sermons printed in Irish. Sylvester Lloyd's *The Doway catechism* was issued in 1738 and 1738 and 1742 while there were six editions of James Gallagher's *Seventeen Irish sermons*. Gallagher's sermons were reprinted well into the nineteenth century, which suggests there was little interest in publishing new sermons in Irish. Priests ministering in Irish speaking areas simply continued to use Gallagher's sermons. In the area of catechisms there were, however, a number of texts available in the language. The

⁴⁹⁸ E.R. McClintock Dix, *List of books, pamphlets, etc printed wholly, or partly, in Irish* (Dublin, 1905).

⁴⁹⁹ Wall, *The sign of Doctor Hay's head*, p. 93.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

growth in the eighteenth century of catechisms by English authors such as John Mannock may have fed the appetite for catechisms in Irish.⁵⁰¹ Andrew Donleavy, a prefect of Irish students in Paris, was also prominent in producing catechisms in Irish.⁵⁰² Dunleavy's catechism was published in Paris in 1742, and was subsequently distributed throughout Dublin. The most prominent catechetical writer to emerge was, however, Michael O'Reilly, bishop of Kilmore. There were five editions of O'Reilly's catechism published in Dublin between 1749 and 1774. In 1802 and 1807 O'Reilly's *Teagask Creestyne* was reprinted in Dublin. However, the quality of the original editions was very poor, 'produced by printers who had apparently no knowledge of Irish.'⁵⁰³

A Catholic bookseller's list

The city's Catholic bookshops carried a wide variety of spiritual and devotional literature. They not only catered for local readers but also for Catholics in rural areas, where bookshops were not common. Rural readers were supplied with books by chapmen, who visited towns and villages selling a variety of texts, mainly of a devotional nature. The country chap trade was not only important economically but also helped foster personal piety amongst the archdiocese's rural Catholics. In 1749 the *Dublin Courant* advertised an auction of Catholic books. The advertisement illustrated the vitality and economic worth of the trade in the city:

To be sold by Auction at Dick's Coffee-House in Skinner-Row, on Wednesday the first of November, at five o'Clock in the Evening, the Stock in Trade of Mr Thomas Brown, Bookseller in High-street, consisting of his books, except his Country Chap-Books and Histories which he continues to sell as usual to Booksellers, Country Customer and other, who are pleased to deal with him, at Reasonable Rates.⁵⁰⁴

The number of chapmen had increased significantly by the close of the century, reflecting the growing demand for devotional literature amongst some Catholics, both in the city and in the countryside.⁵⁰⁵ This devotional market was dominated primarily by English and continental authors, especially of French and Spanish origin. No doubt their popularity had much to do with the significant Irish communities existing in both countries by the eighteenth century. The market, however, was distinctly devoid of a large number of works by Irish authors, writing either in Irish or English. While the

⁵⁰¹ Michael Tynan, *Catholic instruction in Ireland 1720-1950: the O'Reilly/Donleavy catechetical tradition* (Dublin, 1985), p. 14.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵⁰⁴ *Dublin Courant*, 24-28 Oct. 1749 in Philips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin 1670-1800*, p. 74.

⁵⁰⁵ Philips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin 1670-1800*, p. 75.

paucity of native religious print material ‘may be attributed to, in part, to the country’s relative isolation, low literacy rates, the cheapness of imports’, there may have been other explanations for this absence.⁵⁰⁶ The reliance on foreign authors implies that there was a limited interest amongst the Irish clergy in publishing spiritual and devotional works. As was the case with other pastoral initiatives, this supposed reluctance may have been symptomatic of the unwillingness of many in the Catholic community to embrace ‘renewal’, and the changes that were being advocated by a limited number of reform-minded clergy and laity.

Occasionally printers included advertisements in texts, outlining the selection of books available from a particular bookseller. When Richard Cross printed John Joseph Hornyold’s *The Decalogue explain’d in thirty-two discourses* (Dublin, 1770), he included one such advertisement.⁵⁰⁷ It stated that

As said Cross is a New Beginner, & intends to lay himself out principally in the Catholic Business, he humbly begs leave to assure those Gentlemen who are pleased to honour him with their Commands, that he will make it his particular study to give entire Satisfaction, & hopes by his Assiduity & Care, to merit their Favour & Protection.⁵⁰⁸

Cross assured his customers that he was ‘constantly supplied with the greatest Variety of Country Chapmen’s Books’ which were sold by ‘Wholesale & Retail on the most favourable Terms’ and that he gave ‘the greatest Encouragement to Country Merchants & others’ who bought and sold again.⁵⁰⁹

Cross’s catalogue is useful as it illustrated the different types of Catholic literature available. It displayed a wide variety of texts, which varied from expensive Bibles to cheap prayer books. In total the catalogue included over fifty titles. The most expensive was *The Holy Bible*, which cost fifteen shillings, while one of the cheapest was *Hell opened to sinners*, costing a mere six and a half pence. The majority of the books, however, ranged somewhere between two to six shillings. Popular devotional works included John Gother’s *The sincere Christian*, at one shilling and seven and half pence; Richard Challoner’s *The garden of the soul*, at just over a shilling; Robert Manning’s *Moral entertainments*, at just over three shillings; while *Devotions for the afflicted and sick* cost a little over a shilling. Cross also carried a variety of histories of the saints. For example, the *Lives & Deaths of Sir Thomas Moor, & John Fisher, bishop of Rochester* cost under three shillings, while *England’s conversion & reformation*

⁵⁰⁶ O’Connor, ‘Religious change, 1550-1800’, p. 173.

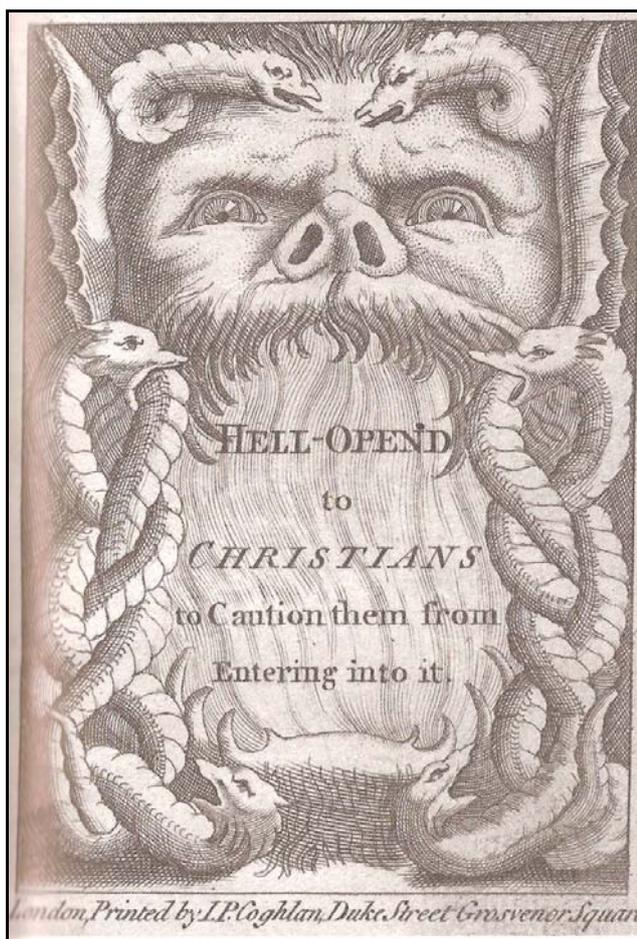
⁵⁰⁷ See Appendix Three for the complete catalogue.

⁵⁰⁸ ‘A Catalogue of Catholic Books, printed for, & sold by Richard Cross, Bookseller, at the Sign of the Globe in Bridge Street, near the Brazon-Head Inn, Dublin’ in John Joseph Hornyold, *The Decalogue explain’d in thirty-two discourses* (Dublin, 1770).

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

compared could be acquired for about the same price. His collection also included a number of catechisms and doctrinal texts, most notably *The poor man's catechism*, at over two shillings; *The Catholic Christian introduced in the sacraments & ceremonies of the Church*, for the same price, and the more expensive *Abridgement of the Christian doctrine*, for six shillings. However, what is most interesting about Cross's catalogue is the number of liturgical texts and prayerbooks, many of which were relatively inexpensive. The *Rituale Romanum* cost about a shilling, while the *Lady's primer* was more expensive, at just over three shillings. *The Office of the Holy Week* was relatively inexpensive, costing around two shillings, while the *Novena, or the nine days of the Office of the Dead*, in both English and Latin, could be purchased for as little as eight pence. What is significant is that many of these books, particularly a number of the cheaper prayer-books, have not survived. This raises an interesting question as to what happened to them.

Fig. 23 J.P. Pinamonti, *Hell-open'd to Christians to caution them from entering it* (London, 1782).



Their absence may be attributed to their relative cheapness. It is possible that people may have simply discarded them when they were finished using them. A more

speculative explanation is that readers may also have wished to be buried with their favourite prayerbook or primer. Whatever the reason for this conspicuous absence, Cross's advertisement shows that by the 1770s there was a wide array of Catholic literature from which to choose. His selection of books catered for Catholic readers with varying tastes and finances. This was characteristic of the trade throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The more sophisticated reader could purchase an expensive copy of the Bible or a doctrinal text or a copy of St. Augustine's *Confessions*, while those who wished for a cheap devotional text or prayer-book could have one for as little as a shilling or less.

Cross's advertisement included some of the works of the English 'Vicars Apostolic', who were amongst the most popular with Dublin readers. The 'Vicars Apostolic' referred to the English and Scottish penal diocesan administrators Richard Challoner, John Joseph Hornyold and George Hay. Indeed their popularity amongst Dublin Catholic readers continued well into the nineteenth century. French authors and continental Jesuits were also published for the Dublin market. Commenting on the Dublin Catholic print industry, Patrick Corish suggests that 'the literature was French spirituality, heavily influenced by the Jesuits and Francis de Sales'.⁵¹⁰ Among the most popular continental authors were Francois de Salignac de la Mothe Fenélon (1651-1715), Claude Fleury (1640-1723) and Jacques Benigne Bossuet (1627-1704). Jesuit authors who were frequently published in the city included Nicholas Caussin, Juan-Eusebio de Nieremberg as well as the English Jesuits: Robert Parsons (1648-80), William Darrell (1651-1721) and James Mumford (c.1606-1666). While most of these authors can be considered 'devotional' writers, there were subtle theological differences. Thus in Catholic Dublin, while it may not have been a diverse and cosmopolitan publishing centre, there was nonetheless a wide variety of religious literature available.

Devotional literature

Possibly the most influential devotional author for the Dublin market during the eighteenth century was St. Francis de Sales (1567-1622). His *Introduction to the devout life* was one of the most popular devotional texts purchased by Dublin Catholics in the period. De Sales's writings were a mixture of scripture, the teachings of the Church Fathers, and thomistic theology. His works were couched in a straightforward language,

⁵¹⁰ Corish, *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, p. 88.

which was written with ordinary readers in mind. His popularity transcended European Catholic literate circles, and ‘had steadily been gaining ground among the secular clergy since the 1630s’; by the early eighteenth century there was an increasing demand in Dublin for this type of devotional literature.⁵¹¹ An early edition of his *Introduction to the devout life* was printed in Dublin in 1705, and there were a further three editions printed in the city between then and 1777. His popularity had much to do with his espousal of ‘devout humanism’, a school of thought that sought to steer a middle ground between the supposed pessimism of Augustinianism, which stressed man’s corruptibility, and the alleged optimism connected with Pelagianism. He emphasised the need for repentance and devotion in the everyday life. *Introduction to the devout life* was a clear, methodical, and most of all an understandable manual of private and public devotion. In it he stressed that while the road to ‘devotion’ was achievable, sin caused one to digress from the path. He argued that by sinning the individual had ‘lost the grace of God, forfeited your place in heaven, incurred the everlasting pains of hell, and renounced the everlasting love of God’.⁵¹² His style was vivid and evocative to the imagination. When speaking about hell he formed a clear picture for the reader, leaving no uncertainty as to the consequences of their sins

Imagine to yourself in a gloomy city, all burning with brimstone and noisome pitch full of citizens who are unable to leave it... they suffer unspeakable torments in all their senses and members in sinning, so they will suffer in all their senses and in all their members of pain which are due to sin.⁵¹³

This use of strong imagery was characteristic of the text.

What did de Sales mean by the term ‘devotion’, an expression which came to be associated with much of the Catholic literature printed in the Dublin in the period? Why did it prove so popular with Dublin’s Catholic readership? For de Sales devotion was simple prayer that engaged the affections, the imitation of Christ, the docility of the Holy Spirit and the fidelity to the duties of one’s state of life. Devotion was also inextricably linked to charity. ‘In fine, charity and devotion’, de Sales wrote, differed ‘no more, the one from the other, the flame from the fire... Believe me... devotion is the sweetest of all things and the queen of virtues, because it is the perfection of charity’.⁵¹⁴ This type of devotion undoubtedly influenced the renewed interest in benevolence shown by some Catholics. This ‘devout life’ may have sounded like an

⁵¹¹ Eamon Duffy, ‘Richard Challoner 1691-1781: a memoir’ in idem (ed.), *Challoner and his Church- a Catholic bishop in Georgian England* (London, 1981), p. 2.

⁵¹² Francis de Sales, *Introduction to the devout life* (London, 1943), p. 47.

⁵¹³ Ibid., p. 60.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., p. 39.

achievable goal for religious, living protected lives in their monasteries and convents. However, de Sales assured his readers that the devout life was achievable by all men and women. He stated that all Catholics, regardless of their background, had a role to play. He wrote that ‘wherever we are, we ought to aspire to the perfect life... it is an error, nay rather a heresy to wish to banish the devout life from the army, from the workshop, from the courts of princes, from the households of married life’.⁵¹⁵ Devotion, however, was embodied differently in various people:

Devotion ought to be practised differently by the gentleman, the daughter, by the wife... I ask you Philothea, would it be proper for a bishop to wish to be solitary like the Carthusians? And if the married were to have no wish to lay by more than the Capuchins, and the artisan were to be in church all day like the religious... would not such devotion be ridiculous, disorderly and intolerable?⁵¹⁶

The type of devotion did not require hours of prayer, fasting and penance. It was a simple, achievable way of life, centred upon prayer and charity, and was no doubt the basis for its universal popularity in the age of reason.

De Sales was of course writing in Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. His writings had been intended for a different audience, whose experiences differed somewhat to those of Catholics in eighteenth century Ireland. Nonetheless, Salesian literature greatly influenced the devotional texts of the ‘Vicars Apostolic’, who subsequently enjoyed even greater popularity in the Dublin market. Their experiences in England in Scotland resonated more closely with Dublin Catholics. The most popular of the Vicars Apostolic was of course George Hay (1729-1811), the penal administrator of the Scottish Lowland District. His father had been an Episcopalian Jacobite but had converted to Catholicism. Hay’s most famous work was *The Scripture doctrine of miracles displayed* (1775), which carried an appendix on transubstantiation. This was essentially a Catholic apologetic text. In 1782 his second major work was published, *The sincere Christian instructed in the faith of Christ*. This was a largely catechetical work in which he outlined the basic principles of the Catholic faith. While he reiterated the themes of charity and obedience, he emphasised the role of sin to a much greater extent. He informed his readers that the ‘effects which sin produces on our souls, are many, and most miserable indeed’, a result of a most horrid malignancy of that fatal poison, which is the cause of them’.⁵¹⁷ He contrasted the state of the maligned soul with humanity’s perfection before the Fall. He wrote that

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

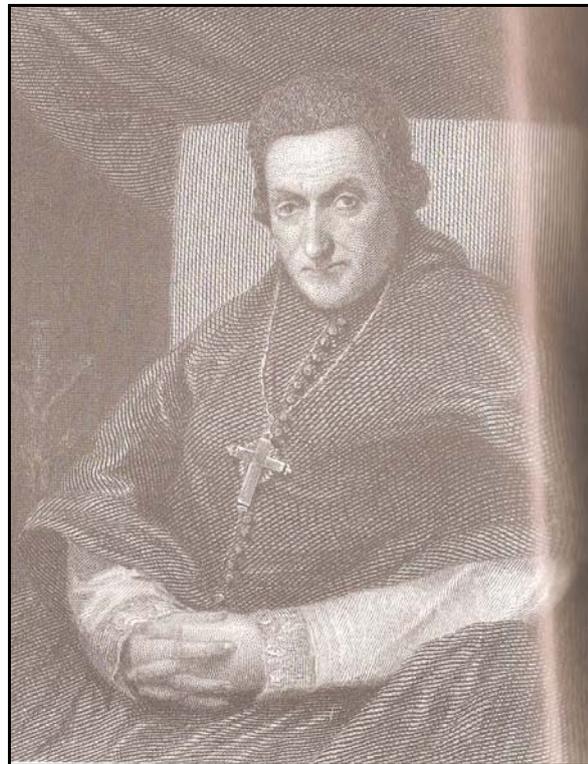
⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ George Hay, *The sincere Christian instructed in the faith of Christ* (Dublin, 1839), p. 176.

a soul in grace is beautiful, like an angel, and a delightful object in the eyes of God...But alas! The moment such a soul consents to mortal sin, she loses at once all this dignity and happiness, the grace of God is banished from her, and she becomes a slave of Satan, a vessel of filth and corruption, the habitation of unclean spirits.⁵¹⁸

Hay was not afraid to speak about ‘unbelief’ and certain other Enlightenment principles. Drawing attention to these supposed menaces he suggested that ‘some people, of free-thinking principles, in these modern times, seem so much inclined to suppose, that sin requires little or no punishment in itself.’⁵¹⁹ Here he argued that the Enlightenment was central to the minimising of ‘sin’ and the need for repentance, instead advocating a state of moral ambiguity.

Fig. 24 Most Revd George Hay, vicar apostolic (1729-1811).



Source: *The Correspondence of James Peter Coghlan (1731-1800)*.

As had been the case with de Sales, Hay’s popularity owed much to the fact that he wrote with the ‘the most unlearned’ in mind. For example, in the preface to the *Sincere Christian* he outlined what he saw was the purpose of the book:

The view I have had in this present work is to assist the most unlearned, and beginning with the first rudiments of Christianity, to conduct the reader, step by step, through the

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., p. 177.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., p. 193. In a letter to Troy in 1792 Hay stated that Edinburgh was no longer fit for the education of Catholics, the city being ‘the ruin of all youth’. Presumably Hay’s comments were brought about the spread of certain Enlightenment ideals. See Bishop Hay to Archbishop Troy, 13 Apr. 1792 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(98)).

whole body of the principal truths of revelation, so that knowledge of one truth may serve as an introduction to those which follow after.⁵²⁰

Indeed much of it resembled a catechism, with questions like ‘What is God? A[nswer]. God is a spirit infinitely perfect, the Creator and Sovereign Lord of all things’.⁵²¹ Hay’s subsequent publications, *The devout Christian* (1783) and *The pious Christian* (1786) were equally popular with Dublin readers. For example, the subscription list of *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788) contained a list of some 269 subscribers. This popularity was brought about through his combination of public and private devotion. His works were essentially a blending of the catechism and the devotional primer.

Hay drew greatly on the works of another of the Vicars Apostolic, Richard Challoner, the titular bishop of the London District. Born to Dissenter parents, Challoner was a convert, having come under the spiritual direction of another popular devotional writer, John Gother (d. 1704). While Challoner’s first published work was a defence of the papal bull, *Unigenitus*, condemning Jansenist teachings, his most popular works were *Think well on’t* (1724), *The garden of the soul* (1740), as well as his revision of the *Rheims-Douai Catechism* (1749).⁵²² Continuing in the tradition of devotional humanism, Challoner stressed the importance of work and activity in secular life; his spirituality was activist and not world shunning.⁵²³ He argued that the principle duty of the Catholic was to worship God by cultivating the intention of serving him in acts of secular life.⁵²⁴ Once again he argued that this type of devotion was to be adapted to include all aspects of daily life. The Catholic way of life of the period revolved around regularity, rationality and work.⁵²⁵ Thus, he said, when ‘in conversation, the Catholic should practice the presence of God, talk soberly and seriously without being ostentatiously pious’.⁵²⁶ In *Meditations for every day in the year* Challoner warned the reader that one never knew when death would come upon them. Thus, it was imperative to repent and mend one’s ways. He wrote: ‘Thy time, to appearance, will be much shorter than thou art willing to think... Set then thy, house in order now’.⁵²⁷ He constantly implored his readers to scrutinise their actions:

Consider 2ndly, the present state and condition of your conscience. What is your life at present? How stand accounts between your soul and God?... Alas how few live in the

⁵²⁰ Hay, *The sincere Christian instructed in the faith of Christ*, p. 8.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵²² Duffy, ‘Richard Challoner 1691-1781: a memoir’, p. 1.

⁵²³ Bossy, *The English Catholic community 1570-1850*, p. 365.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁵²⁵ J.D. Crichton, *Worship in a hidden church* (Dublin, 1988), p. 67.

⁵²⁶ Bossy, *The English Catholic community 1570-1850*, p. 367.

⁵²⁷ Richard Challoner, *Meditations for every day in the year* (London, 1948), p. 41.

manner in which they would be glad to be found, when death shall overtake them... Set then thy house in order now.⁵²⁸

He beseeched his readers not to concern themselves with complex theological questions but rather to focus their energy on this personal evaluation, which, hopefully would lead to repentance and grace.

Challoner's work was in many ways characteristic of the growth of devotional literature during the eighteenth century, much of which promoted personal prayer and contemplation. Devotion, for Challoner and others, was individualistic and meditative, and contained a large amount of instruction.⁵²⁹ Indeed in England as acts of communal morning and evening prayer began to disappear slowly during the century, families instead began to favour private prayers books rather than devotional manuals. This probably had something to do with the diminishing importance of the Catholic gentry as the fulcrum of English Catholic society. It was neither an emotional nor communal practice, and in some ways resembled a very personal Protestant piety. Much of it was also catechetical, allowing the 'unlearned' to deepen their own understanding of their faith. Both Challoner and Hay's works complemented those by John Joseph Hornyold (1706-88), the vicar apostolic for the English Midland District. Hornyold's three principle works were *The Decalogue Explain'd* (1744), *The Sacraments Explain'd* (1749), and *The real principles of Catholics* (1749), all of which were reprinted on several occasions in Dublin in both the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Catholic histories, sermon collections and catechisms

Apart from devotional works Catholic readers had a wide selection of religious material from which to choose. The selection included Bibles, catechisms, prayer books, missals, Catholic histories, as well as the lives of the saints, and collections of sermons. From the 1760s it had become common to compile and print collections of sermons. The sermons of the English Carmelite, Francis Blyth (c. 1705-1772) were common in the city's Catholic bookshops. For example, Bartholomew Corcoran reprinted Blyth's *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* on a number of occasions throughout the 1760s. As the title suggests, Blyth presented his readers with ready-made sermons for all Sundays in the year, which presumably could, if so wished, be used by priests and repeated *verbatim* or adapted for Sunday Mass. A typical sermon was that prepared for

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵²⁹ Bossy, *The English Catholic community*, p. 365.

the fourth Sunday of Advent, which was entitled, 'The voice of one crying in the wilderness; Prepare ye the way of the Lord', in which Blyth outlined the necessity of repentance and 'self-knowledge' in preparation for the coming of Jesus.⁵³⁰ Blyth's sermons were relatively short, amounting to only a few pages.

In contrast to devotional texts, where there were no native authors, there were a few Irish authors compiling and publishing sermons in the period. Of these Barnaby Murphy was one of the most popular.⁵³¹ The subscription list for his *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808) was so immense that it dwarfed all that had gone before it, with a staggering 2,218 subscribers, many of whom were Dublin priests.⁵³² Another popular sermon writer was the Dublin Augustinian, William Gahan. Gahan's *Sermons and Moral Discourses for all the Sundays and principal festivals of the year and the most important truths and maxims of the Gospel* first published in 1799 ran to six editions between then and 1847. Both followed Blyth's example by presenting ready-made sermons, possibly for priests who may not have either had the time or a sufficient theological knowledge needed, or indeed the interest to compose their own sermons. The popularity of printed sermons amongst the clergy may have been due to the renewed emphasis the Irish bishops placed on preaching and pastoral care, which, in Dublin was initiated as early as the 1760s by Archbishop Lincoln. The publication of collections of sermons may in fact have been desired by archbishops and senior clergy, as a means of controlling sermon content.

Complementing the popularity of pastoral aids such as sermons, missals and prayerbooks, were catechisms and Bibles. In England there existed a strong tradition of publishing Catholic Bibles in the vernacular. Both the Rheims New Testament and the Douai Bible had long satisfied the scriptural desires of English Catholics since the seventeenth century. The publishing of scripture in the vernacular was, however, problematic. The well-known Dublin priest, Cornelius Nary (1658-1738) was responsible for a number and catechetical and scriptural works. In 1718 his *A catechism for use in his parish* was published. However, Nary's most well-known, and most controversial work, was his translation of the New Testament from the Latin vulgate in 1718. Although copies New Testament in English were available to purchase in Dublin, according to Nary they were out of date and no longer met the needs of Catholics. He said that

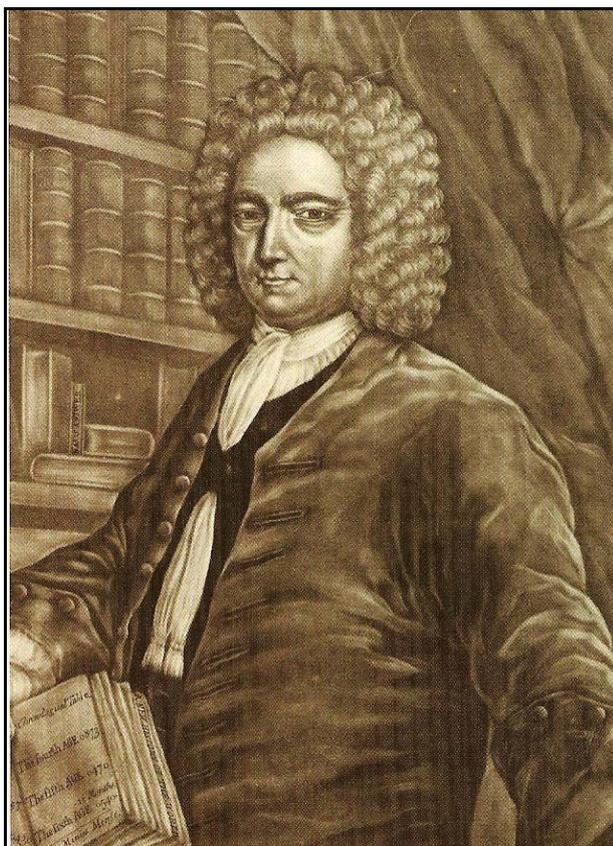
⁵³⁰ Francis Blyth, O.C.D., *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1762), p. 79.

⁵³¹ Murphy was living in North Anne Street in 1809, and was presumably a diocesan priest.

⁵³² Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest, 1880-09', p. 2.

we have no Catholic tradition of the Scripture in the English tongue but Doway Bible and the Rheimish Testament, which have been done now more than a hundred years since; the language whereof is so old, the words in many places obsolete, the orthography so bad and the translation so very literal that in a number of places it is unintelligible.⁵³³

Fig. 25 Revd Cornelius Nary (1658-1738).



Source: Mary Ann Lyons and Thomas O'Connor (eds), *Strangers to citizens: the Irish in Europe 1600-1800* (Dublin, 2008), p. 81.

⁵³³ Nary in Patrick Fagan, *Dublin's turbulent priest: Cornelius Nary 1658-1728* (Dublin, 1991), p. 80.

He set himself the task of producing a text that was modern, intelligible and, most importantly, orthodox. However, Nary encountered opposition from senior clergy both in Ireland and in Rome. He had compiled a table ‘to the end of the work by looking into which, they shall find in what Chapter and Verse of the Scripture, the beginning and end of every Gospel and Epistle that is read in the Mass every Sunday and great Holyday’.⁵³⁴ For opponents it appeared as if Nary came dangerously close to sanctioning the ‘indiscriminate reading of Scriptures’, which the Catholic Church opposed. The translation was eventually condemned in 1722 because of alleged Jansenist tendencies; Nary had the misfortune to publish his translation at the same time as Pasqual Quesnel, whose own translation was the subject of a papal condemnation.⁵³⁵

The condemnation of Nary’s New Testament was a stark reminder to anyone contemplating a similar project of the Church’s suspicion of vernacular scripture. It was not helped by a continued suspicion of Jansenism, which lingered over Nary and in Ireland into the nineteenth century. In 1817 Bishop Coppinger of Cloyne reminded Archbishop Murray of the dangers of publishing Bible lessons for children in poor-schools. While he acknowledged that the particular scripture lessons could be ‘useful and time saving’, they were, he said, ‘tinged with Jansenism’.⁵³⁶ Suspicion was heightened further during the ‘Second Reformation’, when numerous Protestant Bible societies were active in Dublin. Bible societies distributed scripture freely, encouraging a more personal relationship with Jesus, based on interpretation and reception, as opposed to the communal emphasis the Catholic Church placed on the reception of scripture. In 1809 Troy said that

The Catholic Church having declared the Latin Vulgate Bible the authentic, the Doway English translation of it, is the only one allowed for the Use of Catholics in these kingdoms. The learned or educated Catholic is permitted to read it, but the indiscriminate Use of the Bible is prohibited, lest from the familiarity, it should be profaned, & left to the interpretation of the ignorant or fanatical Religious Monger.⁵³⁷

Referring to the Protestant Bibles distributed by the Hibernian Bible Society in Dublin, Troy said that they differed in ‘many parts from the Doway one, not only in Words but in Meaning, particularly on points of controversy[?] between Catholics, & the various denominations of Protestants’.⁵³⁸ These, he argued, differed ‘from each other as well as from Catholics in the interpretation of the Bible, & united only in hostility to

⁵³⁴ Fagan, *Dublin’s turbulent priest*, p. 81.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵³⁶ Bishop Coppinger to Bishop Murray, 8 Nov. 1817 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/3(91)).

⁵³⁷ Archbishop Troy to an unnamed person, 14 Jun. 1803 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/9(159)).

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

Catholics'.⁵³⁹ He stated, however, that the 'Various tracts, besides histories of the Bible, illustrated by Scripture texts' were in general better received 'amongst Catholics for their religious instruction. They are better calculated for it than the reading of the Bible which to the unlettered is useless'.⁵⁴⁰ The 'Various tracts' to which Troy referred undoubtedly included catechisms and primers, which gave the reader scripture, accompanied by authorised and orthodox teaching. Even though Troy declared that he had given 'limited approval to the publication of extracts from the New Testament' in a letter to the future Protestant archbishop of Tuam, Power le Poer Trench, in 1818, Catholic bishops and the clergy were generally suspicious of Catholics reading scripture without guidance.⁵⁴¹

While the publishing of scripture in the vernacular did not always have a comfortable existence, especially after the 1790s, there were a number of subsequent editions of scripture printed between the 1760s and 1830. In 1763 Richard Fitzsimons printed *the Holy Bible translated from the Latin vulgat* (Dublin, 1763). Fitzsimons's Bible comprised five volumes, and contained a list of about 170 subscribers, twenty-five of whom were Catholic clergy, one of whom was Archbishop Fitzsimons. A year later another volume of Fitzsimons's Bible was reprinted as *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (Dublin, 1764). In 1783 Archbishop Carpenter helped persuade Patrick Wogan and Richard Cross to publish an edition of Richard Challoner's Rheimish *New Testament* (Dublin, 1783). This edition carried an approbation from Carpenter as well as an admonition on how to read scripture.⁵⁴² Richard Cross had two editions of the Rheimish translation printed in 1791. The first was *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgat* (Dublin, 1791), printed by Hugh Fitzpatrick (d. 1821) of Ormond Quay. This edition contained a sizeable subscription list, amounting to about 900 subscribers. The second was *The New Testament* (Dublin, 1791), again printed by Fitzpatrick, and sold by Richard Cross. In 1794 *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* was printed and sold by James O'Reilly (d. 1794) of Aston Quay, containing the very sizeable list of over 700 subscribers. The *Morning Star* of 4 February 1794 advertised O'Reilly's 'Folio Bible, with an engraving'.⁵⁴³ O'Reilly's edition contained the names of some five hundred subscribers, the majority of whom were from the counties of Monaghan and Louth.⁵⁴⁴ When O'Reilly died in 1794 he left

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Archbishop Troy to Canon le Poer Trench, 20 Jul. 1818 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/4(11)).

⁵⁴² Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1783-1789', p. 80.

⁵⁴³ *Morning Star*, 4 Feb. 1794.

⁵⁴⁴ Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1790-1795', p. 123.

behind a considerable stock in Bibles. Indeed many of these had not been sold up to 1796 when the *Dublin Evening Post* advertised an auction of O'Reilly's stock, which included 1,000 unsold copies of the Douai Bible.⁵⁴⁵ While it is difficult to state categorically from this that there was a limited market for scripture, it nonetheless appears to confirm that there was only a small interest amongst Dublin Catholics in Bibles and in Bible reading in the period. The number of vernacular Bibles printed in the city throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was relatively few, and paled in comparison the wealth of devotional literature printed. Part of the problem may have been that Bibles were expensive and bulky, consisting of several volumes. Devotional texts on the other hand were considerably cheaper and much more accessible to the reader. Devotional authors, we are told, always wrote with an 'uneducated' reader in mind. This opened up the devotional genre to a much wider audience, which in reality was infinitely greater than the scriptural market. This relative paucity may also have been as a result of Catholic preferences for works based on Church tradition rather than on scripture alone.

Works of controversy

The Dublin Catholic book trade by the later decades of the eighteenth century was not a homogenous entity, but printed a broad range of Catholic related material. While it was dominated by the devotional, catechetical and liturgical genres, there were, however, numerous works of controversy, many of which engaged with Protestant writers on such issues as transubstantiation or the history of the Christian Church in Ireland. In the early nineteenth century relations between the churches deteriorated significantly. This was due in part to the expansion of the Protestant evangelical societies, some of whom were involved in proselytising, as well as the increased politicisation of the Catholic community. This resulted in the publication of numerous polemical tracts. In the later decades of the eighteenth century all Christian churches faced challenges posed by the growth in certain Enlightenment ideals, which some feared would foster unbelief. Apart from the publication of a number of pastoral letters by Archbishop Troy highlighting the growth of what he called 'seditious principles', there were also a number of interesting publications dealing with the topic. In 1783 Claude Duplain's *La religion vengée des blasphemes de Voltaire* was published. Duplain's work was aimed at young Christians, 'pur les metre en garde contre un Auteur dont les ouvrages tendent à les surprendre et à les perdre'; its aim was 'la defence du Christianisme contre les blasphemes et railleries

⁵⁴⁵ *Dublin Evening Post*, 30 Apr. 1796.

de Voltaire'.⁵⁴⁶ Similarly in 1800, F.X. de Feller's *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* was printed and sold in the city. These texts suggest that there was some engagement or interest by Catholics in Dublin concerning the growth of certain Enlightenment beliefs which were perceived to be contrary to the tenets of revealed religion. Writing as early as 1720 Cornelius Nary in his *A New History of the World* (Dublin, 1720) stated that it was

his design in publishing this Work is Chiefly to obviate the Objections of the Atheists, Deists, Pre-Adamists & Libertines of this Age, who Ground the whole System of their Non-Religion (if I may be allow'd this Term) or rather Impiety, upon the vast Difference that is between the Present Hebrew text & Profane Historians, in the Competition.⁵⁴⁷

While Nary was one of the earliest native Catholic writers to speak out against Deism and certain Enlightenment ideals in print form, he was certainly not the only one. A series of Catholic writers, with whom Catholic readers in Dublin were familiar, spoke out against 'irreligion and impiety'. Eugene Martin's *A comparative view of the advantages resulting from revelation, and the dangers attending infidelity addressed to the people of Ireland* (Dublin, 1789) was an overt attack on deism and 'infidelity'. 'Infidelity', he wrote, exerted 'her influence in nothing more than in wresting from mankind the treasure of the most sacred truths... uniting under her banner, like those strange nations, which had formerly conspired the ruin of the people of God, seem, by their unhallowed productions, determined to extirpate from the face of the earth'.⁵⁴⁸ Martin cautioned his readers not to fall prey to their seditious maxims. He asked: 'Do they think to diffuse light around, by spreading universal darkness?'⁵⁴⁹ 'Far from enlightening the human mind', infidelity, he said, only 'loads it with difficulties to perplex its powers'. The sermons of Dr Thomas Betagh are among the best examples of engagement with the teachings of the French *philosophes*.⁵⁵⁰ While unpublished, Betagh's sermons demonstrate how some Catholics critically challenged the works of *philosophes*, including Voltaire and Rousseau, through public preaching and other public events.

⁵⁴⁶ Duplain cited in Máire Kennedy, *French books in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Oxford, 2001), p. 137.

⁵⁴⁷ Cornelius Nary, *A new history of the world containing an historical & chronological account of the times and transactions from the Creation to the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ* (Dublin, 1720), p. i.

⁵⁴⁸ Eugene Martin, *A comparative view of the advantages resulting from revelation, and the dangers attending infidelity addressed to the people of Ireland* (Dublin, 1789), p. ii.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁰ See Betagh sermons (J.A.L.S., J469/21).

From the early nineteenth century onwards there were renewed efforts by various Catholics organisations to make spiritual and devotional books more easily available, to help combat ideological threats posed to Catholics. In this regard a number of confraternities established libraries. An example was the Society of St. John the Evangelist, who established a network of libraries throughout the city by 1830. Another significant group was the aforementioned Catholic Book Society, founded in 1827. The aims of Society stated that it sought to

furnish to the People of Ireland, in the most cheap and convenient manner, useful information on the truths and duties of the Christian Religion.

To supply all classes of persons satisfactory Refutations of the prevailing Errors and Heresies of the present age.

To assist in supplying to Schools throughout Ireland, the most approved Books of elementary Instruction.⁵⁵¹

The reference to ‘all classes of persons’ and the ‘prevailing Errors and Heresies’ is especially revealing. By this stage the Catholic community in Dublin had of course become increasingly concerned with the perceived threat posed by the proselytising activities of Protestant, evangelical societies. By the early decades of the nineteenth century Bibles and scriptural tracts circulated by evangelical groups were becoming more freely available to Catholics. Troy and Murray were concerned by this phenomenon, and various initiatives were developed to protect the faith and morals of Catholics. Central to these efforts was the Catholic print trade, which became an important tool in the ‘war’ with Protestant Bible societies. In the 1827, the same year as the Catholic Book Society was founded, a group of concerned Catholics wrote to Murray regarding the matter. Messrs Teegan, Ryan and Lawlor stated that to counteract this alleged threat they intended

placing within the reach of the Catholic poor of this City and Ireland at large such Catholic books as we most calculated to promote Christian piety & virtue and at the same time to counteract the evil tendency of the numerous tracts now industriously calculated by certain classes of persons.⁵⁵²

The party, who are a prime example of the religiously engaged Catholic laity, also suggested that their concern was shared by many in the Catholic community:

A considerable portion of the middling classes of this City are warmly interested in the above project and nothing remains but to obtain the Inclusion and Encouragement of the Catholic church or some dignity of it which they confidently hope will be granted to them by your Grace.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵¹ Aims of the Catholic Book Society to counter the publications of the Bible societies, 1827 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/10(26)).

⁵⁵² Messrs Teegan, Ryan and Lawlor to Archbishop Murray, 10 April 1827, (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/10(80)).

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

It was those in the ‘middling classes’ who were the driving force behind the process of reform and renewal initiated in the archdiocese. Whether Murray ever gave his ‘Inclusion and Encouragement’ is unknown. Nonetheless, much of what they proposed was already taking place through lending libraries and book societies involved in the distribution of Catholic books. Teegan, Ryan and Lawler showed much zeal, petitioning Murray to

order that every Catholic may be able to give an account of his Faith and to strengthen that faith, now assailed in every quarter to give to the public in a cheap & compendious manner the Table of References annexed to the Douay Testament with the texts of Scripture and the notes of them in full- verbatim from sd Douay Testament.⁵⁵⁴

While they were not advocating the indiscriminate distribution of the Bible, what they proposed was sufficiently controversial to incur suspicion from senior clergy.

The publication and promotion of Catholic works was also seen by some as key in the battle to win back those Catholics imbued with radical and revolutionary tendencies. Writing to his printer, James Coghlan in 1798, Troy remarked that to help combat ‘the unnatural rebellion’, it was necessary that Coghlan continue to print religious works for the Dublin market.⁵⁵⁵ Troy’s apparent confidence in religious works was such that he remarked that ‘the publication of them here...will more effectively than any other measure inform the public, & rescue religion & its ministers from the calumnies and obloquy of selfish interested persons, who consider to the rebellion as a Popish plot’.⁵⁵⁶

Subscription lists

Purchasing patterns and readership are an important aspect in the discussion of the Catholic print culture, and the input of print in education, moral reformation and the evolution of Catholic culture in general. Who bought and actually read Catholic books in Dublin in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? To some extent subscription lists allows one to comment on those who were buying Catholic books in the period. Publishing by subscription was the rule for Dublin printers for most of the eighteenth century; occasionally printers included lists of subscribers in the publication. These lists can be especially revealing, sometimes giving names, titles of subscribers,

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Archbishop Troy to James Coghlan, 18 Jul. 1798 in *The correspondence of James Peter Coghlan (1731-1800)*, p. 357.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

addresses, occupations, and the number of copies subscribers took. In most instances though they simply record individual names, and sporadically gave addresses and occupations. Often it was only the clergy, or those who may be considered 'wealthier' Catholics, whose details were included.⁵⁵⁷ The lists are nonetheless useful, as they permit one to comment, however conservatively, on book-buying patterns. They also allow one to form a picture of the book-buying habits of certain individuals. For example, a Garret Barry, a merchant from Abbey Street, subscribed to Richard Challoner's *Upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772), Alban Butler's *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775), and the liturgical text, *Vespers and Office of the Dead* (Dublin, 1791). Similarly, Richard Corbally, a surgeon, subscribed to Hornyold's *The Decalogue explain'd* (Dublin, 1746) and *The Sacraments explain'd* (Dublin, 1747), and George Hay's *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784). Thomas Kirwan, a brewer from James's Street subscribed to Hay's *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788), and *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1794).

The majority of subscribers whose occupation is known were described as merchants. Their number was significantly higher than any other occupation. This sizeable representation in subscription lists was possibly to be expected given the fact that the merchant class was such an important component of Catholic society in Dublin. Estimates vary but Catholics could have made up nearly a half of the city's merchant class by 1780.⁵⁵⁸ Behind merchants the most common occupations of subscribers were booksellers, printers, grocers, and doctors. Occasionally more unusual occupations were listed such as apothecaries, breeches-makers, jewellers, gun-barrel makers, and mathematical instrument makers. However, the occupations of the vast majority of subscribers were not recorded.

Subscription lists are most revealing regarding clerical subscribers. Clerical titles were generally stated from about the 1780s onwards, and thus it is relatively easy to compile a prosopography of book-buying clerics.⁵⁵⁹ A great deal is known for example of those books which the aforementioned Edward Armstrong subscribed to. He was administrator of St. Andrew's (1797-84) and parish priest of St. Michan's. Armstrong purchased copies of Alonsus Rodriguez, S.J., *The practice of Christian and religious perfection* (Kilkenny, 1806), Barnaby Murphy's *Sermons for every Sunday*

⁵⁵⁷ This is a loosely used term, which included merchants, doctors, and those who were above what could be generally considered 'the Catholic poor'.

⁵⁵⁸ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 52.

⁵⁵⁹ Before this priests were frequently recorded as 'Mr X', often with no address. Thus for those with more common surnames it is more difficult to state definitively what books they subscribed to. For a list of clerical subscribers see Fenning, 'Some Irish clerical subscribers, 1800-24', pp 196-242.

throughout the year (Dublin, 1808), Edward Hawarden's *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808), John Joseph Hornyold's *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses, to which is added King Henry the Eighth's Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther* (Dublin, 1814), Joanne Cabassutio's *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin 1824).

The purchase of books did not, of course, mean that books were wholly or even partially read, a point stressed by Roger Chartier. Chartier comments that the 'significance of the owned book remains uncertain... was it personal reading matter or an inherited keepsake? Was it a working aid or a valued object that was never touched?'⁵⁶⁰ Nonetheless one must presume that at the very least owners read part of their books. On average it appears that Catholic books had a print run of about 200 copies. Even in light of Chartier's comments it is possible that readership may have exceeded this figure. It is possible, if not likely, that a book had more than one reader. In the eighteenth century 'borrowing of reading matter occurred between friends and family. Less well-off members of society were sometimes in receipt of the benevolence of the charitable when religious and moral works were distributed among them'.⁵⁶¹ As well as this numerous chapels and confraternities in Dublin were setting up their own libraries by the later decades of the eighteenth century. In this period it was also common for printers to share premises with a coffee house or reading room.⁵⁶² Máire Kennedy illustrates the fluidity of the book trade in the period, highlighting the link between booksellers and reading rooms. Many of the city's bookshops, she says, were 'fitted to receive customers and sometimes provided meeting rooms where readers could meet, read, and discuss literature'.⁵⁶³ A well-known Dublin Catholic printer and bookseller, Patrick Byrne of Grafton Street, had a reading room attached to his premises.⁵⁶⁴ Byrne's business was probably one of the biggest in Dublin; at the end of the eighteenth century his shop is known to have contained some 152 titles!⁵⁶⁵ It is unlikely, however, that Byrne was alone amongst Catholic booksellers in providing customers with reading rooms. Subscription lists frequently record the names of printers

⁵⁶⁰ Roger Chartier, *The cultural uses of print in early modern France* (Princeton, 1978), p. 184.

⁵⁶¹ Máire Kennedy, 'Reading print, 1700-1800' in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (eds), *The Oxford history of the Irish book*, iii: *The Irish book in English 1580-1800* (Oxford, 2006), p. 164.

⁵⁶² Kennedy, 'Politicks, coffee and news: the Dublin book trade in the eighteenth-century', p. 76.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁵ Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 75.

and booksellers. The subscription list of Hornyold's *The Decalogue explain'd* (Dublin, 1770), for example, contained the names of numerous booksellers and printers. Was it possible that Hornyold's work was subsequently displayed in their respective shops for the perusal of customers? If so this meant that the book was available to a whole new readership.

In this regard the role of returning *émigré* clergy is not insignificant. During their continental sojourns priests were exposed to various genres of spiritual literature as part of their formation. They undoubtedly conveyed some of what they had learned to their parishioners through sermons, conversation and in the confessional. Some of these clergy assembled libraries, both at home and while on the Continent. Michael Moore, the one-time provost of Trinity College Dublin, and rector of the University of Paris, had amassed a considerable collection by the time of his death in 1726.⁵⁶⁶ Moore had taught philosophy at a number of Parisian colleges, presumably coming into contact with Dublin students. A *bibliothèque* such as his was, therefore, significant. While Moore's library was hardly typical, priests in Ireland were known to have assembled libraries, albeit on a much smaller scale.⁵⁶⁷ One can assume that the majority of students in the continental colleges possessed at least a small number of books.⁵⁶⁸ Also Irish priests with continental connections sometimes imported 'large amounts of devotional material'.⁵⁶⁹ The return of priests to Dublin undoubtedly led to the diffusion of new ideas and consequently may have fostered new types of piety.

Catholic literature 1780, 1793 and 1805: a statistical breakdown

It is useful to put the trade in Catholic spiritual books in context with the overall Catholic print trade. Taking the years 1780, 1793 and 1805, it is possible both to illustrate patterns of readership and show the growth in the Catholic print trade. By presenting a breakdown of the overall number of books published by Catholics, and for Catholics in the city, one can comment as to the relative importance of the Catholic religious book trade in the overall book trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁵⁶⁶ For the inventory of Moore's library see Liam Chambers (ed.), 'The library of an Irish Catholic *émigré*: Michael Moore's *bibliothèque*, 1726' in *Arch. Hib.*, lviii (2004), pp 210-42.

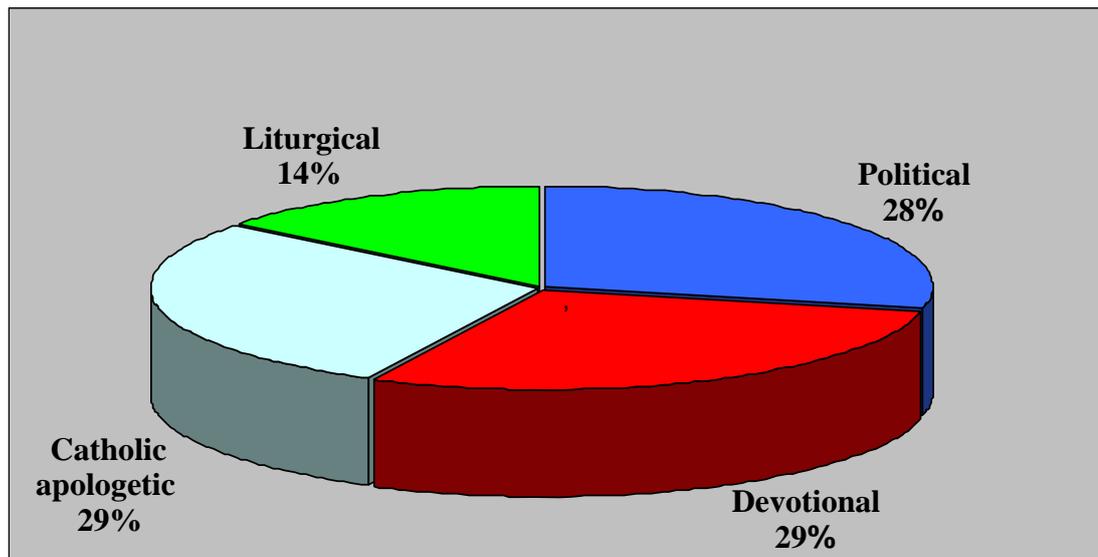
⁵⁶⁷ For more regarding the libraries of priests in the period see Ó Súilleabháin (ed.), 'The library of a parish priest in penal days'; Fenning (ed.), 'The library of a preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, O.P. (d. 1748)'.

⁵⁶⁸ Chambers (ed.), 'The library of an Irish Catholic *émigré*', p. 211.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

The first year examined was 1780, in the final years of the Archbishop Carpenter's episcopacy. In this year a total of only seven Catholic books were printed in Dublin city.⁵⁷⁰ While it is difficult to draw conclusions from such a small number of books, a statistical breakdown can be given.

Fig. 26 Percentage breakdown of Catholic literature printed in Dublin in 1780.



Source: Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest, 1770-82', pp 85-119.

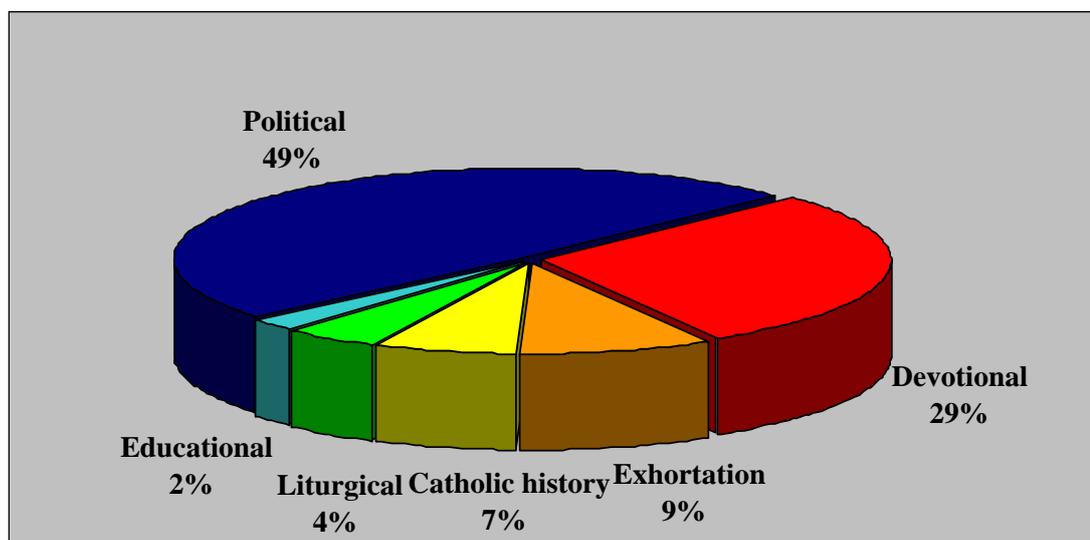
The market was fairly evenly divided between by what can loosely be termed 'religious' and 'political' books. One of the political books was a speech given by Edmund Burke in Bristol, regarding recent parliamentary elections, while the other, by an anonymous

⁵⁷⁰ 'Catholic books' refers to books by Catholic authors, Catholic religious works and those works whose authors were sympathetic to the Catholic cause. It specifically excludes those anti-Catholic texts, either of a political or a controversial nature.

Protestant writer, was a defence of the act of parliament, ‘lately passed’, regarding Catholics.⁵⁷¹ The devotional texts were Richard Challoner’s *A manual of instructions and prayers useful to a Christian* (Dublin, 1780) and Francis Walsh’s *Funiculus triplex or the indulgences of the Cord of St Francis* (Dublin, 1780). There were also two works of a Catholic apologetic nature. This category includes those works defending Catholic doctrine and practice, often responding to so-called attacks from Protestant authors. One of these was Arthur O’Leary’s *Remarks on the Rev. John Wesley’s letters, in defence of the Protestant associations, in England* (Dublin, 1780). This was ‘a most energetic piece against Wesley who had encouraged the Gordon Riots’ in London.⁵⁷² The second of these works was Anthony Ulrick’s *Fifty reasons, or motives, why the Roman Catholic apostolic religion ought to be all the sects in Christendom this day* (Dublin, 1780). There was also one liturgical text, a directory for saying the divine office, *Ordo divini officii legendi Missaeque celebrandi* (Dublin, 1780).

By 1793 the number of Catholic books printed in Dublin had increased significantly to forty-six. Figure 27 shows that nearly half of these were of a political nature. This reflected the increasing interest amongst Catholics in political issues.

Fig. 27 Percentage breakdown of Catholic literature printed in Dublin in 1793.



Source: Fenning, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest, 1790-95’, pp 72-141.

Since 1790 there had been numerous works published concerning English Catholics, for whom favourable legislation had recently been passed in Westminster.⁵⁷³ The General Committee of Roman Catholics of Ireland became active in publishing their activities. The Committee produced numerous pamphlets in the period 1791-93. In 1793 ten such

⁵⁷¹ *A defence of the act of parliament lately passed for the relief of Roman Catholics* (Dublin, 1780).

⁵⁷² Fenning, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest 1770-82’, p. 199.

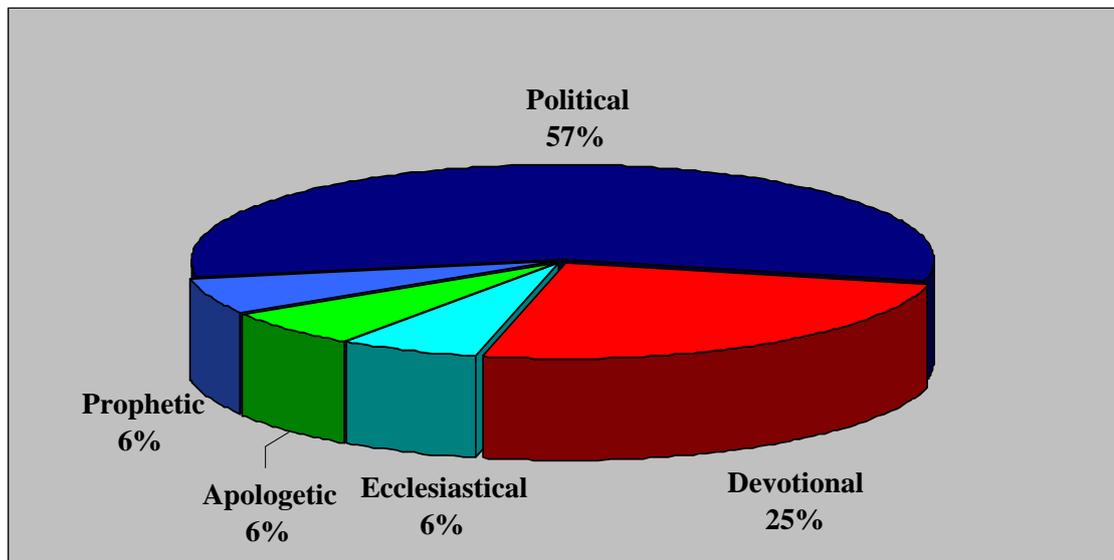
⁵⁷³ Fenning, ‘Dublin imprints of Catholic interest 1790-95’, p. 73.

pamphlets were published, the majority of which were accounts of meetings or petitions to the monarch. There were also a number of appeals from Theobald McKenna and the aforementioned John Sweetman, both of whom later became leading figures in the United Irishmen. A sign of things to come perhaps was the publication by the United Irishmen of Dublin of their *Address to their Catholic fellow-countrymen* (Dublin, 1793). While radical publications were still very much outnumbered by Catholic calls to loyalty and pleas for toleration, changes in the Catholic print culture reflected the increase in radical activity by a minority of Catholics.

Even if political issues allegedly began to dominate the minds of Catholics, they do not appear to have affected the popularity of specifically religious material. Indeed the number of religious publications printed and sold in the city had grown dramatically since 1780. In 1793 the figure had risen to twenty-three. Of these the majority were devotional. A total of thirteen devotional books were published in this year alone. Three of these were by Richard Challoner and George Hay, illustrating their continued popularity with Dublin readers. The Benedictines, Anselm Crowther and Richard Vincent Sadler's *A daily exercise of the devout Christian* (Dublin, 1793), was written in the same vein. As well as works from English authors, continental writers featured strongly in this year. Thomas à Kempis's *The imitation of Christ* (Dublin, 1793) was reprinted. The French author Charles Gobinet's *The instruction of youth in Christian piety* (Dublin, 1793) was also published. An interesting work was the devotional *Bona Mors, or art of dying happily in the congregation of Jesus Christ crucified* (Dublin, 1793). There were also a number of missals and catechisms, as well a collection of exhortations and pastorals by Troy, some of which warning the clergy not to be seduced by the radical ideas of the *philosophes*.

In 1805 the overall number of Catholic works had fallen back to sixteen. The rebellion of 1798 undoubtedly had a significant impact on the Catholic political consciousness. The number of political works had fallen to just nine. The remaining works were conservative observations on the Catholic question. Figure 28 shows, however, that political works still formed the majority of Catholic works.

Fig. 28 Percentage breakdown of Catholic literature printed in Dublin in 1805.



Source: Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest, 1800-09' in *Arch. Hib.*, lx (2006-07), pp 246-324.

Once again the devotional authors of the eighteenth century remained popular in the early 1800s. The English Jesuit, Robert Manning's *Moral entertainments* (Dublin, 1805) was once again republished, as was de Sales's *The devout life* (Dublin, 1805). The most interesting publication was Charles Walmesley's *A general history of the Christian church, from her birth to her final triumphant state in heaven* (Dublin, 1805). Walmesley, who wrote under the pseudonym Pastorini, prophesied on the Book of Revelations. His claims were later interpreted by some Catholics as assurances that Ireland could eventually look forward to the extermination of all Protestants!⁵⁷⁴

Political works made up a sizeable proportion of Catholic literature throughout the period. However, the religious book trade accounted for roughly half of all books printed in these years. Among religious books, devotional works remained by far the most popular. By the early decades of the nineteenth century the market for devotional works had, in fact, grown substantially and old favourites held their own. Hugh Fenning notes that six devotional writers published between the years 1800-09 had first gone into print in the seventeenth century!⁵⁷⁵ Robert Parson's *Christian Directory* had first been published in 1607 yet it remained popular with Dublin readers into the nineteenth century. Francis de Sales's *Introduction to the Devout Life* is another example of how conservative the Dublin Catholic devotional market remained. Likewise Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* continued to be popular. The eighteenth century saw the advent of a variety of English and Scottish spiritual writers. The popularity of Challoner, Hay, Hornyold, Gother and Manning continued well into the nineteenth

⁵⁷⁴ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 121.

⁵⁷⁵ Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest 1800-09', p. 247.

century. Indeed the devotional market in Dublin for nearly a century was shaped by these authors.

Print culture and the expansion of popular devotion and religious confraternities

The ever-growing demand for Catholic devotional literature provided opportunities for like-minded clergy and laity to establish religious confraternities. These groups allowed increasing numbers of lay Catholics to develop private devotion and to follow spiritual reading programmes. While the evolution of catechetical confraternities, like the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, has already been discussed in chapter two, this section will focus on the modernisation of devotional confraternities, who utilised the medium of print to foster newer programmes of private devotion and piety.

As religious institutions, confraternities had their origins in thirteenth century France, when groups formally came together to venerate particular saints. These groups subsequently developed as quasi-religious, economic and social societies, often forsaking much of their religious charism, instead developing a more secular worldview, in many instances resembling the medieval trade guilds. In their pre-Reformation state they acted as ‘autonomous lay religious associations. Confraternities celebrated above all a sociability of the corporations themselves, seeking collective redemption in common devotional practices and secular sociability’.⁵⁷⁶ However, by the end of the fifteenth century efforts had been made to stimulate renewal. In Italy there had been a determined new outreach to the poor, which was linked to a more active spirituality, promoted by clergy intent on the reformation of confraternities.⁵⁷⁷ Attempts to stimulate renewal were enhanced by the counter-reformers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when confraternities and sodalities underwent radical transformation. The reformers sought to reduce the autonomy of confraternities with the desire of imposing a greater degree of clerical authority while stressing the ‘sanctifying aspects of fellowship over sociability.’⁵⁷⁸ Thus, gradually they assumed a greater pastoral and specifically salutary importance, with the clergy using them as a means of instilling popular devotion and religious education amongst the Catholic laity. The establishment of religious confraternities, which promoted acts of public and private devotion, was one of the ways in which the Counter-Reformation Church had hoped to

⁵⁷⁶ Po-Chia Hsia, *The world of Catholic renewal 1540-1770*, p. 202.

⁵⁷⁷ Robert Birely, *The refashioning of Catholicism: a reassessment of the Counter-Reformation* (London, 1999), p. 115.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

foster an increased sense of piety in lay Catholics. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many confraternities reassumed their original religious focus and associated themselves with devotional practices, most notably the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.⁵⁷⁹

By the 1700s the majority of 'confraternities existed for devotional and benevolent purposes. Many bishops encouraged 'Christo-centric and Eucharistic observations', as opposed to the more traditional devotions to the cult of saints.⁵⁸⁰ In Dublin this transformation was marked. Newly established confraternities were no longer named in honour of popular or local saints but were generally devoted to the Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady of the Rosary, St. Joseph or the Sacred Heart. These dedications were not unique to Ireland but were common in many Catholic countries. Undoubtedly this had much to do with the expansion of religious orders by the late eighteenth century. The Jesuits, for example, promoted devotion to the Sacred Heart and to Jesus and Mary. One of the most popular confraternities in Dublin was the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which advocated regular reception of the Eucharist as well as adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.⁵⁸¹ As well as this shift in devotion away from medieval saints towards the Holy Family, the social make-up of confraternities and sodalities in Dublin by the mid-eighteenth century was different from their pre-Reformation predecessors. Earlier societies had stressed fraternity and sociability; each confraternity had strong links with particular sections of society, some having close ties with the various trades and professions. Often membership fees were quite considerable, sometimes prohibiting the poor from joining. However, with the expansion of the Protestant state from the sixteenth century onwards, Catholics were gradually excluded from the various sections of public and commercial life. Thus, Catholic confraternities found it impossible to exist as they had done in their pre-Reformation state. Consequently, membership of newly formed or reinvented confraternities became more diverse. Membership fees were henceforth only nominal, thus opening up access to a broader social spectrum. However, the membership of many confraternities, especially those with a more devotional nature, may have been predominantly female. By the later decades of the eighteenth century it was hoped that confraternities and sodalities would act as examples of evangelical perfection, reaching

⁵⁷⁹ McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, i, *The clerical establishment and its social ramifications*, p. 157.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵⁸¹ The rules for the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament stated that candidates undertook a general confession, and receive communion at least once a month in the previous year.

into social strata which lacked religious knowledge and were poorly integrated into parochial-centred devotion.

As had been the case with many other pastoral reforms promoted by Troy and Murray, the establishment of an extensive system of confraternities and sodalities had been hindered by the political and religious situation in the wake of the Protestant Reformation in Ireland. Records charting the existence of confraternities in Dublin are irregular and it is difficult to illustrate any sort of evolutionary process, even as late as the early nineteenth century. While what can be described as Counter-Reformation devotions, for example, those related to the Blessed Sacrament, were in existence in the early eighteenth century, the real growth in confraternities did not take place until much later. Indeed Corish suggests that this process did not begin to occur until the 1740s.⁵⁸² Even then membership was still relatively low. It is likely that confraternities in Dublin did not experience substantial growth in membership until the 1790s onwards. This should not, however, be used as evidence of the Church's indifference towards confraternities. Nearly all European countries involved in Counter-Reformation Catholicism were conscious of their desirability and actively promoted their establishment. The apparent reluctance shown by some senior clergy to promote these groups may have been as a result of legislation in the eighteenth century. As the penal laws were repealed confraternities became more common and more prominent. The establishment of indigenous religious orders took place at the same time. It was not until the 1790s that Catholic authorities felt it judicious to embark on a programme of pastoral development, in which confraternities played a significant part.

Confraternities have often been characterised as an archetypal component of Irish Catholic devotion and practice of the post-Famine Church. However, their existence in Ireland actually predated the Famine by over a century.⁵⁸³ The fact that confraternities and sodalities had been in operation in Dublin by the 1740s contradicts one of the great assumptions of contemporary historians that Catholicism in Dublin was a homogenous entity, universally characterised by religious ignorance, poor pastoral resources and by the violence, excesses and quasi-paganism associated with fairs and wakes.

The activities of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament have already been pointed out. Another confraternity which was able to trace its roots to the 1740s was the Confraternity of the Most Holy Name of Jesus. This group had existed for some years

⁵⁸² Corish, *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, p. 85.

⁵⁸³ This is a reference to post-Reformation Catholic confraternities, and not their pre-Reformation predecessors, or those societies adapted by Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

prior to 1747 and was under the spiritual guidance of the Dominicans of Bridge Street Chapel. In 1748 a papal brief was issued permitting the Irish bishops to erect the confraternity in their dioceses.⁵⁸⁴ Much is known about the confraternity thanks to the correspondence of two Jesuits, Thomas Brennan and Michael Fitzgerald.⁵⁸⁵ Brennan, who was writing to Fitzgerald in Rome, recalled the various developments taking place within the Catholic community in Dublin, especially regarding the said confraternity. In one of his letters he forwarded an advertisement outlining the confraternity's objectives. The advertisement stated that the confraternity had been established as 'the vice of profane swearing and cursing' had grown 'so general in this Kingdom, that it has been often wished some method or other could be agreed to suppress it'.⁵⁸⁶ Brennan stressed that what he considered to be a growing malaise was not a result of clerical indifference or inactivity. The onus, he said, rested with the laity, whose job it was to help eradicate this impious behaviour. He told Fitzgerald that 'We see the Preachers do their part. They are incessantly declaiming against it, but with more zeal than success. The People, listen to them, and yet they swear on without any considerable amendment'.⁵⁸⁷ Brennan made it clear that the profanation of Jesus's name was a problem for even those who were regular sacramental communicants, not to mention those whose relationship with the Church was at best infrequent. To counteract the abuse he said it was

thought expedient to erect a Sodality under the Invocation of the name of Jesus... It is not meant that any new obligation of conscience will be imposed on those who engage in this pious Enterprize: they are only reminded to perform with more fidelity what they were at all times obliged to do by the Laws of God.⁵⁸⁸

Brennan argued that what the confraternity required of its members was in no way radical or overly zealous, for what it proposed was nothing other than adherence to the 'Laws of God' regarding the single transgression of swearing. However, the society's objectives may be viewed as more socially radical when one examines the types of people which it hoped to attract as members. The advertisement stated that it sought 'to invite into it Persons who have influence and authority over others, and zeal enough to employ it against this vice.'⁵⁸⁹ Ideally these were to be 'the heads of families, or those

⁵⁸⁴ Hugh Fenning, O.P., *The Irish Dominican province, 1698-1797* (Dublin, 1990), p. 213.

⁵⁸⁵ Brennan was writing from Dublin to his colleague, Fitzgerald in Rome. See Hugh Fenning, O.P. (ed.), 'Letters from a Dublin Jesuit in Dublin on the Confraternity of the Holy Name, 1747-1748' in *Arch. Hib.*, xxix (1970).

⁵⁸⁶ Thomas Brennan, S.J., to Michael Fitzgerald, S.J., 31 Jan. 1746/47 in Fenning (ed.), 'Letters from a Dublin Jesuit in Dublin on the Confraternity of the Holy Name, 1747-1748', p. 141.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

who have the charge of others with some authority to punish their faults'.⁵⁹⁰ It was 'expected from the members of this Sodality that they will prevent swearing and cursing as much as possibly they can in those they live or converse with, tho' they are nowise subject to them, remembering that whoever corrects his Brother may gain him to God and "save that mans soul from death"'.⁵⁹¹ Evangelisation and moral reform were central to the members' mission. As was the case with Protestant evangelical societies functioning in Dublin, this society was in effect attempting to stimulate a reform of social and religious behaviour. Another example of how the confraternities' mission extended beyond its immediate membership and into society in general may be seen in *An essay on the Rosary and Sodality of the Most Holy Name of Jesus* (Dublin, 1773), by a Dominican, John O'Connor. In this work O'Connor reinforced the idea of the confraternity stimulating social and religious restoration, stating that it was members' obligation 'to use every lawful Effort to effect a Reformation, and to stop the dreadful contagion.'⁵⁹² The dreadful contagion, which O'Connor referred to, was, of course, swearing.

The efforts of the Dominicans in promoting and supervising confraternities in eighteenth century Dublin were characteristic of the period, with most confraternities having been associated in some way with the regular clergy, who were generally responsible for the propagation of confraternities and sodalities. Contemporary evidence suggests that the confraternities were very much an urban phenomenon for much of the eighteenth century, and it was not until the development of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine from the 1780s onwards that they spread to rural areas. It would be interesting to see whether or not there was competition between confraternities in the city for membership. For example, were wealthier Catholics attracted to a particular confraternity or were they socially diverse?

As well as the establishment of confraternities, evidence suggests that signs of the so-called 'devotional revolution' were beginning to appear as early as the 1750s in Dublin. For example, in 1759 indulgences were granted for a novena in honour of St. Joseph in St. James's parish.⁵⁹³ Indeed the novena appears to have gained popularity in St. James's; indulgences were renewed upon request in 1772.⁵⁹⁴ The promotion of confraternities and the public expressions of devotion was, however, a source of much debate among the secular clergy. Certainly this had much to do with rivalries between

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 142.

⁵⁹² O' Connor, *An essay on the Rosary and Sodality of the Most Holy Name of Jesus*, p. 2.

⁵⁹³ Fenning, 'The 'Udienze' series in the Roman archives, 1750-1820', p. 104.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

the seculars and the regulars, who frequently ran confraternities and sodalities. As early as the 1760s there were sporadic examples of public acts of devotion taking place in the city. For example, in 1761 Archbishop Lincoln complained that processions were taking place in the city, consisting of ‘three or four lubberly fellows with scapulars about their shoulders, the same of the belt with wax tapers in their heads’.⁵⁹⁵ Lincoln’s concern may have been due to his reluctance to see these ‘lubberly fellows’ influence the Protestant establishment’s perception of the Catholic Church. His description suggests a random and independent act of public devotion, free from clerical supervision. As the century drew to a close religious processions became relatively more common in the city. However, Troy was wary about sanctioning too many displays of public Catholic devotion. In 1790 the provincial of the Calced Carmelites, Thomas O’Mahony, petitioned Troy that they be allowed to hold a procession in honour of ‘Our Lady of the Brown Scapular’ on the third Sunday of each month.⁵⁹⁶ O’Mahony’s petition was based on the premise that permission had been already granted to the Discalced Carmelites to hold a similar procession.⁵⁹⁷ The request was, however, denied. In a letter to Cardinal Antonelli in 1790 Troy stated that the situation in Dublin was not yet conducive to the holding of two processions on the same day.⁵⁹⁸ He outlined that there was anti-religious sentiment growing in the city, presumably due to the increased politicisation and radicalisation of certain Catholics. Another public display of Catholic devotion may have only served to heighten the already growing tensions. He declared that if he acceded to the Carmelites’ requests, the Capuchins, the Franciscans and Dominicans would all demand processions for their respective confraternities. Similar sentiments to those echoed by Lincoln concerning devotions promoted by confraternities leading to doctrinal unorthodoxy were reiterated by Archbishop Dillon of Tuam in 1799. In a circular to his clergy Dillon stated that superstitions had crept in amongst the uneducated due to the widespread distribution of scapulars, supposedly advocated by confraternities. Dillon wrote that

Having strong grounds to apprehend that the Scapulars which have been distributed with such scandalous profusion amongst the lower Orders of people in this Diocese have, in many Case, not only introduced Superstition, but also, too frequently been made use of as Masses of Hypocrisy and badges of Treason, I deem it an indispensable duty to require, that, you, forthwith acquaint all Pastors & all Priests exercising the functions of our Sacred Ministry, in your district, that the Sacrament of reconciliation is not to be

⁵⁹⁵ Archbishop Lincoln in Corish, *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, p. 85.

⁵⁹⁶ Thomas Mahony, O.C.D, Dublin, to the Holy See, 1790 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/116/5(12)).

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁸ Archbishop Troy to Cardinal Antonelli, 27 Apr. 1790 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(13)).

administered, on any Occasion, to such as will not consent to give up their Scapulars to their respective pastors.⁵⁹⁹

While Dillon's comments were clearly influenced by the events of 1798, when many rebels allegedly wore the brown scapular in battle as a sign of divine protection, it appears that he did have genuine concerns regarding the type of unregulated spirituality which the use of scapulars supposedly encouraged.⁶⁰⁰ As late as 1815 some secular clergy were still sceptical about scapulars, if not downright contemptuous. In 1815 Cardinal Fontana of Propaganda Fide wrote to Troy informing him that the superiors of the Irish Carmelites had complained of a play performed by the students of Kilkenny College, in which the scapular was mocked and brought into contempt.⁶⁰¹ The scapular and other aids, which encouraged private devotion, were viewed by some secular clergy as a threat to the parochially centred pastoral life espoused by the Counter-Reformation Church. It was not until well into the nineteenth century that they received universal sanction from the bishops, with all confraternities and sodalities having a sufficient degree of clerical supervision. However, tentative signs were shown by the regulars that they were ready to encourage public devotion. For example, in 1804 the Carmelites in Ashe Street published the rules and regulations to be observed by members of the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular.⁶⁰² Readers were informed that the confraternity had 're-commenced its public proceedings' after 'a lapse of near forty years cessation'.⁶⁰³

By the 1820s it appears that the promotion of confraternities and sodalities was favoured by reforming clergy and laity in Dublin. They had come to view regulated and supervised processions and other acts of public and private devotion as part of the evolving public face of the pre-Famine community in Dublin. *The Irish Catholic directory 1821* (Dublin, 1821) recorded the growth of confraternities and sodalities in the archdiocese. The directory listed confraternities of both a catechetical and devotional nature in all the city's secular and regular chapels, but only mentioned the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in rural parishes. Central to promotion and growth of devotional and catechetical confraternities was the Jesuit, J.P. Mulcaile, and the aforementioned Dr Michael Blake and Revd Henry Young.

Fig. 29 J.P. Mulcaile, S.J. (d. 1801)

⁵⁹⁹ Circular by Archbishop Dillon, Tuam 27 Mar. 1799 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(129)).

⁶⁰⁰ Regarding the alleged use of scapulars by rebels see Thomas Pakenham, *The year of liberty: the great Irish rebellion of 1798* (Great Britain, 1997), pp 78-79.

⁶⁰¹ Cardinal Fontana to Archbishop Troy, 12 Feb. 1822 (D.D.A., Troy's Roman correspondence, part two, AB2/121/7(233)).

⁶⁰² Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1800-09', p. 286.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.



Source: McRedmond, *To the greater glory*.

Mulcaile, who had been central to various educational developments in the city, did much to promote devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, initially in the parish of St. Michan's. There had been devotion to the Sacred Heart since the seventeenth century, with numerous visionaries reporting that Jesus had appeared to them and displayed his heart as a source of grace and love.⁶⁰⁴ Devotion, however, increased dramatically in the wake of reported visions by Marguerite-Marie Alocque in France in the 1680s.⁶⁰⁵ The Jesuits subsequently assumed much of the responsibility for the promotion of the Sacred Heart as a symbol of divine love for humanity. Evidence suggests that an organised form of devotion had begun to develop from the 1740s in Dublin. In 1756 a pamphlet entitled *A devotion for the pious and devout Confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (Dublin, 1756) was printed for the executors of the late widow Kelly in St. Mary's Lane.⁶⁰⁶ *Émigré* clergy were also important in the propagation of its devotion. In 1766 James Connell, a novice in the Jesuit house at Monte Cavallo, Rome, wrote to his father, William Connell in Dublin in the hope of promoting its devotion. Connell wished that his father would 'introduce into the Family the Devotion to the Sacred

⁶⁰⁴ Raymond Jones, *France and the cult of the Sacred Heart* (London, 2000), p. 2.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁶ Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1740-1759', p. 108. The widow Kelly had been married to the aforementioned mentioned Ignatius Kelly of the Stationer's Arms in St. Mary's Lane.

Heart of Jesus'.⁶⁰⁷ By doing so, he said, this would bring 'infinite blessing which it will bring down on you & yrs if it be practised with due care and diligence; this Devotion has been confirmed by many Miracles, one of which happened here in this House where I am at present'.⁶⁰⁸ By the 1790s devotion was becoming much more organised, and in 1797 a formal confraternity was eventually established.⁶⁰⁹ In 1809 a branch was formed in the recently established Presentation Convent, George's Hill by Mulcaile.⁶¹⁰ Members were asked to make 'the Holy Hour on one day each year', which is believed to have been the first example of this practice in Ireland'.⁶¹¹ In 1809 the sodality had eighty-two members, most of whom were women.⁶¹² By 1816 the sodality comprised 385 members, once again chiefly comprised of women.⁶¹³ Convents and schools were often important in promoting confraternities. For example, in December 1815 Murray informed Mary Aikenhead that he had obtained 'the Privilege of celebrating in your Chapel the Feast of the Sacred Heart, with its proper Mass'.⁶¹⁴ On the feast of the Sacred Heart the following year he preached that

It was a singular comfort to the little Community to find that our Congregation was to have the happy privilege of being selected by our Divine Lord to introduce into Ireland the Devotion to His Sacred Heart, and it was hailed as a presage that he would in His Infinite condescension, allow its members to spread themselves for the promotion of the interests of that loving Heart, in labouring for the salvation of souls, and for the Consolation of its special favourites, the Poor.⁶¹⁵

Murray's involvement in the development of devotion to the Sacred Heart in the 1810/20s suggest that he recognised the importance of the confraternity acting as a means of 'labouring for the salvation of souls'.

The Dominicans, Carmelites and Franciscans did much to promote confraternities in the Dublin City. All religious orders established a 'third order' to cater for lay Catholics. In effect third orders offered lay people the opportunity to become 'associate members'. Members attended regular meetings and received a modified version of the habit of the particular order. Often the order was associated

⁶⁰⁷ James Connell, Jesuit novitiate of St. Andrew, Monte Cavallo, Rome, to William Connell, Sign of the White Cross, Cornmarket, Dublin, 25 Jan. 1766 (P.G.H.A., A1).

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ Roland Burke-Savage, S.J., 'Growth of devotion to the Sacred Heart in Ireland' in *I.E.R.*, cx (July-December, 1968), p. 197.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Rules for the Confraternity of Sacred Heart, George's Hill cited in Burke-Savage, *A valiant Dublin woman: the story George's Hill 1766-1940*, p. 228.

⁶¹² Ronan, *The Catholic apostle of Dublin, Father Henry Young*, p. 126.

⁶¹³ Burke-Savage, 'Growth of devotion to the Sacred Heart in Ireland', p. 199.

⁶¹⁴ Bishop Murray to Mother Mary Aikenhead, 6 Dec. 1815 (D.D.A., Troy/Murray papers, AB3/30/2(65)).

⁶¹⁵ Sermon preached by Murray on the feast of the Sacred Heart, 20 Jun. 1816 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/2(65)).

with a particular devotion, as was the case with the Jesuits and the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The Dominicans promoted the confraternities of the Holy Name and the Rosary while the Franciscans supervised the Confraternity of the Sacred Cord of St. Francis and the Purgatorian Society. The favourite Carmelite devotion was to the Sacred Scapular of the Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel while the Augustinians favoured the Sacred Cincture of the Blessed Virgin of Consolation.

As well as the various third orders there were numerous other confraternities and sodalities for Catholics to choose from. Some reflected the community's renewed interest in poor-relief and catechesis. Their work enhanced the efforts of the fledgling religious orders and various lay charities and orphan societies, who had a similar bent for the poor. The public works of many confraternities complemented the increased emphasis on poor-relief and apostolic care whilst tending to the spiritual needs of its members. One such group which combined personal piety with apostolic works was the Purgatorial Society of Adam and Eve's Chapel. The exact date of the society's foundation is unknown, but it certainly existed before the 1780s.⁶¹⁶ The primary function of the society was to visit the sick, preparing them for the last rites and generally providing spiritual comfort. In the *Irish Catholic Directory 1821* the aims of the society were stated as

to suffragette the suffering souls in purgatory, are instituted in several Chapels, in this Metropolis. The Pious Members recite on stated evenings the Office of the Dead, attend and give spiritual relief to dying persons, and after the decease fulfil the duty of offering up a solemn Office for the happy repose before the corpse is brought to burial.⁶¹⁷

By the 1820s the Purgatorian Society had changed significantly, becoming a much more structured and professional organisation. It enjoyed the approval of Archbishop Troy, who granted indulgences to the society's members in 'order to promote the pious dispositions of the faithful of this city, and to render them more charitable to the poor sick, and more zealous to relieve, by their suffrages, the souls in Purgatory'.⁶¹⁸

Members' obligations, however, went beyond simply attending to the sick. A printed copy of the indulgences granted to the society in 1820 stated that members assembled

in Church on the first Monday of each month, in the morning, to assist at the most august Sacrifice of the Mass, offered for the souls in purgatory, and approach the Holy Communion, for the same intention; and in the evening of said day, recite in choir, the Office of the Dead, for the same purpose. Fittingly, for the greater comfort of those

⁶¹⁶ The Franciscan Library, Killiney contains a list of the society's subscribers in 1778 (F.L.K., C86).

⁶¹⁷ Cunningham, 'The Irish Catholic Directory 1821', p. 359.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

suffering souls, they assist at the solemn Office and High Mass for the Dead, which are celebrated on appointed days in the beginning of the four seasons of the year.⁶¹⁹

The Purgatorian Society appears to have demanded a great deal more of its members than many other confraternities, some of which met only once a month. However, succour for members came in a number of ways. The society's rules stated 'That, when it shall please God, to call any of said Subscribers out of this Life, a solemn Office with High Mass and all the Masses of the Day, shall be offered for the eternal Rest of such Subscriber and Benefactor'.⁶²⁰ Thus spiritual assistance and petitioning was assured for the deceased member. This succour, or spiritual fraternity, was a means of achieving the objective of 'collective redemption' proposed by the reformers of the seventeenth century.⁶²¹

The Protestant traveller, Samuel Lewis remarked favourably on what he saw of the Society during his visit to the city on 1831. He recalled that in a number of parishes the Society had established lending libraries. In St. Michan's he commented that 'the Society of St. John the Evangelist, for promoting the exercise of spiritual and corporal works of mercy, is in North King-street, and has a good library in connection with it'.⁶²² Ronan suggests that this so-called professionalisation was largely due to the efforts of Dr Michael Blake. He stated that through Blake's activities the society in SS Michael and John's 'became the parent and the great exemplar of many of those societies' that followed.⁶²³ The Society by this stage had been placed under the patronage of St. John the Evangelist. *The Irish Catholic Directory 1821* declared that all chapels, both secular and regular, had a chapter. The Society had expanded from its original establishment in Adam and Eve's when in 1817 a branch was founded in the parish of SS Michael and John's. Here the society was

supported by contributions and Subscriptions received at the Vestry-door on Sundays. It is governed by a select Committee, who appoint proper Members to administer spiritual comfort to dying persons by prayer, pious reading, and by giving pecuniary relief, if necessary.⁶²⁴

This new society was established in 'order to promote the pious dispositions of the faithful of this city, and to render them more charitable to the poor sick, and more

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Dublin Friary (Purgatorial?) Society, list of subscribers, 1778 (F.L.K., C86).

⁶²¹ Po-Chia Hsia, *The world of Catholic renewal 1540-1770*, p. 202.

⁶²² *Lewis' Dublin*, ed. Ryan, p. 146.

⁶²³ Ronan, *The Catholic apostle of Dublin, Father Henry Young*, p. 138.

⁶²⁴ Cunningham, 'The Irish Catholic Directory 1821', p. 359.

zealous to relieve, by their suffrages, the souls in Purgatory'.⁶²⁵ In 1821 another branch was 'lately established in Dun Leary where forty pious members meet three times a week to say Office of the Dead, and assemble every evening to recite the Rosary and other devotions' while another branch had been erected in St. Michan's soon after.⁶²⁶ In the same year a pamphlet was published, entitled *The Society of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1821), outlining the role of the Society. In no uncertain terms it stated clearly that its purpose was to stimulate a social and religious renewal, in which reclamation, education, and piety were central:

Religious confraternities- conducive to the salvation of every member- afford a holy union and society of pious brethren- aid and assist the Clergyman in the discharge of his duties by instructing the ignorant, reclaiming the sinner, affording comfort to the sick and distressed, and by relieving the suffering souls in Purgatory.⁶²⁷

Thus the society emerged as part of a radical process of social reformation. It provided the Catholic community in Dublin with much needed assistance in the area of religious education, which it believed would lead to the 'reclamation of the sinner'.⁶²⁸

This desire to reform public morality was common to many, if not all, confraternities. One of the areas which the society hoped to reform was burials and wakes. The allegedly 'unchristian' activities at wakes and burials had been a source of concern for reform-minded clergy and laity for some time. Wakes had been conducted without clerical supervision, and were frequently characterised by acts of drunkenness and violence. Indeed these so-called vices amongst the city's poor were well-documented. Referring to his tour of Ireland in 1777, the English traveller Arthur Young commented that the Irish were 'hard drinkers, and quarrelsome, great liars'.⁶²⁹ Similarly, another English traveller, John Corr wrote in 1805 that 'the excessive use of whiskey in Dublin cannot fail of attracting the attention of a stranger... The number of shops where the liquid poison and other dreams, almost equally hostile to morals and life, are sold, is truly shockingly great'.⁶³⁰ While both writers no doubt carried their own particular prejudices, the widespread abuse of alcohol in the city must have been

⁶²⁵ Indulgences granted to the Purgatorial Society, SS Michael and John's, Apr.-Jun. 1820 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/5(28)).

⁶²⁶ Cunningham, 'The Irish Catholic Directory 1821', p. 359.

⁶²⁷ *The Society of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1821) in Ronan, *The Catholic apostle of Dublin, Father Henry Young*, p. 140.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁹ Arthur Young, 'A tour in Ireland with general observations on the present state of that kingdom' in John P. Harrington (ed.), *The English traveller in Ireland* (Dublin, 1991), p. 175.

⁶³⁰ John Corr, *The stranger in Ireland or a tour in the southern and western parts of the country in 1805* (Dublin, 1970), p. 488.

common, especially at wakes. More importantly though, this type of behaviour was seen by many as characteristic of Catholics.

The growing opposition of some clergy to these ‘unchristian events’ has been well-documented. Seán Connolly commented that ‘clerical opposition to the festive wake, in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was caused principally by the disorderly conduct for which these gatherings provided the occasion’, namely drinking, dancing and sexual licence.⁶³¹ Archbishops and senior clergy singled wakes out as a source of considerable immorality as early as 1730, the diocesan statutes declaring that the clergy should make efforts to prevent abuses at wakes by imposing public penances on anyone who engaged in lewd games on these occasions.⁶³² Drinking and dancing at wakes were to be replaced by prayer and sobriety, a transformation which was to be overseen by the Society’s members:

Every member of this Confraternity must be ready and willing to read at the Office of the Dead at wakes, in order if possible to abolish these unchristian and diabolical practices which are alas! but too common at wakes; and are disgraceful and insulting to our holy Religion... The nine Members shall attend accordingly at the house of the deceased, for such time as may be allotted to them, and there read the office of the dead, and some pages from a chapter of a religious book.⁶³³

Consequently, the Society hoped to become a useful instrument in the Church’s endeavours to eradicate what it considered lurid events, contrary to the renewed sense of morality prevalent amongst the reforming clergy and many middle-class Catholics.

Unlike some societies which had a purely devotional nature, this society’s mission combined an apostolic focus with personal sanctification and moral supervision. While members of other confraternities were asked to live their lives with a renewed Christian charism, membership of confraternities such as St. John the Evangelist and the Christian Doctrine required specific public acts of evangelisation. Therefore, the attempted reformation of public morality was a significant part of its mission. Members were to be of good standing in society, setting a good example to those in need of ‘reformation’ by their moral living. Those who held positions of authority within the society were aware that members’ good standing was essential to the credibility of their undertaking. Those who did not adhere to the rules or brought the society into disrepute were disciplined. The rules of the Society of St John the Evangelist stated that ‘Any member that neglects his duty in this point shall receive a public reprimand in presence of the Choir in the next office day. He shall pay a fine of five pence for such neglect

⁶³¹ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 162.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁶³³ Rules for the Society of St. Patrick in Ronan, *The Catholic apostle of Dublin, Father Henry Young*, p. 141.

unless he can give a very satisfactory apology for his absence'.⁶³⁴ Members were also forbidden from sitting

down in a public house in the parish, on a Sunday or pay-day, without leave of the President, under the penalty of 10d., and if any be seen drunk, he must pay 2s. 6d. for the first offence, and 5s. for the second, if he be drunk the third time, he shall be expelled from the Society, and his name erased from the books.⁶³⁵

Sobriety and a good moral standing were the kernel of the Society, and transgressions were to be dealt with seriously. By the time Catholic Emancipation was granted its primary focus appears to have shifted somewhat from assisting and praying with the sick, as had been the case in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to a form of social reform or control. The Society's evolving character reflected an overall change in emphasis of the Catholic community in Dublin in this period: the poor had now become a major concern.

While the Society of St. John the Evangelist and the Purgatorian Society demanded much from their members, with attendance at regular meetings and devotions required, the more 'devotional' confraternities were somewhat less demanding of their members. They usually met only once a month, in many cases in the afternoon of the third Sunday of the month. Most meetings appear to have consisted of devotions followed by a procession and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. However, others met on a more regular basis and demanded a greater dedication and devotion. The Holy Family Confraternity met once a week for prayers and members were required to receive Confession and Communion once a month.⁶³⁶ The Confraternities of the Sacred Rosaries of Jesus and the Blessed Virgin met in Denmark Street Chapel, presumably under the supervision of the Dominicans. They met on the first and third Sundays of each month, where they recited the Rosary to Blessed Virgin on the first Sunday, and the Rosary to Jesus on the third Sunday.⁶³⁷ As well as this there was a procession of the Blessed Sacrament. Similarly, the Confraternity of the Sacred Scapular of Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel met in the Carmelite chapels in Clarendon Street and French Street on the third Sunday of every month for Benediction, and sometimes a procession.⁶³⁸ This presumably would have been followed by a sermon or exhortation of some sort. Another devotional group was the Evening Office Society, founded by Dr Blake in SS Michael and John's in 1815. This society appears

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., p. 143.

⁶³⁶ Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 138.

⁶³⁷ Cunningham, 'The Irish Catholic Directory 1821', p. 359.

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

to have been a good deal more active, meeting every evening to recite the Evening Office and Vespers on Sundays.⁶³⁹ Indeed the zeal and commitment of its members was such that they gathered at 03:00 on Easter morning to recite the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary and at 02:00 on Christmas morning for the same purpose.⁶⁴⁰ For the most part many of the devotional confraternities may have been more interested in promoting personal piety rather than communal devotion. The expanding Catholic print industry no doubt aided the promotion of private piety through its publication of devotional literature. This was in contrast to medieval confraternities which emphasised a more communal and fraternal spirituality.

Conclusion

The development in Dublin of a Catholic print trade and religious confraternities and sodalities were central to the Catholic community's plans for reform and renewal in the archdiocese. The publishing of Catholic books helped foster a sense of devotion amongst sections of the Catholic population. It did so by providing a wealth of devotional and liturgical works, the majority of which were accessible to nearly all literate Catholics. Books also catered for the demands of those Catholics with more sophisticated needs, with more challenging works such as St Augustine's *The Confessions*. Fundamentally though the existence and expansion of Catholic printers and booksellers provided the Catholic community with a vital arm for its programme of mass catechesis and moral reform. Renewal and reform would have been difficult without printed catechisms and devotional texts.

Central to the programme of catechesis and reform were religious confraternities and sodalities. They acted as autonomously run pastoral societies organised by secular and regular clergy, but were not usually governed by a central body. They were typically directed by a committee, made up of respected lay Catholics, under the spiritual guidance of a priest. Confraternities were funded exclusively by membership subscriptions, which were payable monthly, but were sometimes augmented by church collections. In this way many Catholics assumed a very visible role in their community, one which required not only attendance but also a financial commitment. The Catholic print trade and religious confraternities were an extension of formal religious practice.

⁶³⁹ Ronan, *The Catholic apostle of Dublin, Father Henry Young*, p. 160. The Evening Office had been regularly recited in the parish since the 1780s when Dr Betagh used to gather some of the boys from the Evening school together to recite the Vespers.

⁶⁴⁰ Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 160.

Reading Catholic books at this time was not only an individual act but also a social activity, effectively regulated by the clergy and prominent laity. Books were written by clergy and indeed sanctioned and received approbation from clergy. While for the most part uncontroversial in tone, they advocated godly living and a practical outlook on morality. In their desire for godly living they were assisted by the expanding network of confraternities and sodalities. Confraternities were also one of the media which promoted acts of popular religious devotions. Amongst others these included novenas, the Stations of the Cross, Benediction and various other devotions. Historians had tended to locate their expansion in Ireland in the post-Famine period. More recent investigations have relocated its development in the later decades of the eighteenth century. In Dublin confraternities and parishes were active in promoting popular religious devotion as early as the 1740s, and by the 1780s the ‘devotional revolution’ was truly under way in the archdiocese.⁶⁴¹

Chapter Four:

Clerical life

From the sixteenth century onwards the Catholic Church had become increasingly concerned with the education of the clergy. Article XI of the seventh session of the Council of Trent had recommended the setting up of seminaries for the education of clergy. However, in Ireland the increasing authority of the Protestant state hampered efforts to establish secondary schools and seminaries. When the state founded Trinity College, Dublin in 1592, it proved uncongenial to Catholics. The onus, therefore, was on reform-minded clergy and laity to establish an alternative system of clerical education on the Continent to form priests. Since the later decades of the sixteenth century Irish colleges slowly began to emerge across Catholic Europe. In the early years the number of places available to students from the archdiocese was small. However, gradually the number of Dublin students attending the continental colleges began to increase. By the middle of the eighteenth century large numbers of Dublin clergy had

⁶⁴¹ Fenning, ‘The ‘Udienze’ series in the Roman archives, 1750-1820’, p. 106.

received at least part of their formation abroad. Indeed this trend was replicated across all Irish dioceses. The establishment of a network of Irish colleges on the Continent has been described as ‘the most outstanding feature of the exiled Church in Europe’.⁶⁴² In this important way the Irish Church was slowly beginning to apply the recommendations made at Trent.

This chapter has two main aims. Firstly, it will examine the educational and spiritual programmes provided for Dublin clergy in both the Irish continental colleges and the native seminaries. There were two well-established routes to ministry which prospective candidates could follow. Firstly, there was the favoured method of the Counter-Reformation Church. This involved students completing academic studies before ordination. In Ireland, however, there was also the unusual practice of ordaining students before they had even commenced specialised studies. This chapter will form a picture of the type of education Dublin priests received, therefore assessing one of the most fundamental questions regarding Catholic culture in this period: what was the educational profile of the priest in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. What courses did he take? How long did his *cursus* last? What kind of spiritual direction did he receive? Much attention will be given to the French colleges, and in particular Paris. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, sources for many of the French colleges are relatively plentiful and especially revealing. More importantly though, the vast majority of Dublin students in the late eighteenth century were educated in France. The colleges at Paris and Nantes in particular attracted large numbers of students from the archdiocese. Secondly, the chapter will comment on the limitations of continental formation. Were the Irish colleges ‘seminaries’ in the true sense, as envisaged by Tridentine reformers? In doing so it will suggest deficiencies as to the eventual decline of the colleges’ network in the decades prior to the French Revolution. It will also illustrate the subsequent establishment of the domestic colleges at Carlow, Kilkenny, and most notably at Maynooth, and the relationship between the colleges and the archdiocese as well as examining clerical deployment and increased attempts at imposing episcopal regulation on clergy.

Paths to ordination

⁶⁴² Cathaldus Giblin, *Irish exiles in Catholic Europe*: Patrick Corish ed., *A history of Irish Catholicism*, iv, no. 2 (Dublin, 1971), p. 3.

The practice of ordaining students before commencing specialised academic studies was the most favoured route for would-be priests in Dublin in the pre-Revolutionary period. However, while it was the desired route by senior clergy, it was not the most popular option for Dublin students. Before commencing formal studies on the Continent many prospective Dublin priests lived with their parish priest for a time, undergoing a sort of apprenticeship.⁶⁴³ This transition into formal clerical education remained a popular choice for Dublin students for practically all of the eighteenth century. After a period of probation, and upon the recommendation of the parish priest, ordination often followed. The majority of Dublin priests in the late eighteenth century had been ordained before they received formal theological training in a conventional ‘seminary’. Evidence suggests that very few ‘clerical students’, those who began their training abroad as unordained students, were ordained and fewer still returned to serve the Church either in Dublin or in Ireland.⁶⁴⁴

The period of apprenticeship was in part designed to ensure unsuitable candidates were not ordained, and thus the parish priest’s recommendation was allegedly necessary to allow the candidate to proceed to ordination. There are a number of examples which indicate that this was still common practice in the decades immediately preceding the Revolution. For example, in September 1767, Revd N. Martin, a parish priest in the diocese of Meath, certified to having examined Patrick Hoey in March of that year. Martin believed that Hoey, who was aged twenty-three at this point, was fit for ordination.⁶⁴⁵ Hoey was subsequently ordained and studied at the Irish College, Louvain, before returning to minister in Dublin in 1777.⁶⁴⁶

It appears that Hoey was typical of many of those priests who had been ‘pre-ordained’ before seminary training. Normally these priest students were older than their clerical student counterparts. Canon Law forbade the ordination of candidates under the age of twenty-three. Even though this may not have been universally adhered to, it is reasonable to conclude that most candidates would have been in their early to mid-twenties when ordained. While the majority of Dublin priests came from this body of

⁶⁴³ Nigel Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland 1770-1850* (Oxford, 2006), p. 140.

⁶⁴⁴ Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 37.

Larkin suggests that as few four clerics per year were ordained and returned to serve the Catholic Church in Ireland. Clerical students were those who commenced their studies before ordination. This was considered proper practice. However, due to the peculiarities of the Irish Church the practice of pre-ordaining was deemed acceptable, mainly on economic grounds, which will be explained later in the chapter.

⁶⁴⁵ Certification of Patrick Hoey by Revd N. Martin, Tullyallen, 16 Sept. 1767 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/2(71)).

⁶⁴⁶ Hoey was listed as having been adopted from the diocese of Meath. See ‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489. He served as parish priest of Skerries 1792-1819, and died in 1819.

pre-ordained students, there were a few who had been clerical students. There were large numbers of Dublin clerical students in some of the Irish colleges, particularly at Paris and Louvain.⁶⁴⁷ Generally these clerics commenced their studies in their early teens. However, it is possible that many were never intended to proceed to ordination. Some, for example, may have used the system to further their chances of better acquiring secular employment either in Ireland or on the Continent. An example was James Dillon, a clerical student from Dublin. Dillon matriculated in the University of Louvain in January 1734, and subsequently acquired a law degree.⁶⁴⁸ Having left the University, Dillon moved to Brussels where he was appointed a lawyer in the Council of Brabant, a position he held between the years 1750-63. He died in Brussels in 1763, apparently never having returned to Dublin.

For those students who arrived on the Continent as unordained clerics the first step towards ordination was tonsure. Tonsure did not involve any clerical obligations but was rather a symbolic ceremony, admitting the recipient to the order of the clergy.⁶⁴⁹ After tonsure, minor orders were then bestowed, ordaining the candidate porter, lector, exorcist, and acolyte. As with tonsure, this office was largely ceremonial and did not bind the candidate to clerical life. The decisive moment came with admission to the subdiaconate. Theoretically, the minimum age for admission to this office was twenty-one, but it is probable that it was bestowed on many who were younger. When ordained a subdeacon, the candidate took a vow of perpetual chastity. The subdiaconate was followed by diaconate and finally, ordination to the priesthood itself. The bestowing of orders was in theory to be staggered over a number of years but many Dublin students were conferred with the different orders in quick succession. The ordination course of John Field (d. 1784), who later became parish priest of SS Michael and John's (1767-84), followed the path laid down by the reformers at Trent. Field received tonsure and minor orders in 1753, subdiaconate and diaconate in 1754, and finally, priesthood in 1755, all at Paris.⁶⁵⁰

However, due to the social and political situation in Ireland this was not the norm for all Dublin clergy. It was more common that students received all priestly orders either on the same day, or over a number of days, or staggered throughout a twelve

⁶⁴⁷ Many colleges, however, only accepted ordained students. For example, this had been the case at Antwerp and Nantes.

⁶⁴⁸ Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 193.

⁶⁴⁹ McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth century France*, ii, *The religion of the people and the politics of religion*, p. 617.

⁶⁵⁰ Reginald Walsh, O.P. (ed.), 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance' in *Arch. Hib.*, i (1912), p. 59.

month period. For example, William Clarke (d. 1797), later parish priest of St. Mary's (1752-97), received all priestly orders in 1751 at Lisbon.⁶⁵¹ In Paris, John Gahan received minor orders on 22 June 1766 and priesthood on 29 June of the same year.⁶⁵² Records indicate that the practice of conferring all of the orders on candidates in quick succession was largely confined to those students ordained in Ireland, before they underwent a formal clerical education abroad. James McCarthy received tonsure, minor orders and subdiaconate 21 September, diaconate 28 September, and priesthood 29 September 1766 at Dublin, before setting off to pursue his studies in the Irish College, Lisbon.⁶⁵³ The pattern for those Dublin students ordained on the Continent appears to have been somewhat different. In most cases conferring of orders on candidates appears to have been staggered over a number of years, which was more in line with recommended Church practice. Evidence shows that for most of those Dublin students ordained to the priesthood on the Continent the process of bestowing the various priestly office was staggered over two to four years. Nicholas Morris (d. 1801) received minor orders in 1751, subdiaconate in 1752, diaconate and priesthood at Salamanca in 1753.⁶⁵⁴ Morris subsequently went on to become parish priest of St. James's (1773-77), St. Audoen's (1777-81) and St. Andrew's (1781-1801). This trend seems to have been replicated by the regulars as well as seculars. The aforementioned Dominican, Dennis Farrell, received tonsure and minor orders on 2 July 1769 at Louvain, subdiaconate 5 June 1773, diaconate 18 December 1773 at Milan and priesthood 3 July 1774 at Crema, in the state of Venice.⁶⁵⁵ These Dublin priests had often been ordained *pro titulo missionis*, which meant that they were ordained by a continental bishop for the Irish mission.⁶⁵⁶ It was possible that students could be ordained in virtue of their acceptance for the Irish mission, on the nomination of the rector of their college, without recourse to any diocesan bishop in Ireland. Silke draws attention to this practice, which he comments, emphasised the 'missionary nature of the Irish Church. This was at odds with proper practice, as it effectively minimised the arbitrary role of the ordinary in selecting candidates to serves in their respective dioceses'.⁶⁵⁷

Secondary education

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., p. 61.

⁶⁵² Ibid., p. 57.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., p. 57.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 62.

⁶⁵⁶ John Silke, 'The Irish abroad, 1534-1691' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland*, iii: *Early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), p. 626.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

Schooling began long before students set out for the Continent. Lawrence Brockliss and Patrick Ferté assert that it was impossible for the Catholic Church in Ireland to establish a comprehensive school-system for Catholic children before the 1780s. This difficulty had much to do with penal legislation that rendered Catholic schools illegal. They suggest that

it was never easy for Irish Catholics to gain detailed education in Latin and philosophy in Ireland... The majority of exiles [clerics] presumably learnt their Latin originally in one of the numerous ‘underground’ schools. These hedge-schools must have been transient establishments and scarcely conducive to learning.⁶⁵⁸

Latin and philosophy were of course an important part of a clerical education. However, while ‘hedge-schools’ may have been the only educational option for Catholics in much of rural Ireland, by the later decades of the eighteenth century there existed a reasonably well-developed school system in many towns and cities where there were prosperous Catholic communities. Indeed recent scholarship suggests that so-called ‘hedge-schools’ provided a surprisingly good education to students.⁶⁵⁹ As a previous chapter has illustrated, government returns compiled in the 1780s recorded a number of sophisticated Catholic schools in the city. While the majority of Catholic schools catered for poor Catholic children, focussing on reading, writing, and arithmetic, there were certainly a number of schools that provided an educational programme more suited to those who intended entering the Church and the professions. Many Dublin priests received their first taste of classical languages and the humanities in such schools. The quality of education received by some Dublin students in Ireland is evidenced in the oaths taken by students of the Irish College, Salamanca. In 1789 Patrick Mangan (1768?-), a student from the archdiocese and later president of college at Salamanca, was recorded as having

made much progress in his native land in Latin, Greek, French, and other branches of the Humanities. In this College he has studied Hebrew, Mathematics and Philosophy, and is at present in First Year’s Theology; in all this, he has progressed commensurately with his great talents, application, and excellent conduct. He is a youth of great promise.⁶⁶⁰

Mangan’s fellow student, Daniel Murray, and future archbishop of Dublin, was said to have distinguished himself in Ireland for his knowledge of ‘Latin, Greek, French and other branches of Humanities’.⁶⁶¹ Indeed references in the presidents’ *diario* suggest

⁶⁵⁸ Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Irish clerics in France’, p. 529.

⁶⁵⁹ See Antonia McManus, *The Irish hedge school and its books, 1695-1831* (Dublin, 2002).

⁶⁶⁰ O’Doherty (ed.), ‘Students of the Irish College, Salamanca’, p. 53.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

that many of the students from Dublin had acquired a good knowledge of Latin and Greek before arriving at Salamanca. As well as a prior knowledge of the classical languages, many students were also familiar with modern languages, particularly French. It is possible that young men destined for careers in the Church would have wished to familiarise themselves with the languages of their host countries. Indeed there is enough evidence to suggest such a motivation existed. This was illustrated by the increasing number of publications in foreign languages in Dublin which began to emerge from the early 1700s.⁶⁶² Many of these works were published by Catholic printers and were likely to have been used by Catholic readers, probably by young men intending to join the Church. One of the most popular works was Francois Fenelon's *Les aventures de Telemaque, fils d'Ulysee* (Dublin, 1756). Fenelon's work was reprinted on numerous occasions throughout the century by Catholic printers. This was complemented by the numerous other French language works published in the period. Similarly, Latin works such as *Emmanuelis Alvari, e Societate Jesu, Prosodia: sive insitutiionem linguae Latinae liber quartus, in usum studiosorum* (Dublin, 1770) by the Jesuit, Emmanuel Alvarus, or the *Supplementum ad breviarium Romanum* (Dublin, 1742) were no doubt designed to familiarise would-be clerics with the language. Regardless though of prior instruction, most Dublin students took classes in Latin when they reached the Continent. In the Pastoral College at Louvain, for example, clerics commenced their studies with a course in humanities, which lasted up to six years. As part of this course much of the students' time was devoted to Latin. Students from Dublin attended one of the city's best-known Latin schools at Holy Trinity College.

Life in the colleges

The Irish continental colleges, as they existed before the Revolution, resembled little the type of seminaries envisaged by the Tridentine reformers. In some cases the Irish colleges were more like student hostels, where some students ate and slept, with some providing in-house classes for students. In some colleges students spent most of their time 'off-campus', either attending classes at universities and other institutions, or attending to various pastoral activities. Communality and spirituality was often difficult to achieve. Clerical students, and those who had been ordained in Ireland, often lived side-by-side with lay students. Many Irish continental colleges effectively housed lay students, despite their clerical nature. For example, in appeal for funds made in 1772 the

⁶⁶² See Kennedy, *French books in eighteenth-century Ireland*.

community of priests in the Collège des Lombards, Paris acknowledged that they accepted students who would never be ordained.⁶⁶³ The appeal read that since all were ‘not called to the altar, it must follow from this state of probation, that some will not engage in holy orders’.⁶⁶⁴ However, these students were not to be seen as a burden on college’ resources. Rather, their continental clerical education meant that ‘a solid advantage accrues to the nation such persons having received a virtuous and liberal education, may live to be in the world ornaments to their society and in their own sphere supports to religion’.⁶⁶⁵

An important, but sometimes overlooked aspect of clerical education was the day-to-day routine of collegiate life. Thanks to the various accounts of collegiate life compiled in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it is possible to say something about clerical formation. In all colleges students were obliged to take official oaths upon arrival. This often consisted of a threefold promise.⁶⁶⁶ Firstly, students swore that they would recoup the college authorities in the event that they did not receive holy orders. Secondly, they vowed to obey the rules of the college. Thirdly, a promise was made to take holy orders upon completion of their studies and return to the Irish mission.

For Irish clerics studying on the Continent in the period, formation, as opposed to education, generally referred to the spiritual direction offered in the Irish Colleges and various student residences. Formation did not only refer to the routine of prayer and spiritual exercises but also included many aspects of daily collegiate life. In this regard, records for the Irish College at Bordeaux are especially revealing.⁶⁶⁷ They suggest that the regime was spartan, with students rising at 4 a.m. for Morning Prayer and Mass. Students attended classes at the Jesuit College of La Madeleine after Mass and breakfast. They returned to the college immediately after lectures finished. After Mass, prayers, and meals students recited the *De Profundis* in common. Before dinner students were instructed to examine their consciences, whilst during dinner a passage of scripture was read aloud, followed by a reading from a book in Latin, French, English or Irish. After supper the Litany of Loreto was recited, followed by Night Prayer for all students, while the junior students also said the Divine Office. Junior students said the Rosary daily, and on Sundays and festivals the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. On Sundays and feast days they assisted at the sermon, High Mass and Vespers in the public church.

⁶⁶³ Appeal from the Irish Community of the Irish College, Paris to the Catholics of Ireland, 1772 (D.D.A., Irish College, Paris papers, AB3/34/16(37)).

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁶ Silke, ‘The Irish abroad, 1534-1691’, p. 626.

⁶⁶⁷ T.J. Walsh, ‘Some records of the Irish College, Bordeaux’ in *Arch. Hib.*, xv (1950), pp 92-141.

On Wednesdays and Fridays all students observed a strict fast, abstaining from flesh meat. The rule also stated that students were to adhere strictly to the vow of poverty. They were not allowed to write letters or to go outside the college without the necessary consent. Their dress was to be black at all times, with a white cross on their left breast, which presumably was designed to emphasise the distinctiveness of their vocation. College rules stipulated that students' lives were centred heavily on prayer and communality. Presumably though this routine applied only to those students residing in the colleges and not to those students living in private dwellings, of whom there were many. During time spent in Paris, James St. John recorded aspects of the spiritual life of students in the Irish College in Paris. While St. John looked upon a great deal of the educational structure with approval, he was less enthusiastic about aspects of the students' spiritual formation. He lamented that

They [the students] are obliged to say prayers at five of the clock in the morning, and to hear mass at half after seven; to say prayers before dinner, and after dinner; before supper and after supper; likewise before class, and after class in the morning, and before, and after class in the evening. Besides prayers, confessions, and fasts; they have another most mortifying institution of a curious nature, called a retreat... [during which] they spend the time in the most gloomy austerity, and in a continual religious employment, in prayer and sadness to excess.⁶⁶⁸

It was this retreat, however, that puzzled him most. Each student, he said, was

required to make a particular retreat, for the space of eight days, when he receives of the orders, of which they count five, tonsure, minor orders, sub-deaconship, deaconship, priesthood; and the whole seminary make a retreat after vacation. During this retreat for the space of a week, although there are generally from sixty to seventy students in the house, no person is permitted to speak a word, nor to play, or amuse himself in any manner whatever: but they all spend the in the most gloomy austerity, and in a continual religious employment, in prayer and sadness to excess.⁶⁶⁹

St John's comments paint a relatively austere picture of many aspects of collegiate life in Paris in the late eighteenth century. Transgressions were punished 'by stoppages in their meat and drink', which he said was 'a very base custom, especially as they are compelled to live on a very sparse diet'.⁶⁷⁰ However, it was unlikely that the regimes experienced by Irish students in other colleges were any less severe, at least according to their rules. This allegedly austere environment did, however, serve a purpose according to its supporters. The renowned seventeenth century reforming French bishop, Bossuet had famously argued that the ideal vocation was

⁶⁶⁸ James St. John, *Letters from France to a gentleman in the south of Ireland: containing various subjects interesting to both nations* (2 vols, Dublin, 1787), ii, pp 66-67.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

One that was pure, where one's intentions were disinterested, and one's abilities adequate; a vocation sustained by prayer for lifelong steadfastness, emphasising allegiance to the Church, and indeed, closely supervised by ecclesiastical authority; a vocation within which all worldly desires were virtually annihilated.⁶⁷¹

The communality of collegiate life was designed in part to emphasise this rejection of what may be called 'selfish interests', and to replace those with a prayer-centred life revolving around community. Priests 'would be properly trained in theology and morals, so that when they returned to their parishes they would be both equipped to teach and to inspire by example, and they would be less easily absorbed back into local culture and local values'.⁶⁷² While the social patterns in Ireland were not congenial to a complete separation, a gradual transformation in clerical attitudes and practice was nonetheless slowly beginning to take place within the archdiocese in the later decades of the eighteenth century. Examples of this were the adoption of clerical dress and increased episcopal supervision of the clergy.

As well as receiving formation and spiritual direction most, if not all students, undertook some pastoral work while abroad. For the most part this was a necessary means of survival for both students and the colleges themselves, providing much needed funds. Those students already ordained often acted as chaplains to hospitals or military regiments while others were attached to local churches, saying Mass and serving at funerals and other religious ceremonies. The fact that there existed significant Irish communities in European countries allowed many priests to assume active roles in the various churches. This was especially the case in France and Spain where there were large numbers of Irish military and merchant exiles. In Bordeaux, for example, Irish soldiers helped to establish a vibrant expatriate community. By the middle of the eighteenth century one fifth of the city's chamber of commerce was Irish or of Irish decent.⁶⁷³ During the period 1655-1793 some 118 Irish priests served in the archdiocese of Bordeaux.⁶⁷⁴ The large Irish population in the city and surrounding areas created a demand for Irish clergy to cater for their spiritual needs. In Bordeaux the priests of the Irish College had been granted charge of the church of St. Eutropius in 1603, a privilege the college held until its closure in 1793.⁶⁷⁵ Presumably many priests from Dublin involved themselves ministering in some capacity. As well as pastoral roles Irish priests

⁶⁷¹ McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, i, *The clerical establishment and its social ramifications*, p. 617.

⁶⁷² Eamon Duffy, *Faith of our fathers: reflections on Catholic tradition* (London, 2004), p. 103.

⁶⁷³ T.J. Walsh, *The Irish continental colleges movement: the colleges at Bordeaux, Toulouse and Lille* (Dublin, 1973), p. 106.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

were often called upon to verify lineage as well as details of baptism and marriage of Irish expatriates.⁶⁷⁶

It is therefore possible to suggest that students and priests had opportunities to acquire pastoral experience in caring for both Irish and non-Irish communities on the Continent. These opportunities to minister in whatever capacity were essential for Dublin students. The importance, however, extended far beyond the practical experience. In many cases it was these pastoral positions that funded students' educational sojourns. Of particular importance were Mass stipends. Many Dublin students helped fund their education through Mass stipends. This practice proved popular right up to the Revolution amongst ordained students. Some supplemented their income from Mass stipends by serving at funerals and burials as well as at other religious ceremonies. For example, in Bordeaux the civic authorities had granted Irish clergy the right of serving at funerals and carrying the dead to their places of burial.⁶⁷⁷ Presumably these were the clerics who John McManners described as the *pretres hibernois*, 'those miserable Irish clerics who hung around many towns doing odd jobs in churches and hiring themselves out in funeral processions'.⁶⁷⁸ While many Irish students and priests no doubt eked out a miserable income from these activities some did, however, accede to more prominent and lucrative pastoral positions as tutors or private chaplains. In France, where pastoral opportunities were relatively plentiful, Dublin priests served in parishes, chapels, prebends, or in the many benefices which were without the care of souls, some of which were available to clerics once they had received tonsure.⁶⁷⁹ For those reliant on Mass stipends to fund their stay it was imperative to attach themselves to a particular church which would help guarantee a regular income. In Paris the church of St. Medard had forty ordained Irish students attached to it in the early 1730s.⁶⁸⁰ The seminary at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet was also a popular destination for Irish clergy. It attracted many priests from Dublin who depended on Mass stipends. A Dublin priest, Michael Cullen entered the seminary in 1784, paying some 550 livres.⁶⁸¹ James Doran, a future parish priest of Castledermott (1771-82), entered in St. Nicholas du Chardonnet in 1767, and paid 150 livres 'plus

⁶⁷⁶ See Priscilla O'Connor, 'Irish clerics in the University of Paris' (unpublished PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2006).

⁶⁷⁷ Walsh, *The Irish continental colleges movement*, p. 129.

⁶⁷⁸ McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth century France*, i, *The clerical establishment and its social ramifications*, p. 619.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 610.

⁶⁸⁰ Liam Chambers, 'Irish *fondations* and *boursiers* in early modern Paris' in *Irish Economic and Social History* (forthcoming).

⁶⁸¹ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 103.

mass stipends'.⁶⁸² However, by the 1770s changes in the French religious customs seriously affected this practice. Demand amongst the French public for Masses and other devotions was diminishing. The Collège des Lombards, which accepted only ordained priests, was beginning to feel the effects of the decaying piety and religious sensibilities of Parisians by the early 1780s.⁶⁸³

Breakdown of ordinations and Dublin students in the continental colleges

By the later decades of the eighteenth century Dublin students were attending the Irish continental colleges in increasing numbers. Estimates suggest that at least 124 students from the archdiocese attended the colleges between in the period 1770-97.⁶⁸⁴ A few went to Rome and the colleges located on the Iberian Peninsula, whilst some more were sent to the Irish colleges in the Low Countries. However, the majority of Dublin students in the pre-Revolutionary period attended the Irish colleges in France. Indeed the reliance of the archdiocese on the colleges in France was so great that between the years 1770-98 almost sixty-five of the priests known to have been continentally trained were educated in France.⁶⁸⁵ This reliance on the French colleges is shown in Fig. 30 below, illustrating the percentage breakdown of diocesan students in the Irish colleges for the period 1770-97.

Fig. 30 Percentage breakdown of Dublin ordinations 1770-98.⁶⁸⁶

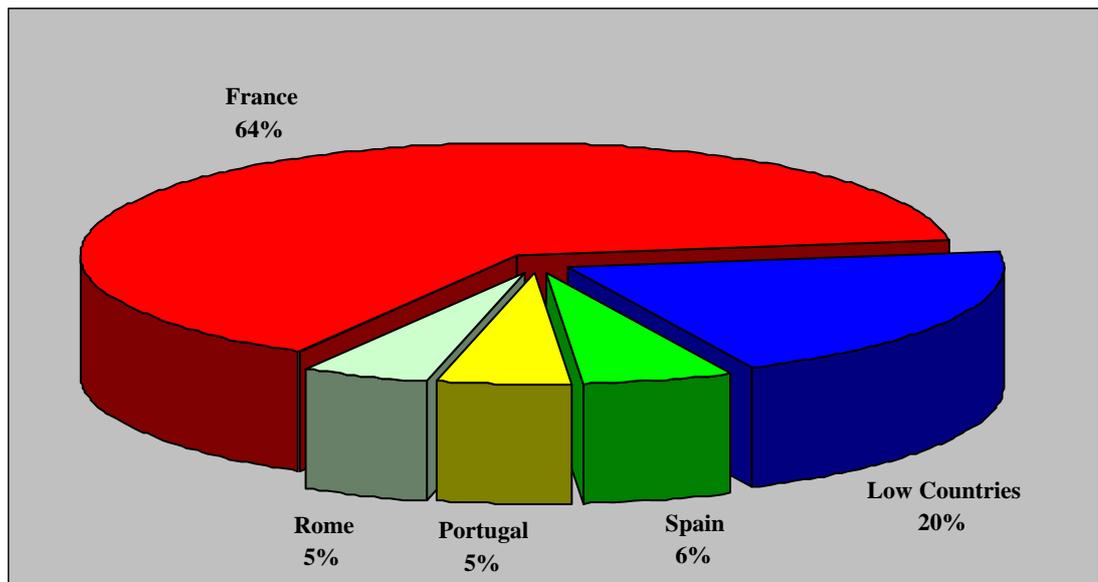
⁶⁸² Ibid., p. 104.

⁶⁸³ Liam Chambers, 'Revolutionary and refractory? The Irish Colleges in Paris and the French Revolution' in *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* (forthcoming).

⁶⁸⁴ 124 Dublin priests are known to have studied in the continental colleges in this period. Undoubtedly there was a great deal more students from the archdiocese who were never ordained but who attended the colleges. It is also possible that some ordained priests did not receive a continental education. The incompleteness of the sources suggests that there may have been more Dublin students educated on the Continent for whom there is no record.

⁶⁸⁵ The figure of sixty-five percent is based on the total number of students known to have attended continental colleges.

⁶⁸⁶ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', pp 7-166; Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', pp 485-88; 'Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', pp 488-90; Patricia O Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares 1649-1785* (Dublin, 1997); idem, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella 1605-1769* (Dublin, 1996); idem, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*; Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797'; O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850'; T.J. Walsh, 'Some records of the Irish College at Bordeaux', pp 92-141; Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', pp 46-76; Patrick Boyle, 'Some Irish ecclesiastics at the seminary of Saint-Nicholas du Chardonnet, Paris (A.D. 1735-1791)' in *I.E.R.*, xxviii (1910), pp 480-91; O'Doherty (ed.), 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', pp 1-58.



There were a number of reasons for the dominance of the Irish colleges of France. The French colleges in general could accommodate larger numbers of students by the 1780s, having a total capacity for over 300.⁶⁸⁷ The combined total of the remaining Irish colleges was less than 100. The French colleges were aided by the presence of a sizeable Irish *émigré* community, whose prosperity helped the establishment and growth of the colleges.

Fig. 31 Breakdown of Dublin ordinations 1770-96.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁷ Liam Swords, 'The Irish in Paris at the end of the ancien regime' in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe 1520-1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp 192-3.

⁶⁸⁸ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', pp 7-166; Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', pp 485-88; 'Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', pp 488-90; O'Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares 1649-1785*; idem, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella 1605-1769*; idem, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*; Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797'; O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850'; Walsh, 'Some records of the Irish College at Bordeaux', pp 92-141; Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', pp 46-76; Boyle, 'Some Irish ecclesiastics at the seminary of Saint-Nicholas du Chardonnet, Paris (A.D. 1735-1791)', pp 480-91; O'Doherty (ed.), 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', pp 1-56.

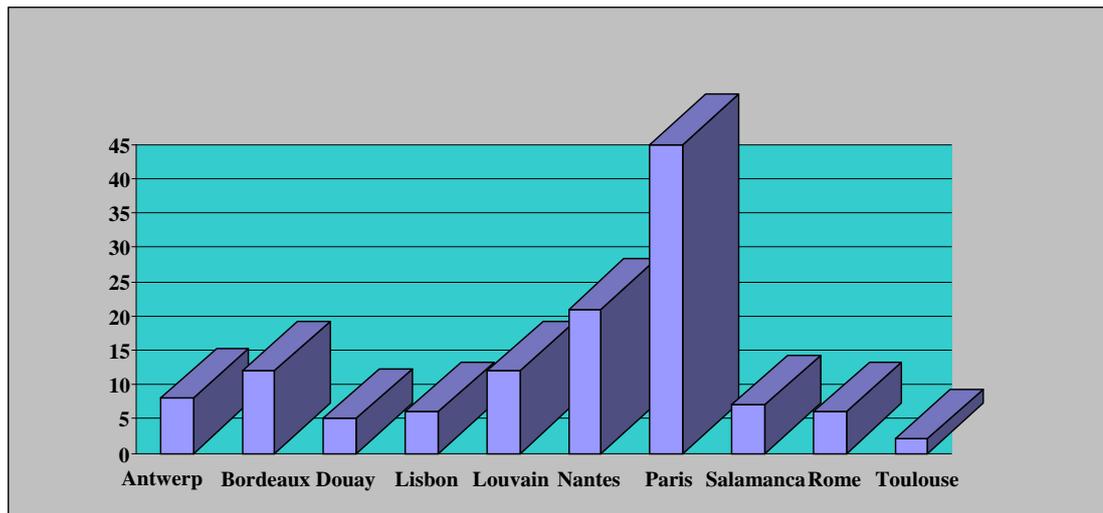


Fig. 31 illustrates the breakdown of colleges where priests from Dublin were educated in the period 1770-97. The importance of the French colleges is evident. The colleges at Bordeaux, Nantes, and Paris provided the bulk of Dublin priests, accounting for seventy-eight of the 124 known ordinations. The colleges in the Low Countries were also well-represented, accounting for twenty-five Dublin students, twenty percent of the overall total. The importance of the Spanish and Portuguese colleges appears to have waned by the mid-1700s and by the later decades of the century the colleges on the Iberian Peninsula had ceased to be major centres for the formation of Dublin priests.

In this twenty-seven year period there was a meagre fourteen Dublin priests educated at the colleges in Spain and Portugal. Of this figure seven were at Salamanca with the remaining six students at Lisbon.⁶⁸⁹ The ability of the colleges to form Irish students was undoubtedly affected by the suppression of the Jesuits in Spain and Portugal in 1759 and 1767 respectively. The majority of the colleges on the peninsula had been in the hands of the Jesuits. Their suppression resulted in the closure of the colleges at Lisbon, Compostella, Seville and subsequently the college at Alcalá des Henares. The Spanish colleges and their properties were subsequently absorbed by Salamanca, which in effect became the centralised Irish college for the Iberian Peninsula for a time. While the college at Lisbon was closed in 1769, ‘on the pretext that it was a Jesuit establishment’, it was subsequently reopened and began taking small numbers of Dublin students from 1783 onwards.⁶⁹⁰ Salamanca, however, never retained its importance as a centre of formation for Dublin priests. While the college did receive

⁶⁸⁹ It is likely that some of those students educated at Salamanca took philosophy at Santiago de Compostella.

⁶⁹⁰ Giblin, *Irish exiles in Catholic Europe*, p. 22.

three Dublin priests in the 1780s, this brief resurgence appears to have been short lived, for there are no records of Dublin students at the college between the years 1788-1830.

Numbers of diocesan students at the Irish colleges in the Low Countries were greater than those at the Spanish and Portuguese colleges combined. The colleges at Antwerp, Douay, and Louvain attracted twenty percent of those priests known to have been ordained in the corresponding period. Archbishop MacMahon of Dublin had been central in the establishment of a separate Irish College in Louvain in 1624.⁶⁹¹ In light of the archdiocese's links with the college it was not surprising that it became an attractive destination for Dublin students. In the period in question twelve Dublin students studied in Louvain while the colleges at Antwerp and Douay attracted eight and five students respectively. Antwerp and Douai were small colleges, each having a capacity for about seven students.⁶⁹² Douai had a small burse for a Dublin student, worth twenty-nine livres.⁶⁹³ In regard to the college at Antwerp's strong connections with the Ulster dioceses, particularly Clogher, the number of Dublin students educated there was quite impressive. Louvain, however, was one of the larger continual colleges. Its attraction for Dublin students had been primarily due to its proximity to Ireland and the east coast, the traditional presence of Irish regiments and growth of an expatriate community, as well as the not insignificant resemblance to the Irish climate.⁶⁹⁴ It was also home to large communities of Irish Franciscans and Dominicans. In the seventeenth century the Franciscan college of St. Anthony's developed a reputation as a centre for the study of the Irish language and hagiography, and became renowned for its publication of spiritual works in Irish.⁶⁹⁵ There were strong connections between Dublin and the Irish Pastoral College. Archbishop MacMahon subsequently bequeathed his estate to the college, which allowed for the establishment of an endowment for Dublin students. Consequently there were a number of burses established, many of which were allocated to Dublin students. In 1624 MacMahon had founded a burse for Clogher and Dublin students, while in 1692, Roger Nottingham, an Irish pastor ministering in Ghent, established a burse for Dublin students worth 100 guilders per annum.⁶⁹⁶ In 1777 and 1778 a Dublin priest, Columb Morgan established burses for two chaplaincies for Dublin priests, worth over £800.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹¹ Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', pp 3-4.

⁶⁹² Swords, 'The Irish in Paris at the end of the *Ancien Regime*', p. 192.

⁶⁹³ 'Burses in Paris, Douay, Louvain' in *Rep. Nov.*, i, no. 2 (1956), p. 491.

⁶⁹⁴ Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 2.

⁶⁹⁵ Lyons and O'Connor, *Strangers to citizens: the Irish in Europe, 1600-1800*, p. 49.

⁶⁹⁶ 'Burses in Paris, Douay, Louvain', p. 491. For further reading on Roger Nottingham see Tomás O'Fiaich, 'Roger Nottingham' in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 1 (1958), p. 206.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Ten of the twelve Dublin priests educated in Louvain in these years served as parish priests in the archdiocese while the Dominican, Holy Cross College supplied a further two pastors. A number of Louvain students acceded to parishes in the deanery of Skerries, which may indicate that there was a burse allocated to students from the area. Patrick Hoey (d. 1819) was parish priest of Skerries from 1792 until his death in 1829. Similarly the parish of Balrothery and Balscadden was served by two Louvain students, John B. Hamilton (d. 1810) from 1796-1804, and the Dominican, John Smith (d. 1840) from 1804-27. Hamilton previously held the same post in Baldoyle from 1784-96. Likewise, Donabate had two successive Louvain parish priests, Philip Brady (d. 1836) from 1828-36, and Patrick Ryan from 1836-48. Another Brady, Hugh Brady was pastor of Baldoyle 1796-1805 while Patrick Kelly (d. 1834) was parish priest of Lusk 1804-34. Philip O'Reilly, O.P. (d. 1789) ministered in Rolestown between the years 1777-89.

Reports, however, suggest that by the 1780s both the Irish College and the University of Louvain were experiencing difficult times. Letters from college president, Peter Macve, and Charles Joseph Finn (d. 1849) suggest that the Irish College had been going through a period of steady decline, which predated the French Revolution by over a decade. Subsequently the number of Dublin students fell dramatically. In the period 1780-97 only eight students from Dublin are known to have attended the college. Writing in May 1788, Finn described what he felt was the alarming state of the college. He began by outlining the centrality of the college to the Irish mission. He wrote that Louvain had 'rendered itself famous, at least has acquired a more numerous acquaintance on England & Ireland'.⁶⁹⁸ However, he argued that the college, and the university to which it was attached, had been going through a period of decline. Finn lamented the worsening state of clerical education and formation in both the college and university. In a letter to Troy, he commented that

As for the condition of the Irish college to wh. the young man you propose to send, must go, its rather in a worse condition, for most of the students of divinity absconded, the few that remain are humanists, among whom such want of discipline owing no doubt to the embarrassment of Mr McVe himself, prevails that I imagine the risks the young man might chance to run do more than counterbalance.⁶⁹⁹

Finn's letter to Troy in November 1788 informed Archbishop Troy that considering the 'wretched condition to wh[ich] the Irish college is now reduced, one might imagine that he had a mind to annihilate it in my remembrance the number of students amounted to

⁶⁹⁸ Charles Joseph Finn to Archbishop Troy, 14 May 1788 (D.D.A., Continental colleges, 116/7)

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid.

28 and now it supports but 7'.⁷⁰⁰ Finn's assertions are significant as they alleged that both the Irish Pastoral College and the University of Louvain were experiencing what they considered to be a period of substantial decline, predating the French revolutionaries' seizure of both institutions.

The dependency of Dublin on the French colleges has already been illustrated.⁷⁰¹ Of the eighty priests educated in France during these years two were sent to Toulouse, twelve to Bordeaux, while Nantes and Paris received twenty-one and forty-five respectively. The college at Bordeaux was one of the larger Irish colleges, capable of housing about twenty-five students in the 1780s.⁷⁰² Of the twelve Bordeaux students ordained for the archdiocese in this period, seven became parish priests. As had been the case with many of the cities where Irish colleges were located, Bordeaux had a considerable Irish community, made up largely of soldiers and merchants. Similarly, Nantes had a large *émigré* community. In comparison to Bordeaux, Nantes was a much larger college and was second only to the Parisian colleges in size by the 1780s, with a capacity for nearly eighty students. Of the twenty-one Dublin ordained students in the college, five died while still in Nantes, three in 1782 alone.⁷⁰³

Unsurprisingly it was the colleges at Paris that formed the largest number of Dublin priests. Roughly thirty-five percent of all Dublin students ordained in the period were educated there. The importance of Paris as an educational centre for Irish clergy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is of course well-established. The Parisian colleges were well-endowed, which permitted a large student population. There were a relatively large number of burses available for Dublin students, making it an attractive destination.

Fig. 32 Percentage breakdown of Dublin ordinations 1770-97.⁷⁰⁴

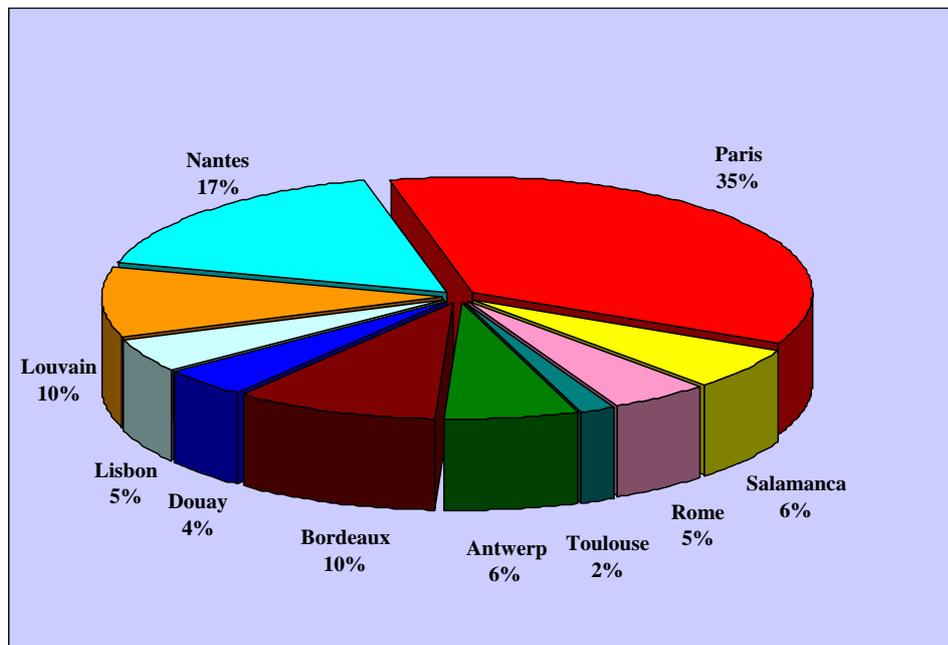
⁷⁰⁰ Charles Joseph Finn to Archbishop Troy, 5 Nov. 1788 (D.D.A., Continental colleges, 116/7)

⁷⁰¹ Fig. 30 represents only those students known to have attended the colleges at Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux and Toulouse. It is likely that some students may have attended the college at Lille. Lille took students for philosophy and after that they took theology at a different college. This is why Lille may not have featured as the lists in the Diocesan Archives of priests returning to the archdiocese.

⁷⁰² Swords, 'The Irish in Paris at the end of the *Ancien Regime*', p. 192.

⁷⁰³ Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.

⁷⁰⁴ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', pp 7-166; Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', pp 485-88; 'Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', pp 488-90; O Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares 1649-1785*; idem, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella 1605-1769*; idem, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*; Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797'; O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850'; Walsh, 'Some records of the Irish College at Bordeaux', pp 92-141; Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', pp 46-76; Boyle, 'Some Irish ecclesiastics at the seminary of Saint-Nicholas du Chardonnet, Paris (A.D. 1735-1791)', pp 480-91; O'Doherty (ed.), 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', pp 1-56.



For example, the burse endowed by the aforementioned Revd John Austin, who donated just over £900 in 1728, maintained two Dublin students. A similar bequest of £781 was made in 1732 by Joseph Walsh, which allowed for the establishment of two burses, in which the archbishop of Dublin had the rights of nomination.⁷⁰⁵ In the following year Luke Fagan, archbishop of Dublin (1729-33), endowed two burses, both under the rector of St. Supplice, with right of nomination reserved to the archbishop.⁷⁰⁶ Similar endowments were made in the 1760s and 1770s. In 1763 William Fitzherbert established a burse worth £300 while in 1766 Patrick Byrne, parish priest of Wicklow, donated 400 French livres.⁷⁰⁷ The aforementioned Columb Morgan bequeathed the considerable sum of £400 to support an ordained priest in 1773, while there were a number of smaller burses endowed by a Mr Giselle and a Revd Mr McCormick in the 1770s.⁷⁰⁸

The majority of students had already been ordained in Ireland before commencing their studies in Paris. Some like William Anderson, who later became parish priest of St. Audoen's, and later St. Andrew's, were ordained in Paris, but this was rare. The table below illustrates the number of students from Dublin in Paris in the 1770s.

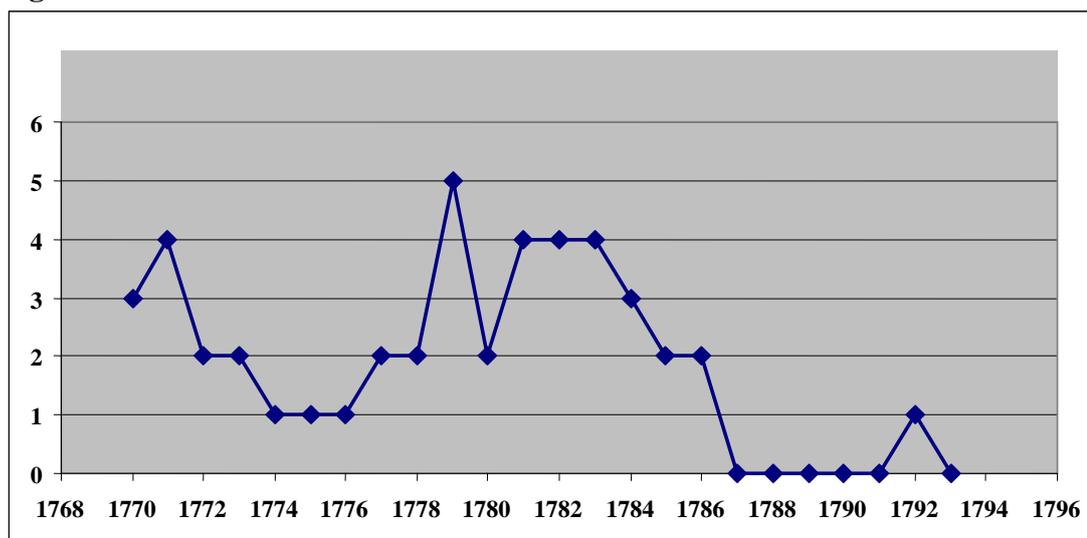
⁷⁰⁵ 'Burses in Paris, Douay, Louvain', p. 491.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

Fig. 33 Ordinations of Dublin students educated in Paris 1770-93⁷⁰⁹



On average at least two students were ordained every year, while the greatest yield was five in 1779.⁷¹⁰ However, student numbers appear to have peaked in the years 1780-85 when nineteen Dublin students attended the colleges.⁷¹¹ After 1785 numbers of Dublin students declined, records suggesting that there was only one further ordination in 1792, the year before the confiscation of the colleges by the revolutionary government. Of the forty-five Parisian educated priests in this period nineteen were appointed parish priests in Dublin.

The academic *cursus*

If a student had not completed a humanities course in Ireland he did so on the Continent. In the French colleges students took courses in French, Greek, and rhetoric. In some colleges students were also required to take formal courses in the local language. This allowed students to minister to local communities. In the college at Bordeaux, for example, students were required to learn Italian and Spanish. This allegedly allowed them to act as confessors to expatriate Italian and Spanish

⁷⁰⁹ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', pp 7-166; Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785'; pp 485-88; 'Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798'. Note that the year of ordination for some students is unknown with only the date of return to Dublin given. In these cases six years was taken away from the date of return to give the date of ordination, six years being the average time spent by Dublin students in Paris.

⁷¹⁰ Three of these students are presumed to have been ordained. These students returned to the archdiocese in 1785, but the date and place of their ordination is unknown. As the vast majority of students were ordained priests, the average time spent in Paris by students was six years; it is likely that they were ordained in this year.

⁷¹¹ Of these twenty-one, only three are presumed to have been ordained in these years, one in 1780 and two in 1781.

communities in the region.⁷¹² While they spent much of their early years familiarising themselves with Latin and local languages there was also much emphasis placed on rhetoric. Rhetoric was designed to teach to the student the skill of persuasion, an art seen as especially pertinent to preaching.⁷¹³ By the second half of the eighteenth century preaching and pastoral care were becoming main concerns of the Irish bishops.

Rhetoric, therefore, formed an important part of the clerical *cursus*. Its centrality to preaching, catechesis and pastoral care ensured its importance as part of students' philosophical studies. Success in the basic course was a prerequisite for progression into philosophy. In France the course in philosophy was supposed to be taken at a recognised institution or in a college attached to a university.⁷¹⁴ Many of the pre-ordained students in the Collège des Lombards took philosophy in the Collège des Grassins while the clerical students attended lectures at the Collège du Plessis, commonly known as the Plessis-Sorbonne.⁷¹⁵ At the Collège des Plessis Irish students were 'separated into different classes, in distinct apartments, with a professor to each'.⁷¹⁶ Students usually transcribed the lecture *verbatim*. It was common for professors to 'call upon whatever individual he pleased, and subject him to various questions, and reason upon the subjects he had proposed'.⁷¹⁷ Severe discipline was allegedly enforced on those students guilty of 'misdemeanours'. In 1787 James St John commented that such students in the Irish colleges in Paris were 'punished, by being forced to stay whole hours upon their knees, and sometimes being stripped, and scourged by a porter, called for that purpose from the street, and whom the student is obliged to pay for his trouble'.⁷¹⁸

The object of the philosophy class was to provide the student with the necessary formation to proceed to theology and the other higher faculties of medicine and law.⁷¹⁹ Many Dublin students took a M.A. in philosophy before moving on to theology. The M.A. served as formal recognition of the student's studies. It was in effect the basic university degree in the late eighteenth century and was not the prestigious award that it came to be in later times. Of the thirty-six Dublin students recorded as having attended

⁷¹² Patrick Boyle, 'The Irish College at Bordeaux, 1603-1794' in *I.E.R.*, xxii (July-December 1907), p. 133.

⁷¹³ Brockliss, *French higher education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, p. 119.

⁷¹⁴ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Irish clerics in France', p. 531.

⁷¹⁵ Patrick Boyle, 'Glimpses of Irish collegiate life in Paris in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in *I.E.R.*, xi (January-June 1902), p. 443. Dublin students would also have taken theology classes in the Collège du Plessis. See Liam Swords (ed.), 'History of the Irish College, Paris 1578-1800: calendar of the papers of Irish College, Paris' in *Arch. Hib.*, xxxv (1980), pp 3-233.

⁷¹⁶ St John, *Letters from France to a gentleman in the south of Ireland*, ii, p. 64.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁹ Brockliss, *French higher education*, p. 185.

the University of Paris in the period 1700-97, twenty received a M.A. degree.⁷²⁰ The M.A. was usually taken after studies in the humanities and philosophy. As was the case with law degrees, the M.A. was relatively inexpensive to take in comparison to degrees in theology or medicine. Brockliss and Ferté suggest that the M.A. degree was the basic qualification for any moderately ambitious and ‘socially prominent cleric’.⁷²¹ Looking at the statistics for those Dublin students who took the degree it appears that their desire to graduate was not always motivated by an ambition to the return to Dublin. Rather, it seems that degrees were taken as a means of furthering careers in the French Church. Of the twenty Dublin students awarded the M.A. in the period, records suggest that only a possible six returned to Ireland in a pastoral capacity.⁷²² For the other fourteen, evidence indicates that at least six remained on in France, either for a prolonged period or indefinitely. For example, this was the case with Daniel Byrne. Byrne received his M.A. in 1748, and subsequently became superior of the Irish College, Nantes 1753-78. In 1772 he held the priory of St. Crespin-en-Bas-Anjou, in the diocese of Nantes.⁷²³ Similarly, George Andrew Taylor served as vicaire of Boynes, department of Loiret 1744-48 and curé of St. Amand du Burdy en Gatinois from 1748.⁷²⁴ While these are just two examples many undoubtedly took degrees with the intention of securing a career on the Continent.

Having taken the prescribed course in philosophy students proceeded to theology. The study of theology was the pinnacle of the educational sojourn abroad. Theology was said not ‘simply to bestow a knowledge of God and God’s relationship to man, but taught mankind the true forms of religious belief and moral action by which God could be truly honoured and man drawn towards him’.⁷²⁵ The type of theology taught was designed to enable a priest to exercise his ministry in an effective and uniform way. Archbishop Lincoln’s counsel to his priests in 1759 to make their discourses ‘on those heads plaine and familiar as may be to invite all in the strongest manner to partake of the great mercy’ is worth recalling.⁷²⁶ Writing to Archbishop

⁷²⁰ Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 103.

⁷²¹ Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Irish clerics in France’, p. 532.

⁷²² This does not mean that only six returned to Dublin. However, sources record only six of these men ministering in the archdiocese.

⁷²³ Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 103. Income from the Priory of St Crespin-en-Bas-Anjou had been devoted in perpetuity to the Irish College, Nantes by the bishop of Nantes c. 1766. See Giblin, *Irish exiles in Catholic Europe*, p. 4.

⁷²⁴ Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 108.

⁷²⁵ Brockliss, *French higher education*, p. 228.

⁷²⁶ Pastoral letter, 14 Feb. 1759 (D.D.A., AB1/116/2(36)).

Carpenter some years later, Troy reflected that it was not wise for pastors to fill their parishioners' heads with complex theory. Instead, he pleaded, that

we intreat you that in your discoursers both publick and private on the nature and benefits you will not enter upon nice and obtuse questions only fit for the Schools and out of them only opt perplex week minds; but to observe a uniformity. Let all of you according to the words of St. Paul say the same things, that so with one mouth you may honour God and the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ.⁷²⁷

Troy was echoing accepted wisdom. The type of theology envisaged by the reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sought to form priests with a solid grounding in the central tenets of their faith. The priest was to be a moral, well- educated man. He was to be well-versed in the area of religious controversy and capable of communicating the tenets of Catholicism in an understandable fashion. It was out of this Tridentine desire to combat unorthodoxy and to halt the spread of Protestantism that scholastic theology became the most important subject in theology faculties across Catholic Europe. It was believed that its strength lay in its capacity to give judgements on all sorts of moral and religious dilemmas through an ordered series of questions and discourses. It thus enabled priests to preach and hear confessions with greater assuredness, as it allowed them make 'correct' pronouncements, particularly in the area of morality.⁷²⁸ The seventeenth century French primate, Antoine Godeau (d. 1605) had famously declared that the type of priest the Church in France longed for was not a reader of Plato or Aristotle but someone well-versed in the New Testament; someone who was an expert at giving advice in the confessional; and a man of conviction.⁷²⁹

While scholastic theology took precedence in nearly all European theology faculties, 'positive theology' was also taught, but to a much lesser degree. Positive theology encompassed the study of scripture and Church history. In the eighteenth century the French universities study of scripture was overshadowed by moral theology. Paris was the only university to have a chair in Biblical theology in this period.⁷³⁰ As a result of this apparent neglect one could possibly question the adequacy of levels of scriptural knowledge of Dublin clergy who were continentally trained. Undoubtedly the exposure to scripture would have been unequal. Many students in French universities studied scripture on their own and outside of class time, with the aid of biblical

⁷²⁷ Bishop Troy to Archbishop Carpenter, 11 Feb. 1759 (D.D.A., AB1/116/2(32)). [The date of this later is probably incorrect. This letter is a copy.]

⁷²⁸ Brockliss, *French higher education*, p. 232.

⁷²⁹ McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth century France*, i, *The clerical establishment and its social ramifications*, p. 615.

⁷³⁰ Brockliss, *French higher education*, p. 230. By the end of the eighteenth-century the University of Paris has six chairs in biblical theology.

apparatus such as primers.⁷³¹ Alternatively, some colleges and universities organised tutorial type classes presided over by trusted students. In these seminars passages of scripture were selected and then discussed from an exegetical point of view.⁷³² It is difficult to say how productive or informative these classes were. However, their efficacy undoubtedly depended on both the receptiveness of students and the skill of the tutor.

Higher degrees taken by Dublin students

While a number of Dublin students took the M.A. degree, very few went on to complete a higher degree. This reluctance may be indicative of a prevailing apathy towards degree taking on the part of Dublin students in the late eighteenth century. In fact this indifference appears to have been part of a national trend, whereby the vast majority of continentally trained Irish Catholic clergy failed to graduate with a higher degree. While there is a paucity of data relating to students attending many of the continental colleges, records for Irish students attending the Universities of Paris and Toulouse are relatively voluminous. While incomplete, Brockliss and Ferté's 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse' allows one to say something about the educational profile of Dublin clergy attending these institutions in the period. Few students from Dublin attended the University of Toulouse, but the University of Paris was popular.⁷³³ Estimates suggest that at the eve of the Revolution the Collège des Lombards and the Collège des Irlandais together provided roughly one third of all seminary places available in the Irish Continental Colleges network.⁷³⁴ The colleges are believed to have had a capacity to provide accommodation for upwards of 180 students at a time.⁷³⁵ In the period 1770-97 alone fifty-one students from Dublin are known to have resided in the Irish Colleges in Paris, with most probably attending the University in some capacity. However, it is likely that the total number of Dublin students educated in Paris in this period was considerably higher, as records are incomplete. As well as this many Dublin students were either not registered students, simply attending lectures, or assisting at one of the municipal colleges.

⁷³¹ Ibid.

⁷³² Ibid., p. 235.

⁷³³ There are six students from the archdiocese recorded as having studied at the University of Toulouse in the period 1700-92.

⁷³⁴ Swords, 'The Irish in Paris at the end of the *ancien regime*', p. 192.

⁷³⁵ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 529.

Looking at the educational careers of those Dublin students registered in the University of Paris one can assert with a degree of confidence that most students did not in fact graduate with a degree. It is noteworthy that fewer Irish students took degrees than their French colleagues. Even for those students registered in a particular faculty many, in fact, never graduated, either with a M.A. or a higher degree. Most Dublin students who graduated with a higher degree did so in the faculty of law. Out of the thirty-six Dublin students known as having been registered in the University during the period 1700-97, the majority of students for whom we have details of academic studies were registered in the faculty of law. In total eight students are recorded as having studied law. For those of whom records exist there were four B.U.I.'s (bachelor *in utroque jure*) awarded, three licentiates and one doctorate respectively.⁷³⁶ The popularity of law, which included civil as well as canon law, was in part due to the relative inexpensiveness of taking a law degree in comparison to theology or medicine.⁷³⁷ A law degree was also well-recognised by college authorities and diocesan officials. Thus for those with private wealth or someone funded by a bourse, it may have seemed a good way of improving one's chances of acquiring a parish back in Ireland. Alternatively though, it increased one's chances of becoming a *curé* or professor, if intending to remain in France or elsewhere on the Continent. Examples include Seneca Preston and James Caulfield, for whom neither of whom there is a record of ministering in Ireland.⁷³⁸ Possibly they remained on in France, probably as chaplains or teachers. It is estimated that as many as half of all Irish clergy educated in France chose to remain there and did not return to serve the Catholic community in Ireland.⁷³⁹

It can come as a surprise to learn that the numbers of theology degrees awarded were less than what might be expected. In fact records show that only eight Dublin students took the formal theological course in the period 1700-97. There were four B.Th's and five L.Th's awarded respectively. Once again results indicate that the procurement of a degree was often motivated by an ambition to remain on in France rather than returning to serve the Church in Ireland. Only two of those recorded as having completed the theological programme are known to have served in the diocese. Peter Paul Long (1759/60-1837) served as parish priest of Coolock and later St.

⁷³⁶ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', pp 7-166.

⁷³⁷ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Irish clerics in France', p. 545.

⁷³⁸ Preston received a BUI in 1777 while Caulfield received B.U.I., L.U.I. and D.U.I. in 1727, 1727 and 1728 respectively. See Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', pp 107, 103.

⁷³⁹ Priscilla O'Connor, 'Irish clerics and Jacobites in early eighteenth century Paris' in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1520-1815* (Dublin, 2001), p. 176.

Catherine's. Long was later president of the Lay College in Maynooth and also served as Treasurer of the Dublin Chapter. He was initially, however, a *curé* in the diocese of Laon but fled to Ireland in 1792. While in Coolock, Long attempted to safeguard the interests of the Irish Colleges in France. He subsequently served as rector of the Irish College, Paris 1815-19, whilst continuing to serve as parish priest of St. Catherine's. The other was Joseph Dixon (d. 1798). Dixon was parish priest of St. James's (1770-72) and later of St. Michan's (1772-97). However, as was the case with those who took a MA or a law degree, it appears that most clerics who were registered as theology students, or those who were awarded degrees, remained in France. The career of the Abbé Hooke (1714-96), who became professor of theology in the Sorbonne, was hardly typical of those who remained. Most priests who did stay in France acquired positions in parishes or as chaplains in the military and in hospitals.⁷⁴⁰ This development invites a number of questions. Firstly, were degrees seen as unnecessary for priests seeking to return to minister in Ireland? Were they seen as desirable only for those wishing to further their careers in France or elsewhere on the Continent? And if this was the case, did this challenge the Tridentine emphasis on fostering a well-educated clergy?

Before discussing this question it is helpful to distinguish between those priests who were registered in the University and those who were not, and then examine their subsequent careers in Dublin. Of those twenty priests registered in the University and who are known to have returned to the archdiocese, fourteen acquired positions as parish priests.⁷⁴¹ Many acquired parishes relatively quickly upon their return to the diocese. William Anderson (d. 1811), for example, returned to the archdiocese in 1771 having been ordained in the same year. Anderson's activities are unknown for a number of years after his return but he had been appointed parish priest in Baldoyle by 1777, and later acquired the parishes of St. Audoen's (1791-1801) and St. Andrew's (1801-11) respectively.⁷⁴² Anderson was also appointed prebend of 'De Castronoe' [Castleknock/Tassagard/Kilmactalway?] in 1788 and subsequently became archdeacon

⁷⁴⁰ Edmund Kelly was awarded a B.Th in 1721 and went on to minister in the parish of St. Hippolyte. See Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 106. John Sweetman obtained a LTh in 1752 and became vicaire of Boynes, department of Loriet in the same year. See Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 106.

⁷⁴¹ In total there were thirty-six Dublin students registered, a possible twenty returned. This figure must be treated cautiously, however. While no record of their ministering in Ireland was found this does not necessarily mean that they did not return. Similarly, this figure may have been less than twenty, as there is only tentative evidence to prove that three or four priests ministered in the archdiocese.

⁷⁴² O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 330; idem, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37; idem, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 36.

from 1791.⁷⁴³ Similarly, the aforementioned Joseph Dixon acceded to a parish quite quickly. Having entered the seminary at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet only in 1766, he became pastor of St. James's in 1770.⁷⁴⁴ Dixon subsequently became prebend of Tipper Kevin, and was later appointed parish priest of St. Michan's (1773-97), becoming vicar general and archdeacon in 1792.⁷⁴⁵ Dixon's sojourn in Paris is interesting. He studied theology for two years whilst residing at the Irish College, without a burse, and was ordained priest in 1756. He then spent six years as tutor to nephews of Archbishop Dillon of Narbonne (1721-1807) before entering St. Nicholas du Chardonnet in 1766 as a *pensionatte*.⁷⁴⁶ Few of those students known to have been registered at the University and having returned to the archdiocese failed to rise to the rank of parish priest.⁷⁴⁷ Indeed many were translated to wealthier city parishes, as had been the case with Anderson and Dixon and the aforementioned Peter Long, while some like James Doran (d. 1782) found themselves ministering in rural parishes. Doran entered the seminary at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet in 1767, having studied philosophy and theology at the Irish College at Alcalá de Henares in Spain. On his return to Ireland in 1771 he was appointed parish priest of Castledermott, a position he held until his death in 1782.⁷⁴⁸

The fact that many of these men did not take degrees appears not have hindered their chances of promotion when they returned to Dublin. This may in part have been because degrees were expensive to take and if a student was not of independent means, he was 'entirely at the mercy of a patron who controlled the purse strings'.⁷⁴⁹ If the majority of Irish students were not taking degrees this invites an important question: how did Irish students study philosophy and theology if the vast majority did not take degrees? Many students probably attended university classes and returned the prescribed course work but need not necessarily have sat examinations or defended a thesis. As well as this some Irish Colleges offered in-house classes, particularly in theology. Therefore, it seems that for the most part degrees were simply seen as inconsequential for those priests returning to the Irish Church. However, Brockliss and

⁷⁴³ *Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783 (D.D.A., Carpenter papers, AB2/3/1(7)); Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 177.

⁷⁴⁴ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 104; O'Riordan, 'Succession lists in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.

⁷⁴⁵ Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, xi, p. 59; O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.

⁷⁴⁶ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 104.

⁷⁴⁷ James Wilde was an exception. Wilde returned to the diocese in 1786. He served as curate in St. Catherine's parish sometime during the period 1783-1806 but nothing is known of him after this. See Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 224.

⁷⁴⁸ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 104; O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 182.

⁷⁴⁹ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Irish clerics in France', pp 544-45.

Ferté offer another and more interesting, if speculative explanation, for the decline in Irish university graduates in the eighteenth century. They suggest that ‘we may presume that the nuncios in charge of Irish affairs and the Irish episcopate were anxious that, in accordance with the demands of the Counter-Reformation ethos, the higher clergy of Ireland (the bishops themselves, their vicars-general and substitutes, the leading urban parish priests) should be graduates’.⁷⁵⁰ This of course tied in perfectly with the Tridentine emphasis on the importance of highly educated clergy. However, the peculiarity of the Irish Church, they argued, may not have demanded, nor could it have supported, such an educated clergy. They argue that the ‘higher clergy’ were

just as anxious that there should not be too many graduate priests on the mission in order that a cleric’s place in the Church’s hierarchy should mirror as closely as possible his level of educational attainment. Perhaps, therefore, after a concerted effort in the first decades of the eighteenth-century, an optimum had been reached. A temporary halt to graduations was needed if the Irish Church was not to be inundated with over-qualified parish priests.⁷⁵¹

While this is an interesting argument there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to prove that it was a potential oversupply of priest graduates that discouraged degree taking by senior clergy. As has already been suggested, it is likely that the motivation to graduate was as a result of a desire of securing a teaching post or parochial position in France or elsewhere on the Continent. However, if one were to argue that there was a desire amongst senior clergy to limit numbers of students attending the University, there is only tentative evidence to show that such an arrangement actually existed. This is borne out by the fact that for the period 1770-97 there were only sixteen Dublin students registered in the University of Paris, while there were at least forty other Dublin students receiving formation and some sort of education in the city. While it seems reasonable that Irish bishops and senior clergy were making a conscious effort to maintain a relatively low number of clerical graduates, a great deal more research is required before one can definitively conclude that this was policy. However, this trend may in fact have had more to do with the incompleteness of the Brockliss and Ferté list as well as the social and political make-up of Ireland in the pre-Revolutionary period. An interesting comparison is the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Presbyterians were hindered by penal legislation similar to that affecting Catholics. They too had been prohibited from attending Trinity College until 1793-94, and they did not have a domestic college of their own until Belfast Academical Institution was established in

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 545.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

1810.⁷⁵² Prior to this the majority of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland had been educated abroad, some at the universities of Edinburgh, Leiden, and St. Andrew's, but mostly at the University of Glasgow. As had been the case with Dublin Catholic clergy, very few graduated with a degree.⁷⁵³ This trend continued well into the nineteenth century. In the period 1800-09 roughly two-thirds of all newly ordained ministers were non-graduates. The emphasis placed upon degree-taking may, therefore, be overstated. Maynooth College, for example, did not have the authority to award degrees in the pre-Emancipation period. In light of the fact that three-quarters of Dublin priests ordained in the period 1798-1830 were Maynooth students, the importance of degree taking in nineteenth century may actually have waned further with the establishment of the domestic seminaries.

Difficulties associated with continental education

With the majority of priests in Dublin receiving some sort of formal continental education by 1800, the Catholic Church in Dublin was slowly beginning to show tentative signs that it was assuming what might be called a 'Tridentine character'. T.J. Walsh's assertion that the 'post-Tridentine entry of Irish students in the continental universities was in line with the change of emphasis in educational practice' is worth noting.⁷⁵⁴ The proportion of secular clergy receiving a continental education had been gradually rising since the seventeenth century, and continued to do so right up until the eve of the Revolution. Did this increase mean an improvement in quality? To answer this question would require not only a substantial amount of evidence regarding education but also verification of their pastoral duties in the form of detailed diocesan visitations, which for the most part are non-existent. Even if this material were available one would still have to be careful about making such a claim that 'the quality of the clergy improved'. While numbers of students educated abroad were generally rising there were a number of issues which suggest that certain aspects of the system were in conflict with Tridentine teaching.

One of those practices at variance with the Counter-Reformation Church was the custom of ordaining men to the priesthood before they received formal clerical education and formation. This practice had developed in 1600s and by the beginning of the seventeenth century was well-established. At first glance this practice may seem

⁷⁵² Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland 1770-1850*, p. 139.

⁷⁵³ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁴ Walsh, *The Irish continental colleges movement*, p. 13.

absurd. However, there were a number of social factors which made it prudent in the eyes of many senior clergy. The main reason for ordination before training was that it allowed priests to fund, or in part fund, their education on the Continent through the income gained from saying Mass. Secondly, the process of 'pre-ordaining' was said to have guaranteed that these men would remain priests and not abandon their vocation to the Irish Church once on the Continent. This was seen as a very real threat by Irish bishops, especially in the eighteenth century when large numbers of clerical students failed to proceed to ordination. Since the introduction of legislation decreeing that Catholic estates were inherited by gavelkind, as opposed to the traditional *primogeniture*, Catholic landed families had been keen to send surplus sons abroad to be educated. Often sons were sent abroad with the expressed desire that they never return to Ireland. With the Church subsidising students' education in the form of burses it ran the risk of some abusing the system for personal gain.⁷⁵⁵ Many benefited from a clerical education but did not follow through to ordination, instead choosing a career in the medical or legal professions. This leakage was not only a severe drain on the Church's manpower but also exhausted its funds. Therefore, it was deemed acceptable by the bishops to overlook those decrees forbidding this custom. As has been already suggested, students could be ordained in virtue of their acceptance for the Irish mission, on the nomination of the rector of a college, without the permission of the diocesan bishop.⁷⁵⁶ The independence of college superiors in selecting candidates came at the expense of diocesan bishops, whose authority was diminished, yet another example of the difficulties, or even the reluctance, which the Irish Church had in this period in implementing the wishes of Propaganda Fide. However, by the 1770s this type of student was becoming a source of increasing concern for Propaganda Fide. It protested to the Irish bishops that the practice contributed to the ordination of what they considered as 'unsuitable candidates'. In fact it was probably the greatest charge brought against the Irish bishops in this period.⁷⁵⁷ In 1777 Propaganda Fide informed Archbishop Carpenter that complaints had reached Rome that some Irish bishops were not sufficiently careful about whom they ordained, 'admitting to Holy Orders even men

⁷⁵⁵ It should be remembered that there were burses available to lay students as well. In Paris, for example, burses were available for lay students studying medicine and law. Historians such as Boyle tended to overemphasise the clerical nature of burses because they were worried about the legal difficulties which lay claimants to funds could potentially create. See Swords (ed.), 'History of the Irish College, Paris 1578-1800: calendar of the papers of Irish College, Paris'.

⁷⁵⁶ Silke, 'The Irish abroad, 1534-1691', p. 626.

⁷⁵⁷ John Brady and Patrick Corish, *The Church under the penal code*: Patrick Corish, ed., *A history of Irish Catholicism*, (Dublin, 1971), iv, no. 2, p. 44.

of intemperate habits'.⁷⁵⁸ Carpenter was politely requested to correct this malpractice and see that his suffragan bishops exercise suitable caution when selecting candidates. This 'indiscriminate ordination', it was argued, led to numerous 'unsuitable candidates, which sometimes led to immoral behaviour, bringing scandal upon the Church'.⁷⁵⁹

As well as contributing to the ordination of 'unsuitable' candidates, opponents argued that it subsequently impinged on the students' studies. Numerous sources draw attention to the fact that students' studies supposedly suffered because of the necessity to acquire funds from saying Mass in order to support themselves. One such critic was Martin Glynn, president of the Irish College at Bordeaux. Writing in 1774 to Dr Charles Kelly, an Irish agent in Rome, Glynn commented on what he perceived as the many problems faced by students at the college. He wrote that the 'students are gathered to observe a rule which divides their time between study', which he said was their *raison d'être* at the college.⁷⁶⁰ However, he argued that this was difficult to perform because of the financial and social situation in Bordeaux. He asked: 'How shall they apply themselves to this task? They are called every day, and many times in the day, to divers burials which take place in this big city and its suburbs'.⁷⁶¹ One of the college's early endowments had been the permission given by Cardinal de Sourdis in 1607 to allow the Irish clergy the 'privilege' of serving at funerals within the city, and thus derive some sort of income.⁷⁶² In 1766 an act of consent specified that the college was bound to say 104 Masses a year in the metropolitan church of St. André, the eleven o'clock Mass on Sundays and on feast days.⁷⁶³ Glynn lamented the disadvantages of these 'privileges' bestowed upon Irish students, arguing that

Scarcely ever can they [the students] be assembled for the exercises of the house. The divine office cannot be said in common; the hours of meals vary daily for the most part; they have to lose lectures in the university; they can scarcely find time to study. The sad necessity is that they are scattered through the streets and squares of the city mingling with a low crowd that insults and reviles them.⁷⁶⁴

Glynn's letter is telling as it highlighted a number of the concerns which many senior clergy shared. He also formulated interesting criticisms of the continental seminary education model. Firstly, he alluded to the fact that Irish Colleges often acted as little

⁷⁵⁸ Propaganda Fide to Archbishop Carpenter, 20 Dec. 1777 (D.D.A., Carpenter papers, AB1/116/2(161)).

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid. See Hugh Fenning, O.P., *The undoing of the friars in Ireland: a study of the novitiate question in the eighteenth-century* (Louvain, 1972).

⁷⁶⁰ Martin Glynn to Charles Kelly, 1774 in Walsh, *The Irish continental colleges movement*, p. 111.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² Boyle, 'The Irish College at Bordeaux', p. 129.

⁷⁶³ Act of consent of the chapter of the church of Bordeaux, 15 Jul. 1766 in Swords (ed.), 'History of the Irish College, Paris 1578-1800: calendar of the papers of Irish College, Paris', p. 121.

⁷⁶⁴ Walsh, *The Irish continental colleges movement*, p. 111.

more than hostels for students. Glynn drew a picture where regularity was almost impossible to maintain. The seminary style education envisaged by Tridentine reformers placed great emphasis on the importance of a regular, shared spiritual life. These commonalities were designed to be ‘a reinforcement of elevated spiritual standards in the priestly state’.⁷⁶⁵ The picture formed by Glynn suggested that such an atmosphere was impossible to create due to the constraints placed upon students in attending various religious ceremonies. Consequently, it may have been difficult for colleges to foster an atmosphere of prayer and stability when so many students were absent from common spiritual exercises. Secondly, Glynn pointed out that students’ learning suffered because of their obligation to attend funerals and burials. If, as Glynn said, students were constantly saying Mass and attending at burials, the quality of their education suffered.

Glynn’s sentiments were echoed some years later in an unsigned letter to Peter Macve, the future president of the Irish Pastoral College in Louvain. The author mourned what he considered to be the lamentable situation of the Irish colleges in the ‘Austrian Netherlands’. In the letter he claimed that these colleges would ‘soon fall into irreparable ruin, especially those at Antwerp and Tournai, and perhaps even that of Louvain’.⁷⁶⁶ Presumably these changes had much to do with Joseph II’s educational reforms. Similarly, in a letter to Archbishop Butler of Cashel in 1787, Dr Edmond O’Ryan complained of the way Joseph II was ‘interfering in religion, even in the University of Louvain, insisting that the doctors there subscribe to his theological inspirations’.⁷⁶⁷ O’Ryan’s sentiments were similar to those of the author of the Macve letter. The state of the college at Antwerp was, however, the main cause for concern in the Macve letter. The college, the author stated, was ‘where only priests ordained in Ireland are received, with no learning save a little of the humanities, there is no course of study in the house’.⁷⁶⁸ The fact that the college only accepted priests, as opposed to clerical students, meant that there was an even greater reliance on Mass stipends and the responsibilities that came with dependency. The writer conceded that students were educated at the ‘episcopal seminary’, but doubted if ‘students of the Irish College [were] always there’. ‘Very often’, he said, ‘the Masses are fixed at the same time as the classes and this prevents them from attending’.⁷⁶⁹ Students in Antwerp who wished to

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

⁷⁶⁶ Letter to Peter Macve, undated in Jeroen Nilis, ‘The Irish College, Antwerp’ in *Clogher Record*, xv (1996), p. 29.

⁷⁶⁷ Dr Edmond O’Ryan to Archbishop James Butler, 7 Jun. 1787 in Mark Tierney (ed.), ‘A short title calendar of the papers of Archbishop James Butler II in archbishop’s house, Thurles, part 2’ in *Coll. Hib.*, no. 20 (1978), p. 89.

⁷⁶⁸ Letter to Peter Macve, undated in Nilis, ‘The Irish College, Antwerp’, p. 29.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

take a university course had to go to Louvain since there was no university in the city. Although many attended the ‘episcopal seminary’, supervision and influence was effectively removed from the college’s control. According to the author the ‘in-house’ classes offered to those students remaining in Antwerp was similarly unsuitable. The priests, he said, were

Obliged to attend bad lessons in an even worse philosophy with the Dominicans for several months; they then go off to take theology classes at the episcopal seminary. And when they have completed three or at most four years of theology, they return to Ireland with fairly little theology and even less philosophy. They are clearly unable to learn much because the term is so short and because they have no study at all in the house to stimulate emulation and keep them interested, something which seems to be needed in every college or seminary, and especially in seminaries which are apart from a university.⁷⁷⁰

In his opinion the *cursus* did little to endow students with the faculties which he said were needed by priests ministering in Ireland. Other critics also suggested that the continental system was out-of-date. In the same year Troy pleaded with the bishop of Antwerp to insist that Irish students spend a minimum of four years studying theology, three previously having been the norm.⁷⁷¹ Troy was forced to plead with the bishop of Antwerp because it was he, as the local bishop, who had authority over the Irish colleges in his diocese, and not Troy or any of the Irish bishops. The system, they argued, had been devised in the sixteenth century but had not adapted to take the contemporary religious and social climates of Ireland into account. The unknown author of the Macve letter also illustrated concerns at the system of formation. He commented that

without wishing in any way to criticise these courses, one dares to assume they are insufficient for Irishmen who need to be formed for the mission in their own country and whose needs are totally different from those who are being prepared for this country.⁷⁷²

Unfortunately the author of the letter to Macve did not expand on the reasons for his dissatisfaction. However, one of his criticisms may have been that the college was not providing clerics with sufficient exposure to the Irish language. Irish was seen as a necessary requirement for priests ministering in most rural parishes in the period, and remained so into of the nineteenth century. However, the role of Irish in the evolving nature of the Catholic Church in the late eighteenth century was to prove controversial. Some clergy advocated its centrality to evangelisation while others were unsure of its

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ Archbishop Troy to the Bishop of Antwerp, 1 Sept. 1787 in Gerald Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (3 vols, Dublin, 1874), iii, p. 408.

⁷⁷² Letter to Peter Macve, undated in Nilis, ‘The Irish College, Antwerp’, p. 29.

worth. The aforementioned James Gallagher, bishop of Raphoe (d. 1751), advocated its usefulness, compiling a collection of sermons in Irish. Gallagher was possibly the first Catholic religious author to venture into the sphere of publishing Irish language works in the eighteenth century. Gallagher's sermons were published on eight separate occasions, suggesting Irish was widely spoken and read and reflected efforts, partly initiated by Archbishop Carpenter, to provide Irish speaking communities with a base on which to develop a Gaelic religious culture and a vernacular devotional literature. While Gallagher and Carpenter were supporters of the Irish language there were others who were not so enthusiastic. A case in point was a dispute in the Irish College at Lille in the 1764. In 1764 the bishops of Leinster had ruled that knowledge of Irish was necessary for all priests in the province.⁷⁷³ This overturned a previous exemption which excluded students from English speaking parts of the province from learning the language. Trouble arose at Lille, however, when Revd Peter Furlong was appointed superior of the college in 1763 by Revd Augustine O'Kelly, assistant to the Commissary of the Irish Capuchins.⁷⁷⁴ The college was in the care of the Irish Capuchins. Opponents of Furlong accused him of having insufficient Irish. On Furlong's appointment an appeal was lodged on behalf of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Fitzsimons, to the magistrates' court at Lille. In a letter addressed to the court Fitzsimons outlined the importance of the Irish language. He argued that priests could not fulfil their 'pastoral duties unless they were proficient in Irish'.⁷⁷⁵ Fitzsimons suggested that Irish was important in the evangelisation of poor Catholics, while English, he acknowledged, was undoubtedly the language of commerce.⁷⁷⁶ His views were echoed by a number of senior Dominicans in Louvain, namely Bernard Brady, Hugh MacMahon, Stephen Taylor and Anthony Fitzsimons. Evidence for the court was also gathered from officers and chaplains of Irish regiments in the French military, many of whom attested to the importance of the language to both collegiate life and to pastoral duties. It appears, however, that the decisive arguments came from priests connected to the Collège des Lombards. Francis d'Evreaux, superior of the college, and David Henegan, prefect of studies and 'doctor of the Sorbonne', stated that English was the language of the province and that in the college in Paris, lectures in theology were always given in English.⁷⁷⁷ A Dublin priest, Randolph McDonnell, an examiner at the

⁷⁷³ In 1630 the Holy See stipulated that knowledge of Irish was necessary for all priests. Walsh, *The Irish continental colleges movement*, p. 158.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

college, believed that Irish by that stage was no longer the vernacular of Leinster.⁷⁷⁸ A petition was also signed by eighteen students supporting their case. While the intervention of the Parisian clergy may have been politically motivated, having little to do with linguistic differences, the court eventually ruled in favour of the Capuchins and Furlong's appointment was upheld. Furlong remained in the college as president until 1776, therefore, consolidating the gradual shift from Irish to English as the vernacular language of not only the archdiocese and the province, but eventually of much of the country.

While disagreements concerning the *cursus* were important, one of the greatest difficulties faced by the colleges since their inception was in securing funds. The colleges were heavily reliant on foreign governments and expatriate Irish communities for financial support. Patronage was often linked to political causes. Funds from Ireland and Rome were often insufficient to maintain a college. When the authorities of the college at Bordeaux wanted to build a new wing in 1776 they were forced to apply to the French Queen, Marie Antoinette 'to supplement the endowment of 1,700 livres granted by Queen Anne of Austria'.⁷⁷⁹ Likewise, the college at Paris was endowed by the Abbé de Vaubrun. De Vaubrun bequeathed 30,000 livres to the rector at his death in 1746.⁷⁸⁰ The aforementioned Columb Morgan founded a number of substantial chaplaincies at Louvain and Paris in the 1770s. Propaganda Fide contributed to the Irish Colleges occasionally, but the irregularity of their giving pushed the colleges to secure private patronage.⁷⁸¹ College rectors were continually forced to return to Ireland to quest for funds since their inception. In the 1760s and 1770s we know that a number of rectors and superiors came to Ireland in search of funds.⁷⁸² Often the amounts raised by collections reflected the importance of particular colleges as centres of formation for Dublin priests. Therefore, donations were sometimes insufficient for some, with those colleges with a higher proportion of diocesan students receiving greater amounts of money. In 1765, for example, the superior of Douay, Luke McKiernan collected over £430 from the archdiocese. Daniel Byrne's return for Nantes in 1768 was somewhat more lucrative, amounting to just over £540. In the same year Peter Furlong gathered together £100 for the college at Lille. Hugh MacMahon, president of the college at Antwerp gathered up £350 in 1775 while two collections for the college at Lisbon in 1782 and 1789 amounted to the considerable sum of £415. In 1776 the aforementioned

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁹ Giblin, *Irish exiles in Catholic Europe*, p. 14.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., p. 14.

⁷⁸² Donations to continental colleges (D.D.A., AB2/3/1(11)).

Martin Glynn, rector of the college at Bordeaux had secured nearly £190 while the collection taken up in 1778 by William Bermingham, rector at Salamanca, yielded the paltry sum of a little over £30, thus reflecting, it seems, the diminishing importance of the college at Salamanca to Dublin. In 1772 an appeal was made for funds for the new Collège des Irlandais in Paris ‘to the Catholics of Ireland’ for funds to purchase a new building.⁷⁸³ The capacity of the existing building was insufficient to house the growing student population. It was hoped that a separate college would be established to cater purely for clerical students. The appeal stated the general

Description scarce can equal the real wretchedness of their portion of this building, if considered as a college or seminary. Whatever makes a home inconvenient and bad, may here be found with aggravating circumstances. The inside is dark, gloomy, moist and narrow; it is ill-contrived and ill-distributed from top to bottom, having not a single hall or room, in which all can assemble for any public exercise; it is moreover ruinous and unimproveable. When a great number lodge in such a dwelling the air cannot be pure. This interior infection already great is increased to such a degree by the constant noisome exhalations of slaughter-houses and paper-mills, that it hardly can be greater or more pernicious.⁷⁸⁴

While the Collège des Irlandais was subsequently established to cater for clerics, many of the Irish colleges faced numerous other difficulties. Funding and patronage was increasingly more difficult to come by. The financial support given previously by Austrian rulers was subsequently withdrawn by Joseph II. In France there were similar problems, sometimes concerning burses and foundations.⁷⁸⁵ In 1784 Charles Kearney (1745-1824), a prefect of studies at the Irish College, Paris wrote to Troy informing him that the French government was depriving the college of the income of the Andrew’s foundation.⁷⁸⁶ Indeed the subsequent establishment of the domestic colleges undoubtedly drew funds from the continental colleges. In 1788 Bishop Delaney of Kildare of Leighlin wrote to Troy regarding a collection being taken up for the Collège des Lombards. He informed Troy that regrettably he could not contribute as his priests, he said, were drained from collecting for a new college at Carlow.⁷⁸⁷

However, what eventually tipped episcopal opinions in favour of domestic seminaries may have been the perceived dangers faced by the colleges in France. The social and political climate in France made it increasingly more difficult for Troy and

⁷⁸³ Appeal from the Irish Community of the Irish College to the Catholics of Ireland, 1772 (D.D.A., Irish College, Paris papers, AB3/34/16(37)). Thanks are due to Dr Liam Chambers for bringing this to the author’s attention.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁵ For more on the difficulties associated with recovering funds see letters from Peter Paul Long to Archbishop Troy, 1817 (D.D.A., Irish College, Paris papers, AB3/34/16).

⁷⁸⁶ Charles Kearney to Archbishop Carpenter, 24 May 1784 (D.D.A., Irish College, Paris papers, AB3/34/16(38)).

⁷⁸⁷ Bishop Delaney to Archbishop Troy, 14 Nov. 1788 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/4(72)).

senior clergy to form like-minded clergy. The spread of certain Enlightenment ideals, in conjunction with the growth of French radicalism, was a major cause of concern. They perceived a very real threat that continentally trained clergy could become corrupted, by what Archbishop Troy had termed ‘falsely called *Philosophy*’.⁷⁸⁸ The actions, and subsequent excommunication, of the infamous Robert McEvoy, a Dublin priest, served to remind Church authorities of the dangers posed by exposing Irish students to what they perceived as a dangerous climate. In the sentence of excommunication, Troy lamented that McEvoy, ‘Ensnared by Satan’, had

become a prey to his own corrupt desires: Not terrified by his fall into this abominable precipice, he has attempted, as we are informed, to justify his criminal intercourse by a pretended marriage ceremony, between him and the deluded partner of his guilt; and presumes to vindicate the sacrilegious deed by the authority of the French National Assembly permitting priests to marry.⁷⁸⁹

Troy then went on to outline the futility of his appeals to an unlawful ‘political assembly’, before mourning McEvoy’s crimes and the dangers, he believed, that McEvoy posed to the Catholic public.

This attempt of Robert McEvoy to justify his depravity and disobedience on erroneous principles condemned and anathematised by the church, highly aggravates his guilt. We are, therefore, under the painful necessity of declaring, as we do hereby, not only suspended from the administration of the Sacraments, and from the exercise of every other clerical function, but likewise on separating him from the communion of the faithful by the sword of excommunication; lest by our silence, or seeming connivance at his erroneous guilt and heterodox doctrines, he should be in any manner suffered to infect the flock committed to our charge, or we should share in his condemnation at the awful tribunal of our Almighty Judge.⁷⁹⁰

While McEvoy took advantage of the French Civil Constitution of the Clergy to further his own ‘corrupt desires’, another Dublin priest living in Paris, Luke Joseph Hooke (1714-96) argued vehemently against the Civil Constitution and the increasingly revolutionary nature of the French government. In a pamphlet published in 1791 Hooke advocated the ‘necessity of religion in a properly functioning political unit’.⁷⁹¹ He suggested that there was no liberty without morals, and no morals without religion.⁷⁹² Thus any society or government operating independently of religion could not have either liberty or morality. Hooke’s opinions were undoubtedly in line with those held by Troy.

⁷⁸⁸ Lenten pastoral, 20 Feb. 1792 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(85)).

⁷⁸⁹ Sentence of excommunication of Revd Robert McEvoy, 29 Sept. 1792 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(83)).

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ Thomas O’Connor, ‘Surviving the Civil Constitution of the Clergy: Luke Joseph Hooke’s revolutionary experiences’ in *E.C.I.*, xi (1996), p. 139.

⁷⁹² Ibid.

While McEvoy's actions were not deemed as outrageous in comparison to the exploits of some priests involved in the 1798 Rebellion, they nonetheless served as a timely reminder to Troy of the danger of educating Irish priests in France. McEvoy, having justified his marriage by recourse to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, drawn up the French revolutionary government, effectively declared his support for revolution and the unlawful removal of the institutions upon which a lawful French society was built: the monarchy and the Church. In his Lenten Pastoral of February 1792 Troy implored his flock to:

Let your fervent Prayers ascend to Heaven *as Incense in the Sight of the Lord*. Beseech him to assist you in your Necessities Spiritual and Temporal; and to Strengthen you in the dangerous Warfare with your predominant Passions, and other Enemies. Call him incessantly in *these Days of Salvation* to preserve the Faithful from the potential Contagion of Infidelity and Irreligion, arising from the Abuse of what is falsely called *Philosophy*, alluring but mortal Poison of the affected Liberality, of pretended Benevolence, of seducing Conversation, and of miscellaneous trifling Publications, as devoid of sound Argument, as they are replete with indecent Ridicule, and blasphemous Sarcasms.⁷⁹³

In his eyes it was a real possibility that Catholics would become imbued with this 'Poison of the affected Liberality' by their own clergy. The often lax regime of collegiate life increased the possibility that priests could become corrupted by these 'seditious maxims', and proved further cause for concern.

Both the Irish clergy and the British government perceived the dangers of facilitating the exposure of Irish priests to what some had described as the 'French disease'. In a letter to Martin Hamill, the vicar-general of the archdiocese, Peter Paul Long wrote that 'Such are the fruits of the Revolution, that the four-fifths of Frenchmen can be considered as Atheists, or Deists, and the greater number of the remaining fifth as merely nominal Catholics'.⁷⁹⁴ Even when the college in Paris was reopened, problems with discipline persisted for many years. There were reports of priests ordained in Ireland being sent to Paris to commence their studies as late as 1829. The president of the Collège des Irlandais, Patrick McSweeney told Murray that

It is notorious as it is unfortunate that the character of the Irish priesthood in Paris is anything but respectable... The cause is found in their extreme ignorance and in that misconduct which is so often its accompaniment. Most of the Irish priests in Paris are either persons ordained in Ireland, who came over here to perform a course of studies, but who forgot their object on their arrival.⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹³ Lenten pastoral letter, 20 Feb. 1792 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(85)).

⁷⁹⁴ Peter Paul Long to Martin Hamill, 5 Sept. 1815 (D.D.A., Irish College, Paris papers, AB3/34/16(161)). Thanks are due to Dr Liam Chambers for bringing this to the author's attention

⁷⁹⁵ Patrick McSweeney to Archbishop Murray, 16 Jun. 1828 (D.D.A., Irish College, Paris papers, AB3/34/16(289)).

In light of the unfavourable climate and alleged lax discipline it may not be surprising that numbers of Dublin students attending the college in the post-Revolutionary period were small. The exposure of clerics to what Troy labelled as the ‘Contagion of Infidelity and Irreligion’ was looked upon as too great a risk. When the colleges reopened the system differed significantly from that which had existed before the Revolution. Troy remarked that ‘Were they [the Irish Colleges in France] restored to us in their former situation, which they will not be, we could not send students to them from hence without endangering their principles, & offending Government’.⁷⁹⁶ ‘Any place of education for Roman Catholic clergymen’, Troy said, ‘should be exclusively clerical... and subject only to their own ecclesiastical superiors’.⁷⁹⁷ He doubted that the ‘prospect of a counter revolution in France’, and suggested that if the colleges were restored in ‘their present condition’, ‘our clerical youth would be exposed to the great danger of imbibing seditious maxims and propagating them afterwards in this kingdom’.⁷⁹⁸

The establishment of domestic seminaries

While the French colleges had ‘initially negotiated the first years of the Revolution with relative success’, the passing of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was a turning point for the colleges, eventually leading to the confiscation of a number of the colleges in 1793.⁷⁹⁹ The colleges at Antwerp, Douay, Lille, Louvain, and Tournai were subsequently seized as Revolutionary forces made their way through the Low Countries. However, it is worth reiterating Chambers’s assertion that the Revolution was the ‘catalyst for change, rather than the cause of change’.⁸⁰⁰ He suggests that ‘the Irish Colleges were part of a network of Irish migrant communities in Paris, France and continental Europe, which were already experiencing signs of decline (not necessarily terminal) in the second half of the eighteenth century’.⁸⁰¹ The demise of the colleges, therefore, merely mirrored other changes taking place in within the Irish diaspora on the Continent. Nonetheless, with the closure of the colleges the Irish Church lost a vast and

⁷⁹⁶ Archbishop Troy to Alexander Cameron, 22 Nov. 1802 in Chambers, ‘Revolutionary and refractory? The Irish Colleges in Paris and the French Revolution’.

⁷⁹⁷ Archbishop Troy to Chief Secretary Hobart, 29 Nov. 1793 in Vincent McNally, ‘John Thomas Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, and the establishment of Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1791-1795’ in *Catholic Historical Review*, lxxvii (1981), p. 571.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁹ Lyons and O’Connor, *Strangers to citizens: the Irish in Europe, 1600-1800*, p. 54.

⁸⁰⁰ Chambers, ‘Revolutionary and refractory? The Irish colleges in Paris and the French Revolution’.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

complex infrastructure. The scale of the disaster was considerable, the collapse in the number of ordinations being the most damaging result on the archdiocese.

With hopes of restoring the colleges system fading quickly, the desirability of Irish based seminary education became more attractive. This desirability was in part due to the recognition of the supposed dangers posed by returning Irish priests, some of whom had allegedly been imbued with ‘destructive democratic principles’.⁸⁰² It has also been argued that ‘on a collective level... the Irish bishops also immediately realised on the suppression of virtually the whole of their seminary system on the Continent that only a radical and comprehensive response could save their Church’.⁸⁰³ As well as this perceived threat, the bishops faced the equally grave situation regarding ordinations, which fell dramatically in the 1790s. Together with the fledgling colleges at Carlow and Kilkenny, the establishment of Maynooth slowly helped alleviate this situation. It was hoped that locating a seminary at Maynooth would provide a steady stream of priests for both Dublin and the Irish Church. Irish seminaries situated in Ireland would also solve the problem of losing clergy to the Continent, which had been a problem for a considerable time.

The Catholic community gradually assumed a greater sense of ease within the ‘Protestant state’. Their sense of ease was increased with the repeal of penal laws and the lessening of religious persecution. The evolving political and social situation in Ireland had effectively redirected the focus on clerical formation from the Continent back to Ireland. This redirection mirrored other social and political trends taking place within Irish Catholic society. In the wake of the 1793 Relief Act Troy implored the government to establish the college at Maynooth, fearing that

the later restoration of the elective franchise to the Roman Catholics of Ireland places them in a novel situation, which, if not under the guidance of religion, may operate against the peace and obedience to the laws, which the Roman Catholic clergy have endeavoured to promote.⁸⁰⁴

Reform-minded Catholics placed their hopes in the establishment of the Royal Catholic College at Maynooth by act of parliament in 1795. In the same year Troy wrote to the Archbishop of Cashel recommending that all sixth year students at the Collège des Lombards ‘ought to be called home’, as the ‘situation in France is becoming alarming’.⁸⁰⁵ By this stage over half the students and professors had left the college,

⁸⁰² Keogh, *The French Disease*, p. 70.

⁸⁰³ Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 52.

⁸⁰⁴ Archbishop Troy to Chief Secretary Hobart, 29 Nov. 1793 in McNally, ‘John Thomas Troy’, p. 571.

⁸⁰⁵ Archbishop Troy to Archbishop James Butler, 5 May 1791 in Tierney (ed.), ‘The papers of Archbishop James Butler II, part 2’, p. 102.

while the Collège des Irlandais experienced a similar exodus.⁸⁰⁶ The establishment, and subsequent success of Maynooth served as a means for forwarding the Catholic case for further concessions. In comparison with the volatile political situation in revolutionary Europe, the bishops viewed the development of the college at Maynooth as a much safer and reliable option than attempting to re-establish those colleges closed during the Revolution. Dr Butler's views were consistent with those of Troy's when he stated that 'it is undesirable for young Irishmen to study in France owing to the spirit of independence and anarchy which is prevalent there, it is hoped to establish a large national assembly in Ireland'.⁸⁰⁷ In aftermath of the closure of the colleges, Napoleon attempted 'to induce the return of Irish students to Paris, in a centralised colleges which would have brought together the former colleges at Antwerp, Lille, Douai, Nantes, Bordeaux and Toulouse'.⁸⁰⁸ The offer was never taken up though, the bishops having firmly placed their faith in Maynooth.

The establishment of Maynooth effectively gave Irish bishops greater control of clerical education. While the course followed by students at Maynooth was broadly similar to that of the continental colleges, there were a number of differences. The standard course lasted up to seven years. This was broken down into two years of philosophy and three years of theology. This compared favourably with many European seminary systems. In France, for example, the average *cursus* lasted four years, with students taking two instead of three years theology.⁸⁰⁹ Entrants either began their studies by taking classes in the humanities or in rhetoric. Those who began in humanities studied classics for one year, mainly because their previous schooling was deemed inadequate. This year incorporated a preparatory course, which included studies in English grammar, geography, arithmetic, history, algebra, French, and Irish.⁸¹⁰ The humanities year was mainly a 'grind over text and composition, making up for prior deficiencies'.⁸¹¹ Those whose knowledge was deemed adequate proceeded to the rhetoric class, another classical based course, albeit more advanced than the humanities class. After completing up to two years of classics there followed a two year course in philosophy. The minority of students whose secondary education was thought to be more advanced proceeded straight away to philosophy. The first year of

⁸⁰⁶ Chambers, 'Revolutionary and refractory? The Irish Colleges in Paris and the French Revolution'.

⁸⁰⁷ Archbishop James Butler to Dr Gibson, 20 Jan. 1791 in Tierney (ed.), 'The papers of Archbishop James Butler II, part 2', p. 101.

⁸⁰⁸ Walsh, *The Irish continental colleges movement*, p. 19.

⁸⁰⁹ Patrick Corish, *Maynooth College 1795-1995* (Dublin, 1995), p. 73.

⁸¹⁰ Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland*, p. 140

⁸¹¹ Corish, *Maynooth College*, p. 74.

philosophy comprised rational philosophy, logic, metaphysics, and ethics while the second focused on natural philosophy, mathematics, and experimental science.

The standard theology course lasted four years; however, some students were ordained in their third year and left the college to minister before completing the prescribed course. The course was divided into three disciplines: moral theology, dogma, and scripture. The schedule appeared particularly challenging for students, with nine lectures per week in dogma and moral alone.⁸¹² Louis Delahogue (1739-1827), professor of moral and dogmatic theology, stated that students in first year theology were tutored by ‘junior lecturers’, if such were available.⁸¹³ As had been the case in many continental universities in the eighteenth century, scriptural theology was seen by some as neglected in favour of moral and dogma. This indifference to the Bible was not helped in Maynooth by the fact the college’s first three professors of scripture remained in the college only for a few years.⁸¹⁴ The course was not standardised until 1826, when it was decided that all theology students would take two periods of scripture every week. As part of the course students also practiced oratory, taking turns in Sunday preaching, in the presence of lecturers and fellow students.⁸¹⁵

As was the case in Catholic seminaries and universities throughout Europe, scholasticism re-emerged as the most important theological discipline in the nineteenth century, forming central parts of the dogma courses. The predominance of dogma and moral theology at Maynooth came at the expense of other disciplines. Scripture, however, was not the only discipline to suffer. The *cursus* devoted little time to either Canon Law or ecclesiastical history.⁸¹⁶ Their study was largely reserved for the select few who went on to postgraduate studies.⁸¹⁷ Corish argues that there was a kind of conviction amongst senior clergy that all a good pastor needed to know were contained in the textbooks provided in moral and dogmatic theology.⁸¹⁸ The aim of the seminary course was after all to produce a man of ‘pastoral piety’, and not scholars. Scholarly exploits were reserved for those few who pursued postgraduate studies.

⁸¹² Ibid., p. 77.

⁸¹³ Ibid.

⁸¹⁴ The first three professors of Scripture at Maynooth were Thomas Clancy (1795-1808), François Eloi (1808-10) and Matthias Crowley (1810-c. 1812).

⁸¹⁵ Corish, *Maynooth College*, p. 78.

⁸¹⁶ Corish suggests that ecclesiastical history was taken seriously in only a handful of Catholic seminaries in this period. See Corish, *Maynooth College*, p. 78.

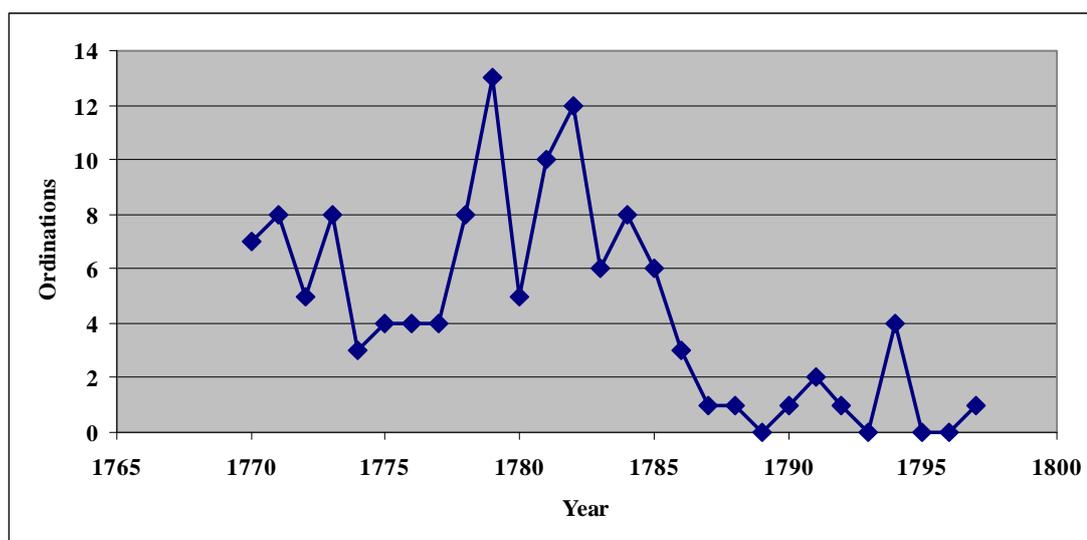
⁸¹⁷ Ibid.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid.

Ordinations 1770-1830: an overview

It appears that the number of students ordained remained relatively steady between 1770 and 1775. In these six years it is known that there were thirty-five ordinations, a yearly average of just over five. After 1775 ordinations began to increase significantly, averaging nearly eight per year. From 1776-81 the numbers rose significantly to forty-four.

Fig. 34 Dublin students ordained 1770-97.⁸¹⁹



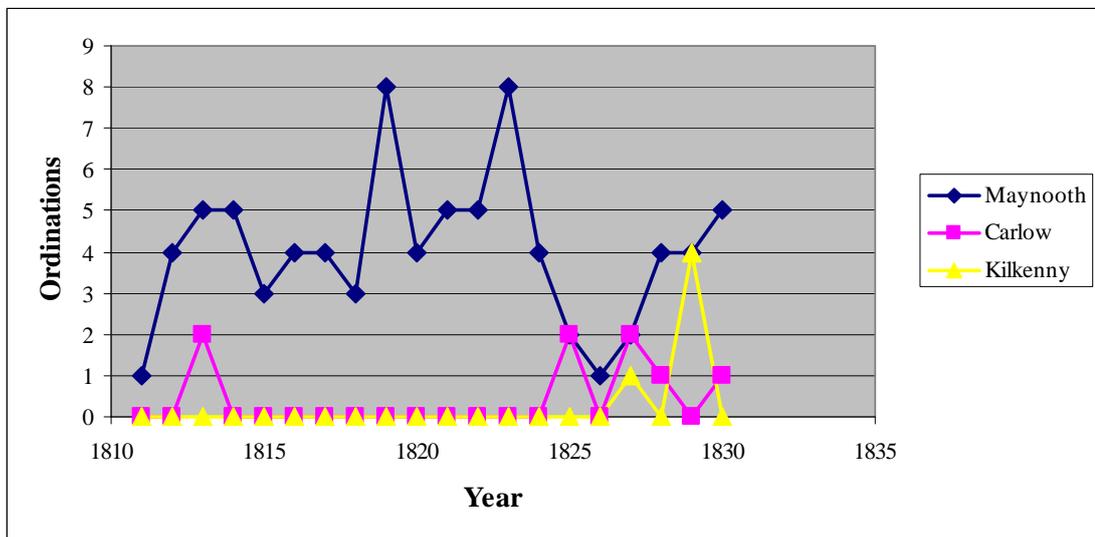
This was eleven more than the preceding six years, an increase of just over thirty percent, with a peak of thirteen ordinations in 1779. Ordinations in the following six year period between 1782 and 1786 numbered thirty-three, a decline of about twenty-five percent. While not insignificant, this reduction paled in comparison with the almost total collapse of ordinations that occurred from the mid 1780s onwards. The decrease was so great that during the ten years between 1788 and 1797 there were only nine ordinations. In the ten year period 1778-87 there had been seventy-two ordinations,

⁸¹⁹ Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', pp 7-166; Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785'; 'Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798'; O Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares 1649-1785*; idem, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella 1605-1769*; idem, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*; Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797'; O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850'; Walsh, 'Some records of the Irish College at Bordeaux, pp 92-141; Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', pp 46-76; Boyle, 'Some Irish ecclesiastics at the seminary of Saint-Nicholas du Chardonnet, Paris (A.D. 1735-1791)', pp 480-91; O'Doherty (ed.), 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', pp 1-58; 'Ordinations by Archbishop Troy, 1797-1815' in *Rep. Nov.*, no. 2 (1960), pp 379-81; O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864' in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 2 (1960). In a few instances the year of ordination is unknown. Here the date of return to Dublin has been taken and six years, the average period spent on the Continent, subtracted to give the year of ordination.

sixty-one more than in 1788-97. While the almost total collapse in 1790s may have been expected due to the closure of the majority of the colleges, the downturn may have predated the Revolution by some years. Indeed the numbers seriously began to fall from about 1786. Subsequently there were four years when there may have been no ordinations at all.

The establishment of Maynooth and the colleges at Carlow and Kilkenny helped lessen the severity of the situation. Initially numbers of Dublin students ordained at these colleges were relatively small. Between 1797 and 1805 eight Dublin students were ordained at Maynooth, while only one was ordained at Carlow.

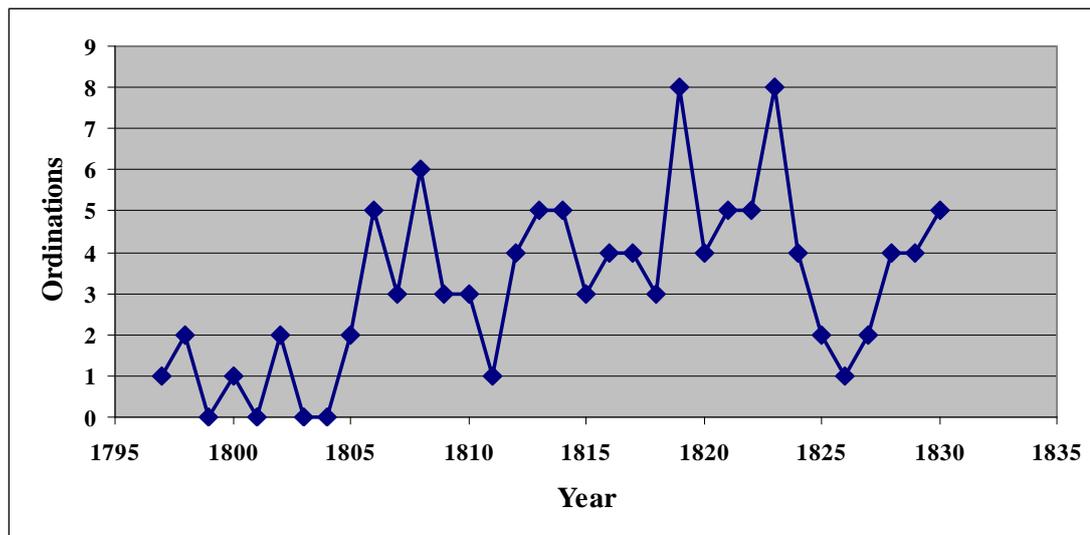
Fig. 35 Ordinations in the domestic colleges, 1811-30.⁸²⁰



For the period 1797-1806 there were a total of only fourteen ordinations. When combined with the total for 1787-96 the number of ordinations totalled just thirty for a twenty year period, an average of less than two per year. The collapse can best be seen by comparing figures for two twenty year periods. In the period 1770-89 there were a total of 116 ordinations, while for 1790-1809 ordinations had fallen to forty-nine, a decrease of nearly sixty percent. However, from 1806 Maynooth began ordaining greater numbers of Dublin students. Between 1810 and 1830 there were eighty-four ordinations at the college, an average of four per year. In the corresponding period eight students were ordained at Carlow as well as five at Kilkenny.

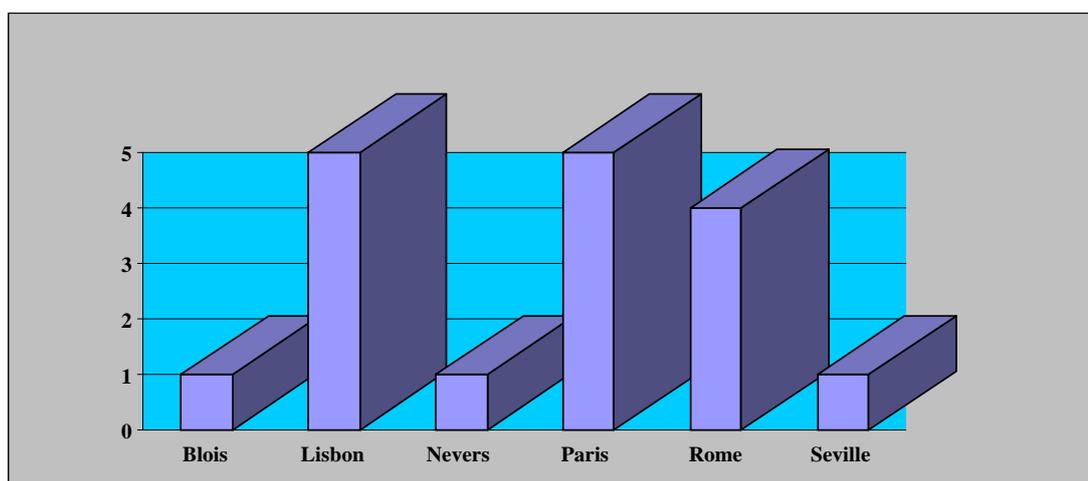
⁸²⁰ ‘Ordinations by Archbishop Troy, 1797-1815’, pp 379-81; O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’; idem (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’.

Fig. 36 Ordinations at Maynooth College 1797-1830.⁸²¹



While the vast majority of Dublin students from 1797 onwards were educated in Ireland, a few were sent to the Continent. The influence of Paris, formerly the largest of the all the continental colleges, had diminished greatly. There was no Dublin student ordained in the college until 1824, even though the college had been reopened in 1815. In the years 1824-29 the college ordained five Dublin students. Lisbon too ordained five students, Rome four, while a total of three students were ordained from Blois, Nevers, and Seville.

Fig. 37 Ordinations in the continental colleges, 1798-1830.⁸²²



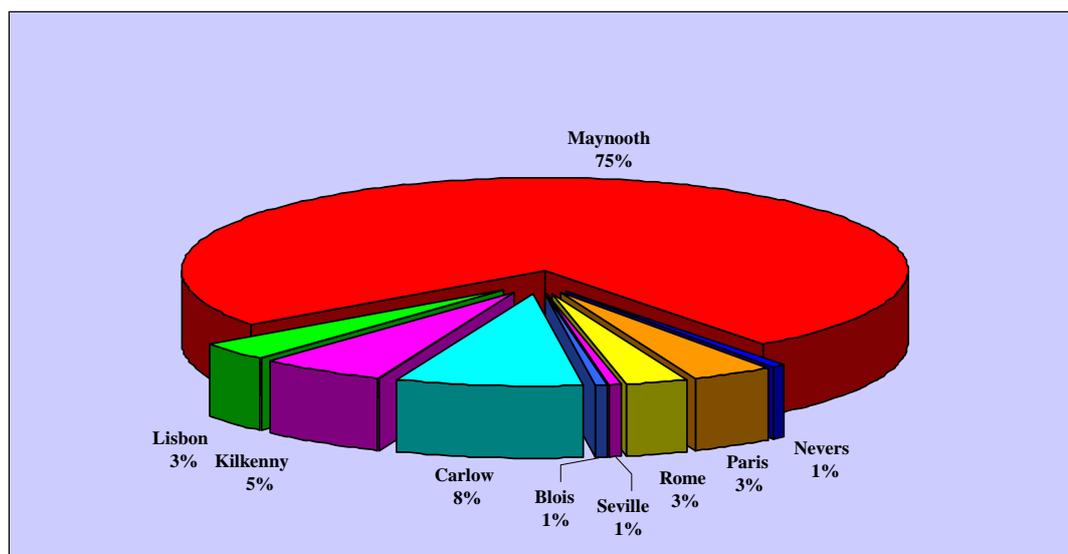
The enormity of this transformation is illustrated in the chart below, which presents a percentage breakdown for ordinations in all colleges, both domestic and continental in

⁸²¹ O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’; ‘Ordinations by Archbishop Troy, 1797-1815’, pp 379-81.

⁸²² O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’; ‘Ordinations by Archbishop Troy, 1797-1815’, pp 379-81.

the same period. The fledgling colleges accounted for eighty-eight percent of Dublin ordinations in the period 1797-1830, with Maynooth students made up a staggering seventy-five percent of all ordinations. The waning in importance of the continental colleges is clear to see, their sum total of ordained students amounting to a paltry twelve percent. With the establishment of Maynooth there was an effective change in emphasis from continental to domestic clerical education.

Fig. 38 Percentage breakdown of ordinations, 1798-1830.⁸²³



Supplementing clerical numbers: adoptions and incardinations

An interesting development in clerical recruitment and formation in the period was the number of students and priests adopted and incardinated into the archdiocese. The term ‘adoption’ referred to a student who was ordained as a priest for the archdiocese of Dublin, but who in fact came from another diocese; an example being the aforementioned Daniel Costigan, administrator of St. Mary’s 1797-1824. Costigan hailed from the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin but was ordained by Archbishop Carpenter as a Dublin priest in June 1778. In the 1790s students not yet ordained could be adopted while still studying. In 1801 John Johnson, once again from Kildare and Leighlin, was ordained deacon and was subsequently adopted into Dublin.⁸²⁴ Incardinations on the other hand referred to the formal admission of an ordained priest

⁸²³ O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’; idem (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’; ‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, pp 488-90; ‘Ordinations by Archbishop Troy, 1797-1815’, pp 379-81.

⁸²⁴ This explains the apparent discrepancy in Figure 38, where in some years adoptions outnumbered ordinations.

from another diocese into Dublin. Philip Purcell, for example, was incardinated into the archdiocese in 1788, having been ordained for the diocese of Ferns in 1776 by Bishop Caulfield.⁸²⁵ Like nearly all of those incardinated, Purcell had been ministering in Dublin for some years.

It is possible that that adoptions and incardinations were necessary to meet the growing demands for pastoral services brought about by the closure of the continental colleges as well as the archdiocese's increasing population.⁸²⁶ However, in the twenty years between 1786 and 1805 there were only eight adoptions. Seemingly the need for more priests was not solely brought about by the Revolution. The considerable proportion of adoptions in the 1770s may suggest that for whatever reason there were insufficient numbers joining the priesthood from within Dublin. In his *Relatio Status* of 1802, Archbishop Troy lamented the state of the archdiocese, in which he said there was a total of 400,000 Catholics, with only 150 priests to tend to them.⁸²⁷ In the nine city parishes Troy said there were about 200,000 Catholics, and the number of priests to serve these was less than 100, counting regulars as well as seculars. In the twenty-seven rural parishes there were fifty-four priests in all, ministering to a further 200,000 Catholics. If Troy's calculations were accurate there may have been a considerable strain on the clergy, due to the increasing Catholic population.

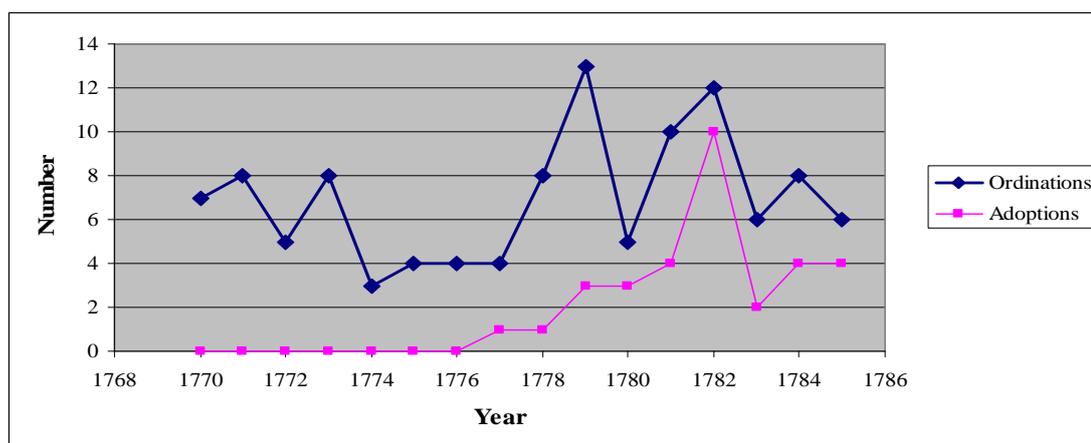
The years 1777-85 saw the greatest numbers of adoptions into Dublin, thirty-two in all. In the same period the total number of ordinations was seventy-two. Therefore, just below forty-five percent of ordinations in these years were of adopted students. While untypical, 1782 was certainly an extraordinary year; with ten of the twelve ordinations being adoptions.

⁸²⁵ O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 382.

⁸²⁶ Ibid.

⁸²⁷ The returns given by Troy in his *Relatio Status* of 1802 differ greatly from those given by Larkin, who suggests that the Catholic population of the diocese in 1800 was 255,160. See Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland 1750-1850*, p. 271.

Fig. 39 Ordinations, adoptions and incardinations into the archdiocese of Dublin 1770-85.⁸²⁸



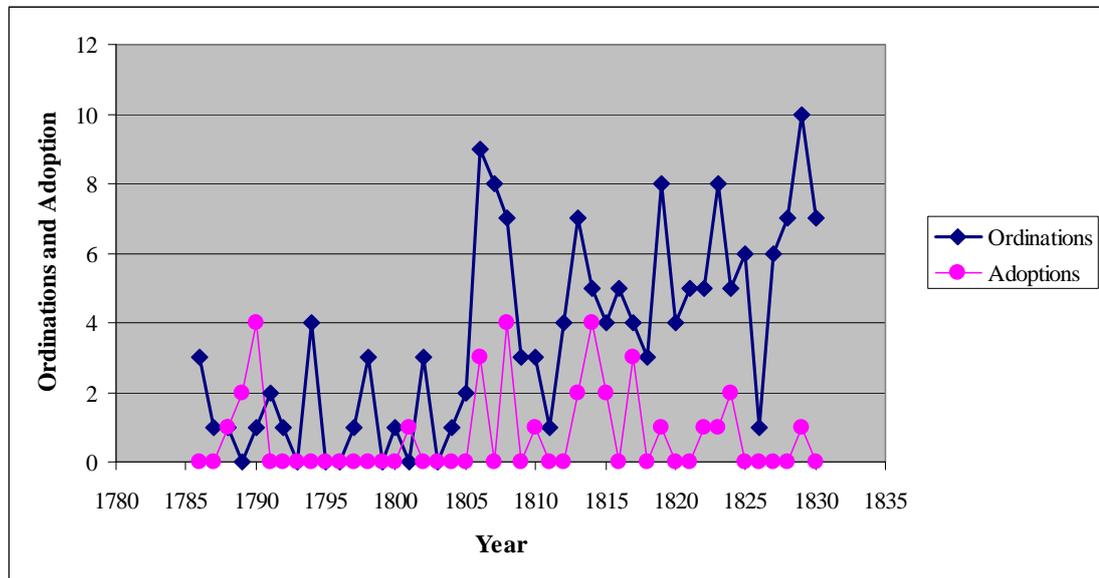
With the exception of one from Kilmacduagh, all adoptions came from the Dublin province between the years 1777-85. Ossory and Ferns supplied one student each, while a surprising twenty-eight came from Kildare and Leighlin. There are a number of possible explanations for this pattern. The population of Dublin City and its hinterlands had grown considerably throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Kildare and Leighlin was a large diocese with a large population, encompassing all of County Carlow, the greater parts of Kildare and Laois, a large section of Offaly, as well as parishes in Kilkenny and Wicklow. Dublin's proximity meant it was especially attractive to migration from Kildare. It was also possible that the shift of Kildare priests was simply a part of a greater migration to the city and its environs. However, the most likely explanation is once again connected with the proximity of Kildare to Dublin. Much of eastern and northern Kildare was in the archdiocese of Dublin, while the majority of Wicklow too was also in Dublin. It may simply have been the case that those seeking to join the Church had relatives in Dublin. It is possible that there may have been family connections that entitled some to burses in the continental colleges. Some, however, were undoubtedly drawn towards Dublin because it allegedly offered priests better career prospects.

However, the rate of adoptions fell greatly in the years immediately after 1785. Between 1786 and 1805 there were only eight adoptions. Presumably this decline mirrored an overall reduction in ordinations, brought about in part by the disruption caused by closure of the continental colleges and the continually halting development of the domestic seminaries. From 1805, however, numbers of adoptions slowly began to

⁸²⁸ O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', pp 382-83; Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', pp485-88. This graph shows the proportion of adoptions to ordinations in the period 1770-85. For example, in 1782 ten of the twelve ordinations were of students adopted from outside the archdiocese of Dublin.

rise and even off. From 1806-1830 there were a further twenty-five adoptions. During this period adoptions came from a number of other Irish dioceses.

Fig. 40 Ordinations, adoptions and incardinations into the archdiocese of Dublin 1786-1830.⁸²⁹



While Ferns and Ossory contributed eight and three students respectively, surprisingly there appears to have been none from Kildare. Four were adopted from Meath, two each from Armagh, Down and Connor, and Ardagh whilst Cork, Clogher, Kerry, and Kilmore all contributed one each. The number of adoptions to ordinations in this period was considerably lower than in the period 1777-85. In total there were 135 ordinations and twenty-five adoptions and incardinations, roughly eighteen percent of total ordinations.

Efforts to regulate clerical life

The establishment of domestic seminaries was only part of the increased episcopal regulation of the clergy. Another example was the attempted supervision of clerical life. While there had always been allegedly immoral or neglectful clergy ministering in the archdiocese, archbishops often lacked sufficient disciplinary tools to deal with recalcitrant priests. Archbishop Carpenter was one of the first bishops to deal systematically with offenders. His papers contain a number of examples of disciplinary measures against offenders. For example, in Castledermott in 1770 he investigated the

⁸²⁹ O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, pp 382-83; ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, pp 479-81. See footnote 826. For example, in 1806 three of the nine students ordained had been adopted into the archdiocese.

‘scandalous’ actions of the parish priest, Revd Randolph Byrne. Carpenter set up a commission to inquire into Byrne’s behaviour, to be headed by Revd Bartholomew Sherlock, ‘to remove such scandals and to assure ourselves of the truth of such reports’.⁸³⁰ In his visitation report Sherlock concluded the following: ‘You are witnesses of the flagrant scandals that have been given in the distracted parish, during those two, there, those four years past’.⁸³¹ Sherlock commented that since Carpenter had wished only ‘for the spiritual welfare of the parish’, he had received ‘the fullest and most ample powers to take cognizance of the scandalous troubles that reign here, and to introduce peace and order and discipline among’ parishioners’.⁸³² Unfortunately the reasons for Byrne’s ‘scandalous behaviour’ are not known. However, Byrne was not alone in causing concern to Carpenter. In 1772 Carpenter summoned Revd Patrick Connor, parish priest of Blessington, to Dublin to answer the charge of ‘having abandoned the flock committed to’ his care.⁸³³ In light of a prior refusal to appear before the archbishop, Carpenter informed Connor that he was ‘hereby suspended from the exercise of all priestly functions until the contrary shall meet us’.⁸³⁴

Many of the priests, whom Carpenter admonished, had allegedly neglected their duties in some shape or form. Some priests may have buckled under the pastoral workload in their respective parishes. However, while the demands on parish priests throughout the archdiocese may have eased with the arrival of curates and assistant clergy, the pastoral workload no doubt remained heavy for conscientious clergy. By the early years of the nineteenth century the majority of parishes in Dublin had at least two chapels, with some having even three or more. In light of the fact that clerical numbers were said to have been insufficient in many rural parishes, it is unsurprising that only a basic pastoral service could be made available in these areas. Probably clergy could do little more than provide parishioners with Mass on Sundays or, where possible, attend to the sick and dying. In returns made to Troy in 1801 seven pastors in rural parishes said they were in a need of a curate to assist them in their work.⁸³⁵ Presumably some

⁸³⁰ Commission to enquire into the conduct of Randolph Byrne, pastor of Castledermott, 11 Jun. 1770 (D.D.A., Archbishop Carpenter’s *instructiones, monita &c.*). See M.J. Curran (ed.), ‘Instructions, admonitions, etc of Archbishop Carpenter, 1770-86’ in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 1 (1959), p. 154.

⁸³¹ Visitation at Castledermott headed by Dr Sherlock, 1 Dec. 1771 (D.D.A., Archbishop Carpenter’s *instructiones, monita &c.*). See Curran (ed.), ‘Instructions, admonitions, etc of Archbishop Carpenter, 1770-86’, p. 154.

⁸³² *Ibid.*

⁸³³ Citation to the Revd Patrick Connor, pastor of Blessington, 3 Sept. 1772 (D.D.A., Archbishop Carpenter’s *instructiones, monita &c.*). See Curran (ed.), ‘Instructions, admonitions, etc of Archbishop Carpenter, 1770-86’, p. 155.

⁸³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁵ Number of parish priests, curates & other clergy of the Archdiocese of Dublin, with the average ordinary annual income of each parish priest [of the] City of Dublin, undated (D.D.A., AB2/31/146).

parishes found it difficult to acquire curates because of the paucity of clergy, while others were not in a position to financially support an assistant. While many parish priests sought assistance, the arrival of a curate was not always welcome. In 1803 the parish priest of Castledermott, Revd Francis Lenihan wrote to Troy pleading that he might not be 'plagued' with a curate.⁸³⁶ Lenihan explained that 'for the last thirty years' he had been 'assisted' by various curates but he 'had got no good of those assigned to him'.⁸³⁷ One is unsure whether or not Lenihan's concerns were motivated by financial worries, for a curate would have been a considerable draw on parochial funds, or whether he had actually experienced genuine dissatisfaction previously. Lenihan was not alone in voicing concern over curates. Allegedly lazy and incompetent clergy were common, and reports of pastoral neglect were not unknown. Occasionally parishioners wrote to archbishops expressing their dissatisfaction at the standard of pastoral care provided to them. For example, a group of parishioners of St. James's parish wrote to Archbishop Troy in 1800 upon the death of their former pastor, Revd Dennis Doyle.⁸³⁸ The memorial, which contained the signatures of thirty-four parishioners, contended that their pastoral care had been neglected by Doyle for some years.⁸³⁹ They stated that they had been subject to a parish priest who 'old and infirm and who never resided in the parish or the city'.⁸⁴⁰ His curates, they said, 'were ill and all the work of the parish fell on one who was unable to cope with all the calls on him- many died without the sacraments'.⁸⁴¹ Such was their indignation that they threatened Troy that they would prohibit the collection of chapel rents, or refuse to provide for the clergy if 'an old, ailing pastor' be appointed.⁸⁴² The memorial was concluded with a clear warning to Troy. They wrote, 'Unanimity among Catholics being now more necessary than ever[,] we hope that no schism be created'.⁸⁴³ Troy's response was prompt, assuring the memorialists that he had already appointed Revd Thomas Maguire (d. 1804) to the post, and was certain that Maguire would justify his choice, proclaiming that it was his own 'intention and obligation to promote harmony... without deviating from the general

⁸³⁶ Revd Francis Lenihan, P.P., Castledermott, to Archbishop Troy, 12 Mar. 1803 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/11(28)).

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

⁸³⁸ A memorial from the parishioners of St. James's to Archbishop Troy, 17 Sept. 1800 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(55)).

⁸³⁹ Doyle was parish priest of St. James's 1786-1800.

⁸⁴⁰ A memorial from the parishioners of St. James's to Archbishop Troy, 17 Sept 1800 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(55)).

⁸⁴¹ Ibid.

⁸⁴² Ibid.

⁸⁴³ Ibid.

principles of established discipline of the Catholic Church'.⁸⁴⁴ However, Maguire's time as pastor was short lived; he was transferred to St. Michan's in 1802.⁸⁴⁵ Similarly, Maguire's successor in St. James's, the aforementioned Christopher Wall, held the post for only two years, before being appointed pastor of St. Michan's.⁸⁴⁶ Whether or not this state of flux had anything to do with the parishioners' discontent is not known. However, some years before St. James's had been affected by dissatisfaction over a previous incumbent, the Revd Bartholomew Commins. On this occasion the parishioners registered their unhappiness over Commins's ministry with Archbishop Linegar.⁸⁴⁷ While the reasons for their discontent are once again unknown, they stated that if Commins were not removed from his post they would close the chapel doors to him!⁸⁴⁸ However, it was the parish of Blanchardstown which provided possibly the best documented example of parishioner discontent. In 1826, 702 parishioners signed a petition asking Murray to

institute an inquiry among the laity, who complained of a system of neglect unexampled in any other parish in the diocese, arising from the numerous changes and the unfortunate circumstances of the Rev. Gentlemen lately over us having devoted himself to temporal concerns by which he became, as it were, a stranger in his own Parish and lost the confidence and respect which is necessary between Pastor and Flock.⁸⁴⁹

The parishioners referred to Revd Joseph Joy Dean (c. 1752-1836), and the previous pastor, Revd Miles MacPharlan (d. 1840). They alleged that Joy Dean devoted too much of his time to managing St. Brigid's Academy, Blanchardstown, and consequently neglected his pastoral duties. While Joy Dean's non-parochial endeavours may at least have been commendable, the same could not be said of his predecessor. MacPharlan was forced to flee the country for the Isle of Man in 1812.⁸⁵⁰ He had previously established a brickworks in the parish, with the hope of providing employment for the poor, but had incurred large debts, and, facing the threat of legal action, he left the country.⁸⁵¹ However, he continued to hold onto the parish until 1825 when he was declared *tanquam contumaciter non residentem*, therefore forfeiting his cure.⁸⁵² Murray subsequently appointed the seventy-three year old Joy Dean as his successor, who had

⁸⁴⁴ Archbishop Troy to the parishioners of St. James's, 20 Sept. 1800 (D.D.A., AB2/116/5(56)).

⁸⁴⁵ O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁷ Archbishop Lincoln to the cardinal protector, undated (D.D.A., AB1/116/1(22)).

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁹ Elizabeth Cronin (ed.), 'Petition from the parishioners of Blanchardstown to Archbishop Murray concerning clerical appointments, 1826' in *Arch. Hib.*, lvi (2002), p. 189.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*

served as a curate in Blanchardstown since 1802.⁸⁵³ To compound the parishioners' fears, another curate, Revd Ambrose Murphy, was to be removed from the parish. Seemingly Murphy had borne the brunt of MacPharlan's exile, assuming responsibility for most of the parish's pastoral duties.⁸⁵⁴ While Murphy's transferral was not reversed, Joy Dean subsequently devoted greater attention to pastoral work, quelling discontent amongst parishioners; he closed down the academy, 'though whether he did so voluntarily or by order of the archbishop cannot be established'.⁸⁵⁵

While MacPharlan and Joy Deane allegedly devoted too much of their time to 'temporal concerns', the personal behaviour of certain priests was of even greater concern to both Troy and Murray. In 1823 a Revd Murphy, a curate in Glendalough, allegedly went missing for a period of some six weeks from the parish.⁸⁵⁶ The parish priest, Revd John Johnston complained to Murray that he 'not seen Mr Murphy personally or as a clergyman doing his duty in this Parish now six weeks neither Sunday nor weekday nor holiday. He has not been at any of the Easter stations with me since their commencement'.⁸⁵⁷ Murphy was said to have appeared weeks later in Roundwood, where he remained for some time in 'the ale houses without either saying or hearing Mass'.⁸⁵⁸ Johnston said he had been informed that 'he read [Murphy] during that day to some of the common people a letter which he publicly produced as your Lordships. It has been always his custom to read Doctor Troy's letters to the very dregs of people'.⁸⁵⁹ Murphy, however, was not alone in bringing disrepute upon the community by his scandalous behaviour. Indeed examples of drunkenness by clergy were common, and were said to have been found in the archdiocese as late as 1850.⁸⁶⁰ As far back as 1780 Archbishop Carpenter recalled having 'received most shocking complaints against the practice of clergymen frequenting public tap-rooms in this city and its liberties'.⁸⁶¹ In response he forbade priests of the archdiocese, both secular and regular, 'from being seen in any of them, under the severest penalties'.⁸⁶² In 1803 Revd Patrick Hanratty, curate in the parish of Balrothery, made a pledge to reform his drunkenness. By his own admission, Hanratty was a heavy drinker, the consequences of which convinced him of

⁸⁵³ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 193.

⁸⁵⁶ Revd John Johnston, P.P., Glendalough, to Archbishop Murray, 23 May 1823 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/7(40)).

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁰ Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 69.

⁸⁶¹ To the Rev. pastors and superiors, 27 Oct. 1780 (D.D.A., Archbishop Carpenter's *instructiones, monita &c.*). See Curran (ed.), 'Instructions, admonitions, etc', p. 168.

⁸⁶² Ibid.

his own 'great Infirmity and the manifold dangers' that he was 'repeatedly exposed to'.⁸⁶³ In his pledge forwarded to Troy by his parish priest, Revd John Baptist Hamilton, Hanratty promised that 'from this day forward until the first day of May, 1803', he would not 'take or drink a kind of Spirits or Punch made of Spirits publicly or privately; and that I will be satisfied with one pint of Wine, two quarts of Porter or ale and a moderate share of small beer within the course of the natural day'.⁸⁶⁴ Furthermore, Hanratty promised not to drink 'his portion of this moderate allowance in any public house, or that Conference should have a Call of my Clerical function in such public house, or that Conference should be held in such house'.⁸⁶⁵ Indeed such was Hanratty's apparent concern at the extent of his drinking that he promised to renew this pledge on every subsequent Ash Wednesday. The fact that the promise was forwarded to Troy by Hamilton suggests that he imposed a degree of pressure upon Hanratty to mend his ways. Some years later in Balrothery there was a seemingly difficult relationship between the parish clergy. This time difficulty was between the parish priest, the Louvain-educated Dominican, Joseph Smith, and his curates Revds Coleman and McDonogh.⁸⁶⁶ The dispute concerned a rota for the celebration of Sunday Mass, in particular the 07:00 and 08:00 services. An agreement signed by all parties suggests that for whatever reason Coleman was unenthusiastic about these early morning celebrations. Consensus was eventually reached, with Coleman agreeing to say Mass whenever Smith was 'absent on necessary business'.⁸⁶⁷ Smith and McDonogh declared that they did not bind themselves to the agreements 'as a matter of right, or of favour to Mr. Coleman, but for the sake of peace to this house'.⁸⁶⁸

Returning to Hanratty, the importance of his promise went far beyond his apparent repentance. It was also a symptom of the increased levels of discipline, which were slowly being imposed on disreputable clergy in many Irish dioceses from the early nineteenth century. As was the case with the conduct of other so-called 'immoral' clergy, Hanratty's behaviour was a cause of concern to Troy at a time when the Irish Church was coming under pressure from Propaganda Fide to improve the behaviour of its clergy. Archbishop Carpenter had begun to address the problem of recalcitrant clergy as early as 1770, when he proclaimed that it was the duty of bishops to proceed with

⁸⁶³ Revd John Baptist Hamilton, P.P., Balrothery, to Archbishop Troy, 3 May 1803 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/9(58)).

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁶ An agreement signed by Revds Smyth, McDonagh and Coleman, 20 Jun. 1812 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/1(86)).

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid.

‘canonical rigour against the indolent and the slothful’ clergy.⁸⁶⁹ Similarly, Troy may have been concerned by the increased attacks by Protestant loyalists over the alleged role of the Catholic clergy in the rebellion of 1798, attacks which could not be ignored, since the Catholic community was in the process of negotiating with the government for further concessions. In the wake of the rebellion in 1798 the Catholic community came under attack from a number of Protestant writers, such as Richard Musgrave, who sought to cast aspersions on the Catholic community. In this context Troy and Murray were always going to increase their efforts to regulate clerical behaviour. This was done through a mixture of monthly clerical conferences and increased episcopal supervision. The practice of holding monthly conferences was Troy’s idea. He had done the same when he was bishop in Ossory.⁸⁷⁰ These conferences were, in part, designed to combat deficiencies in clerical education by discussing selected texts and topics, but also had the effect of disciplining clergy for misdemeanours, such as failure to preach, by imposing fines on offenders.⁸⁷¹ Attendance at these one day seminars was compulsory, and fines were imposed on those absent without genuine reason.⁸⁷² In 1831, the diocesan statutes prohibited clergy from entering places of public amusement or public drinking.⁸⁷³ Troy and Murray’s watchful eyes had the desired effect of reducing clerical misdemeanours. Examples of clerical misconduct in Dublin and parochial discontent regarding pastoral neglect became less common, which may suggest that clerical discipline in Dublin was somewhat stricter than in other Irish dioceses. Certainly there is little in Troy’s correspondence to equal Carpenter’s ‘preoccupation with clerical drunkenness’.⁸⁷⁴

Conclusion

The typical life of a Dublin priest changed significantly between 1770 and 1830. Change was greatest in the education and formation of priests. In 1770 the majority of Dublin clergy were ordained before they were given any higher education. Many of these were sent to the Irish Colleges on the Continent, where they received varying amounts of education. This practice of pre-ordaining was, of course, in contradiction of the regulations of Trent, which promoted the more conventional seminary formation. By

⁸⁶⁹ Curran (ed.), ‘Instructions, admonitions, etc’, p. 152.

⁸⁷⁰ Dáire Keogh, ‘Archbishop John Thomas Troy (1739-1823)’ in *Arch. Hib.*, xlix (1995), p. 108.

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷² Keogh, “‘The pattern of the flock’: John Thomas Troy, 1786-1823’, p. 222.

⁸⁷³ Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 218.

⁸⁷⁴ Keogh, “‘The pattern of the flock’: John Thomas Troy, 1786-1823’, p. 223.

1830, however, most Dublin students were unordained before commencing their studies, which were pursued in the newly formed domestic colleges at Carlow, Kilkenny, but most especially, Maynooth.

This transformation to seminary style in domestic colleges was brought about due to a number of factors. Traditionally, historians have tended to see the French Revolution as its main cause. While the Revolution effectively brought the Irish Colleges' network to an end, the colleges themselves were showing signs of decline for many years before. Many were suffering from falling revenue, thanks in part to the changing religious practices on the Continent. While large numbers of Dublin students had still been attending the continental colleges on the eve of the French Revolution, the system of education and formation offered by the colleges was beginning to be questioned by many senior clergy, both at home and on the Continent. However, the system as a whole faced numerous other problems. The colleges themselves were affected by political and social changes taking place in Europe. The suppression of the Jesuits had a profound impact on the system, resulting in the closure of a number of colleges. In 1786 Emperor Joseph II, introduced radical secular or 'Enlightened' reforms in the Austrian Empire, affecting Dublin students most notably at the University of Louvain. The administration of many colleges was hindered by lax discipline, often resulting in internal squabbles. The administration of the Collège des Lombards had been overhauled in the 1780s, partly due to 'a lack of harmony among headmasters and to the insubordination of the students'.⁸⁷⁵ Squabbles sometimes resulted from the supposedly harsh regimes imposed by college superiors. They were exacerbated by the fact that there was little recourse for complaints as no central authority existed to which the colleges were accountable. Undoubtedly episcopal concerns were not caused solely by the Revolution. It is more likely that the bishops had long been concerned with the system for many years. In the case of Dublin, the sentiments of Martin Glynn or Peter Macve set alarm bells ringing in Troy's ears. Glynn and Macve's bleak assessments of their respective colleges suggest some of the drawbacks of the system as it then stood.

However, it was the dramatic fall in the ordination of Dublin students in the 1780s that surely must have been the greatest cause of concern for Troy. With the closure of the colleges and the loss of burses and endowments the Church lost a vast and complex infrastructure. Hit by the loss of the colleges' network the Irish Church

⁸⁷⁵ Archbishop de Juigné, Paris to Archbishop James Butler, Cashel 3 Feb. 1787 in Tierney (ed.), 'The papers of Archbishop James Butler II, part 2', p. 89.

established a seminary system in Ireland. Students now effectively came under increased clerical supervision. This increased regulation of clerical life was continued after they were ordained. Troy and Murray, aided by their diocesan chapters, attempted to regulate clerical behaviour. They attempted to do this through pastoral visitations and clerical conferences, where the behaviour of priests could be monitored and, if needed, be improved through sanctions. The transformation of the system of clerical education and the regulation of clerical life were both part of the overall programme of reform and renewal attempted in the period.

Chapter Five:

Renewal, reception and resistance: successes and failures of reform

It was with this motley band of clergy that the Catholic community attempted to introduce pastoral reform and renewal in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The programme met with varying degrees of resistance and reluctance from sections of both the clergy and laity. However, ‘success’ was achieved in some areas, although to differing extents. Central to this evolution were changes in sacramental practice as well as alterations taking place in various aspects of popular religious culture, many of which had been the focus of attention of reformers. As well as illustrating some of the changes in religious practice and belief which occurred in the pre-Emancipation period, this chapter will also draw attention to the reluctance of archbishops and clergy to implement some of the directives coming from Rome, and suggest explanations for this perceived unwillingness. This was especially true of Rome’s insistence on the reform and regulation of marriage practice, as defined by the Tridentine decree *Tametsi*. While both Troy and Murray were seemingly unwilling to comply in a number of instances, they were, however, generally inclined towards the reform and regulation of religious practice in the archdiocese. In many instances regulation meant increased clerical supervision as part of wider attempts to foster orthodox belief and practice. Of equal concern, however, was the behaviour of sections of the Catholic community at religious events. Thus reformers devoted much attention to pilgrimages, wakes, patterns as well as the practice of holding Station Masses in private homes. It was this desire for increased orthodoxy and the promotion of public morality, which in many ways characterised the efforts at pastoral reform of Troy and Murray, and some in the Catholic community.

Changes in the sacramental system

Throughout the eighteenth century the population of the archdiocese grew steadily. By 1800 Dublin’s Catholic population was estimated to be approximately 250,000, with 169 priests.⁸⁷⁶ This translated as a priest-to-people ratio of 1:1,510.⁸⁷⁷ While this was significantly lower than the national ratio of 1:2,000, taken at face value, the ratio points to a substantial pastoral burden on the Dublin clergy of the time. Attendance at Sunday

⁸⁷⁶ Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 271.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid.

Mass was obligatory for all able bodied adults. However, it has been established that the numbers attending Sunday Mass in pre-Famine Ireland fell well below what the Catholic Church would have desired. David Miller estimated that the number of people attending Sunday Mass in rural Ireland could have been as high as sixty percent and as low as twenty percent, while he suggested the overall Mass going population before the Famine to have been about forty percent of the total Catholic population.⁸⁷⁸ Miller argues that attendance was considerably higher in large towns and cities and lower elsewhere. There were a number of possible reasons for this divergence. The higher attendance rates in urban areas may have had much to do with a greater clerical presence and the existence in many towns and cities of confraternities and a developed Catholic print culture. In many rural areas the ability to provide pastoral was lessened considerably by lack of clergy, and because of this sacramental life in many rural parishes was much less-sophisticated. Many chapels were extremely basic and lacked any architectural pretensions. Indeed the spartan nature of chapels in many rural areas was suggestive of the liturgical poverty of the Catholic Church in rural Ireland in the pre-Famine period. There was a significant difference between the chapels in rural areas of the archdiocese and those in Dublin City, where buildings of a certain architectural pretension became more numerous as the period progressed.

Fortunately sources allow something to be said about the liturgical setting in the city in the later half of the eighteenth century. A number of the city parishes were especially active in developing their liturgical provision. Their enhancement reflected the improving social and economic status of Catholics in Dublin in the later decades of the eighteenth century. Improvements in the liturgical setting were made by enhancing the ceremonial with processions and various liturgical trappings such as use of incense and sacred music. However, to provide more than a simple said Mass, with little or no ceremony, parishes had to have access to adequate finances. Ceremony did not come cheap; crosses, chalices, paintings, incense and candles all ate into the parochial coffers. However, there is evidence to suggest that by the later decades of the eighteenth century numerous parishes were beginning to organise their financial affairs in a more regulated fashion. Parishes supplemented their incomes by organising annual subscriptions and collections, as well as by the aforementioned charity sermons. Some of the most active parishes in the regulation of their financial affairs were St. Andrew's and St. Nicholas's

⁸⁷⁸ David Miller, 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine' in *Journal of Social History*, ix, no. 1 (1975), pp 81-98.

in Dublin City.⁸⁷⁹ A number of printed records from the 1790s recall the proceedings of parish meetings, and shed light on the day to day running of their respective chapels as well as highlighting a number of liturgical reforms which the respective parishes sought to initiate. One of these meetings took place on New Year's Day 1795 in the vestry room of Townsend Street chapel, chaired by the parish priest, Dr Nicholas Morris. Having distinguished himself in theology at Salamanca, Morris held the parishes of St. James's and St. Audoen's before being transferred to St. Andrew's.⁸⁸⁰ The report relayed the opinions of a committee, made up of prominent lay parishioners, 'appointed to inspect the Temporal Concerns of said Chapel'.⁸⁸¹ They reported that there was an outstanding balance of £300 on the lease, as well as a mortgage of £18, but found that the chapel in Townsend Street was in need of repair and improvement.⁸⁸² For example, they said, that 'the stairs leading to the principal Gallery' should be erected 'for the more commodious Reception of the Parishioners, and the Expense of a House, now building in the Chapel-yard, for the greater Convenience of receiving Subscriptions and lodging one of the Assistant Clergy'.⁸⁸³ To fund the project it was proposed that 'Subscription Books be opened, in which each Parishioner may enter his or her Name, annexing such Sum as he or she shall think proper to pay annually for the above Purposes'.⁸⁸⁴ The reference to 'commodious reception of parishioners' illustrated the changing aspirations of some Catholics. Many in the community were no longer content to worship in spartan 'Mass-houses' but, rather, sought comfortable buildings befitting their improving status. It may be significant to note that the committee members appear mostly to have been drawn from the Catholic merchant classes. This was of course of no surprise; the importance of the merchant class in the Catholic community is well-documented.⁸⁸⁵ Of the twenty-two committee members, sixteen can be roughly affiliated to the merchant trade.⁸⁸⁶ For example, John Gorman Kennedy was listed as a linen merchant in Parliament Street while Michael Boylan of Grafton Street was a paper

⁸⁷⁹ For the complete report for St. Andrew's see Appendix Four.

⁸⁸⁰ O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella 1605-1769*, p. 111.

⁸⁸¹ *Report of a meeting of priests and parishioners of St. Nicholas-Without [St. Andrew], at Townsend St. Chapel to discuss parish finances and arrange an appeal for funds, 1 Jan 1795* (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/6(43)). The report mistakenly states St. Nicholas's instead of St. Andrew's.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁵ See Fagan, *Catholics in a Protestant county: the papist constituency in eighteenth-century Dublin*; Maureen Wall, *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth-century: collected essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989).

⁸⁸⁶ These figures are compiled from Maureen Wall, 'The Catholic merchants, manufacturers and traders of Dublin. 1778-1782' in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 1 (1960), pp 298-323.

stainer.⁸⁸⁷ While merchants were dominant on the committee there were a number of members from outside the mercantile fraternity. William Reaf from Patrick's Well Lane was a horse shoe maker while Matthew Cardiff of City Quay was a shipwright.⁸⁸⁸ However, what are more interesting is the political activities of some of the committee members. Of the twenty-four committee members no less than five are known to have been representatives at the Catholic Convention in 1792, most of whom were merchants.⁸⁸⁹ They included James Connolly, a wholesale merchant with addresses in Fleet Street and Aston Quay; Michael McCarthy, a wholesale merchant from George's Street; James Kenny, a sugar merchant from Stephen Street; and the aforementioned Michael Boylan and John Gorman Kennedy.⁸⁹⁰ While little is known about the activities of most, something can be said about John Gorman Kennedy. He had been elected to the General Committee of Catholics in 1791.⁸⁹¹ During the 1790s his political opinions sided with radicals, eventually becoming a member of the United Irishmen. He was imprisoned in 1798, presumably for involvement in the rebellion, and subsequently emigrated to Philadelphia.⁸⁹² Gorman Kennedy was also believed to have been a freemason.⁸⁹³

The report of the meeting in St. Andrew's is interesting for another reason as it illustrates the role played by certain members of the Catholic laity in maintaining and funding chapels. This had been the situation in St. James's parish, where it appears that parishioners were responsible for paying the annual rent.⁸⁹⁴ This practice was not unique to either Dublin or Ireland. The Catholic Church in France had long operated a system where the temporal concerns of the parish, such as the physical upkeep of the chapel were the responsibility of the laity. Indeed sometimes parish committees responded angrily when clergy interfered in matters which were judged to be outside of their remit. The parishioners of St. Mary's took offence when their parish priest, Revd William Clarke appointed a new clerk without consulting the parish committee.⁸⁹⁵ Writing to Dr Troy they outlined their objection to Clarke's action, asserting that 'the appointment of the Clerk of the Church rests solely with the parishioners who resent Fr.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid., pp 304, 314.

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid., pp 306, 320.

⁸⁸⁹ C.J. Woods, 'The personnel of the Catholic Convention, 1792-3' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lvii (2003), pp 26-76.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid., pp 43, 60, 54.

⁸⁹¹ Ibid. p. 54.

⁸⁹² Ibid.

⁸⁹³ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁴ A memorial from the parishioners of St. James's to Archbishop Troy, 17 Sept. 1800 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(55)).

⁸⁹⁵ The parishioners of St. Mary's parish to Archbishop Troy, 1792 (D.D.A., Troy papers AB2/116/5(109)).

Clarke's interference with the Clerk, his wife and family. If he does so again they will not pay dues'.⁸⁹⁶ While the outcome is uncertain, Troy felt sufficiently compelled to offer to meet the delegation.⁸⁹⁷ The laity could always threaten to withhold dues, a formidable weapon in disputes with clergy.

The report from the committee of St. Andrew's reaffirmed the responsibility enjoyed by committees of lay Catholics in the management of the temporal affairs of parishes. It recalled that it was the responsibility of the committee to pay for various liturgical items, such as altar wine, candles, and linen, as well as the fees for an organist, who was to 'to teach to the Orphan Children to sing, and one to play on the Organ'.⁸⁹⁸ All of these were to be financed through an organised programme of subscriptions collected from parishioners. The projected subscriptions also legislated for the provision of a clerk, as well as an assistant to look after the day-to-day running of the chapel. The report also suggests that certain Catholic parishes in Dublin in the later decades of the eighteenth century were becoming increasingly concerned with 'respectability', thereby mimicking the practices of some of their Protestant neighbours. For example, the report recalled that the committee had been formed for 'promoting the Worship of God, the Respectability of his Ministers, and the Cleanliness of his House'.⁸⁹⁹ A central requirement was making sure that the chapel was both clean and safe for those attending Mass. Safety in the city's Catholic chapels had not always been guaranteed. If contemporary newspapers are to be believed, chapels abounded with thieves who relieved unsuspecting Mass-goers of their valuables. Newspapers carried frequent accounts of thefts taking place at Masses in the city's chapels. As early as 1757 *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* drew attention to this issue, recalling a tragedy in St. Mary's chapel, Liffey Street, where two people had been trampled to death after beggars allegedly circulated the rumour that the chapel's gallery was about to give way, in the hope of creating a sense of panic and thus manufacturing a scene where picking pockets became easier.⁹⁰⁰ The majority of thefts were, however, less dramatic. For instance, in February 1777 the *Freeman's Journal* carried an account of a theft that took place in the chapel at Lazer's Hill

Sunday morning a gentlewoman had her pocket picked in the front gallery of Lazor's hill chapel, of a green silk purse with three guineas, nine shillings and an Exchange ticket in

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁷ Archbishop Troy to Mr Boland, 6. Sept. 1792 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(110)).

⁸⁹⁸ *Report of a meeting of priests and parishioners of St. Nicholas-Without* [St. Andrew's], 1 Jan 1795 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/6(43)).

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁰ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 6 Dec. 1757 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 318.

it. It is remarkable that though this practice is notoriously carried on at the different chapels of this city, yet the ladies still afford these infernal agents daily opportunities of offending by carrying money &c. about them to these places of worship.⁹⁰¹

As well as the more discreet and cunning pickpockets there was also a multitude of beggars lining approach ways to many chapels. Even the *Dublin Evening Post* lamented the plight of the ‘the enlightened Catholics of Dublin’ who faced such an unenviable passage on their way to divine worship.⁹⁰² The newspaper recalled that upon ‘a Sunday or festival, tis shocking to humanity to observe the swarms of wretches, who for the day, *assume* the garb and profession of beggary, and occupy all the avenues leading to their houses of prayer- these impostors in hundreds, nay thousands, fill the streets and lanes adjoining’ and asked whether or not there was ‘not something exceedingly shocking to a humane mind, preparing to offer up the effusions of a grateful heart to the Father of all Mercies’.⁹⁰³ It concluded that the only remedy for such ‘disgraceful’ scenes was to urge the many ‘respectable gentlemen who belong to the different Chapels’ to take ‘immediate and vigorous measures to check an evil so indecent, and so highly injurious to religion’.⁹⁰⁴ The sentiments of the *Dublin Evening Post* were evidently shared by many in Dublin’s Catholic community. The report from St. Andrew’s parish stated that they intended employing ‘a proper Person, for keeping the Chapel Avenues free from Beggars’.⁹⁰⁵ Similarly the parish of St. Nicholas’s employed a ‘policeman’ and paid him £3 per year for ‘keeping the Avenues clear from the obstruction of Beggars’.⁹⁰⁶ While one does not know whether their efforts were successful in alleviating the problem, it appears to have lessened early in the nineteenth century when there was little mention of begging and pick pocketing in the city’s chapels.

While many Catholics in Dublin were mindful of the necessity of improving the external appearance of chapels, there were also changes taking place internally. These enhancements were a significant part of wider changes taking place in the liturgical setting in Catholic Dublin. While sources regarding sacramental life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are not plentiful, something can be said about liturgical practice, thanks mostly to contemporary newspaper reports. There were occasional

⁹⁰¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 18 Feb. 1777 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 184.

⁹⁰² *Dublin Evening Post*, 1 Jul. 1784 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 226.

⁹⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰⁵ *Report of a meeting of priests and parishioners of St. Nicholas-Without* [St. Andrew], 1 Jan 1795 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/6(43)).

⁹⁰⁶ A meeting of the clergy and laity of the parish of St. Nicholas, chaired by Doctor Troy. 28 Sept. 1794 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/6(44)).

reports of lavish events, complete with choirs and orchestras, and adorned with much pomp and ceremony. One such event took place in the parish chapel of St. Mary's, Liffey Street in 1792. The *Dublin Evening Post* reported that

Saturday last [8] being the patron day of Liffey-street chapel, there was performed Corelli's celebrated High-Mass, by the choir of Mary's-lane chapel, accompanied on the organ by their own organist, Mr. Wrenn- in the exact and regular manner from which they have been so justly esteemed. In the evening Vespers were performed by the same choir- the Rev. Mr. Dwyer attended and sang the Mass and Vespers in that style of excellence for which he has been so justly distinguished.⁹⁰⁷

In August of the same year, a similar 'High Mass' took place in the parish chapel of St. Michan's, St. Mary's Lane. The Mass was once again sung to a musical setting by Signor Corelli, and 'was performed by the children of the choir belonging to that chapel'.⁹⁰⁸ While this was obviously no ordinary Sunday Mass, the parishioners at St. Michan's may have been used to more than a simple said Mass, bereft of both sacred music and spectacle. Like the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Nicholas's, St. Mary's had their own organist, who presumably had responsibility for directing a choir as well as playing the organ. The organist in St. Andrew's received an annual income of about £25, while the organist in St. Nicholas's was also paid a salary. The increasing use of Gregorian music in church services is indicated by the printing of *Learning the Gregorian note* (Dublin, 1800) and *High Mass and Sunday services* (Dublin, 1808).⁹⁰⁹ In addition to extravagant musical settings, some chapels developed various other liturgical ceremonies, such as Benediction and exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. In 1802 Richard Cross printed *Meditations and prayers, adapted to the Stations of the holy way of the Cross...by the late Revd. Father [Christopher] Fleming* (Dublin, 1802), which could be purchased from the Franciscan chapel at Adam and Eve's.⁹¹⁰ The text was designed as a devotional accompaniment for those completing the Stations of the Cross. However, this was certainly not a new practice; the Stations were already in some Irish chapels before Fleming's death in 1794.⁹¹¹

As well as introducing sophisticated liturgical objects such as monstrances and thuribles, many of the city chapels also had more than one altar, which provided opportunity for increased devotion and generally improved both their aesthetical

⁹⁰⁷ *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 Dec. 1792 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 286. The Corelli mentioned here may have been Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1715), a well-known Italian composer.

⁹⁰⁸ *Dublin Evening Post*, 25 Aug. 1792 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 284.

⁹⁰⁹ Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1800-09', p. 248.

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁹¹¹ *Ibid.*

appearance and created a more fitting liturgical setting. In Liffey Street chapel the altar was adorned with 'six large gilt candlesticks, and as many nosegays of artificial flowers'.⁹¹² The replacement of many of the old 'penal chapels' with more commodious and permanent churches in the early decades of the nineteenth century allowed the improvement of liturgical practices. For example, new churches always included an organ, sometimes at great cost. The organ in the Metropolitan Chapel cost £700 when it was installed in 1823.⁹¹³ This was a sizeable sum considering that many supposedly 'dignified' and 'elaborate' chapels were erected at a cost of below £1,000 at the same time in the archdiocese.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century most preaching in chapels was in English. This reflected the decline of Irish as a spoken language in Dublin. It is likely, however, that at least in some chapels sermons were preached in Irish. In December 1758 *Pue's Occurrences* recalled that a sermon had been recently preached by Revd Edmund Kelly in St. Audoen's chapel to 'a very crowded congregation' and that preaching in Irish would continue 'at said church on each Saturday during Advent, beginning at ten o'clock in the morning'.⁹¹⁴ The continual republication of Bishop Gallagher's *Sermons in the Irish language* into the nineteenth century suggests that preaching in Irish existed in the archdiocese into the 1800s. To what extent is difficult to judge. However, what can be said is that preaching received a much greater emphasis from senior clergy from the late eighteenth century onwards. One of the main reasons for this emphasis was to combat alleged pastoral neglect and religious ignorance. The situation of clerics neglecting preaching and catechising responsibilities was a reasonably common accusation in the eighteenth century. However, this was not a situation unique to the Irish experience and had been a concern for many bishops for some time. The problem had been addressed to some extent by the gradual implementation of Tridentine decrees, which stressed the importance of preaching at Mass on Sundays and feastdays. By the eighteenth century there had been a renewed interest by Catholic pastors in utilising fully the pulpit and to make 'sermons as much a part of their ministry as the confessional'.⁹¹⁵ This increased emphasis on preaching was a definite response to certain Enlightenment ideals and anti-Catholic writings, and in

⁹¹² Donnelly, *State and condition of Roman Catholic chapels in Dublin, both Secular and Regulars AD 1749*, p. 11.

⁹¹³ Church building in the diocese of Dublin 1800-1916 (D.D.A., uncatelgued).

⁹¹⁴ *Pue's Occurrences*, 12 Dec. 1758 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 95. Brady states that Kelly later recanted, along with another Catholic priest, Anthony Burke. Burke became a prominent preacher in the Irish language with the Church of Ireland. Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 93.

⁹¹⁵ Aston, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe c. 1750-1830*, p. 53.

Ireland's case, a response to the increasing proselytising activities of Protestant churches and Bible societies. The sermon was a well established genre and a well constructed sermon followed a particular pattern common to all the great preachers and sermonisers. It usually began with a quote from Scripture, from the day's Gospel or Epistle reading. This would then be followed by an *exordium*, a short explanation of the text and a statement of the main points to be dealt with.⁹¹⁶ After the *exordium* the preacher proceeded to deal with the main body of the argument. The sermon may have lasted from anything from five to thirty minutes. There was a wealth of sermon collections published throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were presumably adapted or used *verbatim* for Sunday Masses.

Due to the paucity of sources it is more difficult to track changes taking place in the liturgical settings of rural chapels in Dublin. Attention has already been given in a previous chapter to the physical evolution of rural chapels. By the nineteenth century it appears that most chapels in rural parishes were comfortable, modest buildings. Some chapels, like those at Booterstown and Clontarf cost considerable amounts of money to erect, and their interiors were not too dissimilar to chapels in the city. Yet there were a number of chapels erected in the 1810s and 1820s, which cost as little as £500 to construct. Connolly argues that 'the pre-Famine chapel appears frequently to have been little more than, than in the literal sense of the word, a mass house- a place where mass was said on Sundays and holydays but which had no particular claim to be the scene of other religious functions'.⁹¹⁷ For example, in Dublin it was still common in the pre-Famine period for marriages and baptisms to be conducted in the house of the parish priest and not, as laid down by Trent, in the parish chapel. This was certainly the case with Christopher Crisps who was married in a house in Ballymore Eustace in 1797.⁹¹⁸ There is little evidence to suggest that other acts of worship such as Benediction or the Stations of the Cross existed in rural parishes. Reforms emphasised the importance of the parish church as the sole centre of spiritual life for the parish, where all the sacraments were to be administered. In Ireland, however, it was not until the later decades of the nineteenth century that this practice was universally observed. Connolly's study admittedly focused primarily on a number of predominantly 'rural' dioceses, particularly Clogher and Cashel. In the case of Cashel, however, there were a number of similarities with Dublin. Apart from the fact that they were both

⁹¹⁶ McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth century France*, ii, *The religion of the people and the politics of religion*, p. 65.

⁹¹⁷ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 109.

⁹¹⁸ James Crisps, Ballymore Eustace, to Archbishop Troy, 21. Dec. 1798 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7 (101)).

archdioceses, Cashel and Dublin were both in Ireland's economic heartland, and both had a significant Catholic land owning class. Connolly's 'Mass house' premise is given further credence in a number of Archbishop Troy's *Relatio Status*. In 1818 Troy informed Church authorities in Rome that chapels offered parishioners little apart from providing Mass. He bemoaned the situation in Dublin where, he said, the numerically insufficient clerical body could not administer the sacrament of confession, or even keep simple records of baptisms and marriages.⁹¹⁹ The reason for this, he said, was because the demands on clergy were too great. This was especially the case in rural parishes which covered extensive areas, many of which had large Catholic populations. In many instances these parishes were served only by a parish priest, without the assistance of a curate. For example, of the forty-eight parishes in the archdiocese in 1801, nineteen were served only by a parish priest. The consequent strain of clergy was especially felt in the deanery of Wicklow. The deanery was made up of five parishes: Wicklow and Ashford, Arklow, Kilbride, Rathdrum, and Red Cross.⁹²⁰ The parish of Rathdrum was one of the largest parishes in archdiocese, covering a significant area in south-east Wicklow. The census compiled in 1831 recorded the parish as having a Catholic population of over 6,700.⁹²¹ However, only the parishes of Wicklow and Arklow enjoyed the services of a curate.⁹²²

Mass attendance

In light of the many apparently positive changes and reforms that occurred, it may be tempting, therefore, to conclude that the numbers of Catholics attending Mass on a regular basis increased. Due to the absence of reliable surveys estimating the numbers of Catholics attending Mass before the 1830s it is difficult to chart this progression. Nonetheless, it may be reasonable to assume that the numbers of Catholics attending Sunday Mass were increasing, since the overall Catholic population had increased significantly since 1800. In 1800 the Catholic population was estimated to be roughly 250,000; this figure had increased to just over 390,000 by 1834.⁹²³ However, the extent to which the numbers attending Mass increased is difficult to assess. In 1834 the Whig

⁹¹⁹ *Relatio Status*, 1802 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/9(19)).

⁹²⁰ Number of parish priests, curates & other clergy of the Archdiocese of Dublin, with the average ordinary annual income of each parish priest [of the] City of Dublin, undated (D.D.A., AB2/31/146)).

⁹²¹ *First report of the Commissioners for Public Instruction, Ireland*, p. 144b, H.C. 1835, xxxiii, 438.

⁹²² Number of parish priests, curates & other clergy of the Archdiocese of Dublin, with the average ordinary annual income of each parish priest [of the] City of Dublin, undated (D.D.A., AB2/31/146)).

⁹²³ Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 271.

government at Westminster decided to establish the Public Instruction Commission, whose task it was to ascertain the denominational breakdown in all of the parishes in Ireland.⁹²⁴ Amongst other things, the Commission compiled information as to the numbers of Catholics in each parish, the number of chapels, the number of Masses said in chapels, as well as the number of Catholics attending Mass in chapels on a particular Sunday. David Miller's study, based on the reports of the Commission, estimates that the Mass attendance was greatest in an area roughly corresponding to Leinster and much of Munster; the so-called economic heartland of Ireland. Miller suggested that the numbers attending Sunday Mass could have been as high as forty percent of the Catholic population in this area, and was 'generally highest in towns with Catholic populations in excess of 5,000, as well as in rural areas where efforts to stimulate reform had been successful.'⁹²⁵ However, concern has been expressed over the reliability of the Commission's figures. Nigel Yates, for example, suggests that much of the work done on the levels of Mass attendance 'has been extremely misleading'.⁹²⁶ Yates's scepticism may be based on the fact that the report was compiled at a time of unrivalled politicisation of the churches, when pastors, priests and ministers were concerned with maximising their membership figures. In many instances local clergy were made aware of the time when the enumerator would visit the church to record numbers at services. In one instance in Raphoe, it was alleged that a Catholic enumerator instructed the parish priest to have an especially full congregation when the chapel was visited.⁹²⁷

The strongest *caveat* to Miller's findings, however, is given by Ignatius Murphy.⁹²⁸ Murphy noted that the survey was based on Church of Ireland parishes, making it difficult, and occasionally impossible, to relate these figures to Catholic parishes.⁹²⁹ He also questioned the methodology employed, which while seemingly thorough, 'some of the results point to an extremely slipshod approach'.⁹³⁰ In the case of Killaloe, Murphy illustrated examples where enumerators did not visit certain areas of rural parishes, which he says, 'reveals extraordinary anomalies' as to Mass attendance.⁹³¹ In many instances enumerators received figures from Mass attendance from local clergy. There are a number of problems associated with this method of

⁹²⁴ For further reading on the workings of the Commission see David W. Miller, 'Mass attendance in Ireland in 1834' in Stewart J. Brown and David W. Miller (eds), *Piety and power in Ireland 1760-1960: essays in honour of Emmet Larkin* (Notre Dame, 2000), pp 158-79.

⁹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁹²⁶ Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland 1770-1850*, p. 155.

⁹²⁷ Miller, 'Mass attendance in Ireland in 1834', p. 160.

⁹²⁸ Murphy, *The diocese of Killaloe 1800-1850*, pp 342-47.

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁹³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*

investigation. Firstly, clergy may have been tempted to inflate attendance, in the knowledge that the figures would be made public. Secondly, it may have been difficult for priests to estimate accurately attendance since most people stood during Mass; therefore, seating capacity could not even be used as a barometer. The problem was especially true in large chapels where the ‘numbers attending were so big that even moderately accurate estimates must have been extremely difficult’.⁹³²

The allegation that chapels were especially full on the day of counting is interesting. In the aforementioned parish of Rathdrum, the Catholic population was said to have been 7,222 in 1834.⁹³³ On the day the parish was visited by enumerators, 3,800 Catholics attended Mass in the parish. This corresponded to approximately fifty percent of the parish’s Catholic population.⁹³⁴ When one considers that both the aged and infirm, and young children were exempt from attending, the percentage total could increase to as much as seventy percent of those obliged to attend. On first glance, this seemingly high total may suggest that in Rathdrum the ‘devotional revolution’, at least with regard to Mass attendance, had occurred significantly earlier than the 1850s.⁹³⁵ In Rathdrum there were four Catholic chapels: at the Flannel Hall, Clara, Macreddin, and Greenan. A total of 800 people attended the two Masses held at the Flannel Hall, while 600 attended the one Mass held at Clara.⁹³⁶ At the chapels at Macreddin and Greenan 1,200 persons were said to have attended in each chapel, despite the fact that there was only one Mass said in each chapel.⁹³⁷ 1,200 seems to have been an extraordinarily high total for both chapels, and considering the fact that the vast majority of chapels in rural parishes were described as small, it seems doubtful whether these chapels were capable of accommodating such large congregations, albeit if the majority stood during Mass. In the parish of Clontarf, the proportion of the Catholic population allegedly attending Mass was not as high. According to the report, there were 1,717 Catholics living in the parish, with one chapel serving the Catholic community, where two Masses were said on Sundays.⁹³⁸ Of the 1,700 or so Catholics, between 500 and 600 went to the chapel on

⁹³² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

⁹³³ This figure was not compiled by ‘computation’, as the majority of parishes were done by in 1834, but rather by ‘original census of enumerators appointed by the parish priest’. While admittedly more trustworthy than figures arrived at by computation, readers should treat this figure with the same amount of caution as one would employ when using any nineteenth-century census material.

⁹³⁴ *First report of the commissioners for public instruction, Ireland*, p. 144b, H.C. 1835 xxxiii, 438.

⁹³⁵ This assertion is purely speculative. For this to have been the case there would have had to been no old people or young children attending Mass, a scenario which seems unlikely.

⁹³⁶ *First report of the commissioners for public instruction, Ireland*, p. 114b, H.C. 1835 xxxiii, 438.

⁹³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹³⁸ *First report of the commissioners for public instruction, Ireland*, p. 100b, H.C. 1835 xxxiii, 438.

Sundays, i.e. approximately one third of the Catholic population.⁹³⁹ However, records for chapels in Dublin City suggest an exceptionally high number attending Sunday Mass. In St. Catherine's parish the Catholic population amounted to 8,126.⁹⁴⁰ The parish's Catholic population was served by a secular chapel in Meath Street and by the Augustinian chapel in John's Lane. The chapel in Meath Street offered eleven Masses on Sundays while in the Augustinian chapel there were twelve Masses. The report stated that about 500 people attended each Mass in Meath Street while the congregations in John's Lane numbered roughly 350 per Mass.⁹⁴¹ Therefore, if the reports were accurate, a total of 9,700 Catholics attended Mass on a particular Sunday: over seventy percent of the entire Catholic population of the parish. Although Miller's findings, based on the reports of the Commission, may seem as exaggerated, to some this was not so. For example, Patrick Corish has argued that Miller's figures on Mass attendance, particularly in what Corish calls the 'old towns of the maritime economy', are actually too low.⁹⁴² Corish estimates that attendance could have been up to seventy-five percent in these towns, but fails to provide convincing evidence to corroborate his suggestion.⁹⁴³

While both Corish's and Miller's estimates must be treated with caution, enough evidence survives to suggest that large numbers of Catholics were attending Sunday Mass on a regular basis. When the then recently appointed parish priest of Blanchardstown, Joseph Joy Dean conducted a parish visitation in 1830 he found that on Sundays there were roughly sixty communicants but at Easter, when the community was obliged to attend Confession and receive Communion, the number rose dramatically.⁹⁴⁴ Interestingly, sixty may appear a small total for communicants. However, regular reception of the Eucharist was not the norm in the period; most of the congregation would have communicated infrequently. The sixty referred to here may have been the most pious members of the community. However, 'at Easter', he wrote, 'more than 1,500 attend Confession[,] which supposing population at 4,000 leaves few absentees.'⁹⁴⁵ Joy Dean was evidently satisfied that the majority of those obliged to attend at Easter actually did so. Even where attendance at Sunday was not universal, historians have argued that this should not be viewed as evidence of non-belief, but

⁹³⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁰ *First report of the commissioners for public instruction, Ireland*, p. 119b, H.C. 1835 xxxiii, 457.

⁹⁴¹ Ibid.

⁹⁴² Corish, 'The Catholic community in the nineteenth-century', p. 27.

⁹⁴³ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁴ Cronin (ed.), 'Petition from the parishioners of Blanchardstown to Archbishop Murray concerning clerical appointments, 1826', p. 203.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid.

rather that people did not consider church attendance to be a such as priority as some clergy, as ‘apparently some more recent religious and social historians, thought it should be’.⁹⁴⁶

The Station Mass and the collection of dues and fees

In many parishes throughout Dublin, especially in more remote rural areas, priests seem to have struggled to cope with the pastoral demands of their flocks. In extensive parishes such as Glendalough or Dunlavin priests’ efforts to say more than one Mass on Sundays were made even more difficult due to the significant distances between chapels, often over terrain uncongenial to travel.⁹⁴⁷ In addition, some parishes only had one or two chapels, which may have made it difficult for parishioners to attend Mass regularly. The practice of holding Station Masses in the private homes of parishioners seems to have developed as a response to these difficulties. Connolly argued that by the late 1700s the practice of the Station Mass, whereby Mass was celebrated in private homes at certain times of the year, had already become commonplace in rural areas throughout most of Ireland.⁹⁴⁸ The Station Mass usually took place twice a year, at Easter and Christmas. They were normally held in the houses of better-off Catholics, for there was some cost incurred in hosting such an event, with food and drink having to be provided for the priest and those gathered. Also houses had to be sufficiently large and comfortable; another reason for selecting the homes of more respectable parishioners. An account of the Station Mass was provided by the Protestant writer, William Carleton (1794-1869). While Carleton’s prejudices against Irish Catholics are well-known, his account of the Station Mass appears to have been relatively accurate.⁹⁴⁹ He recalled that proceedings commenced early in the morning with the priest hearing confessions and saying Mass, which was followed by breakfast.⁹⁵⁰ After breakfast the priest was said to have begun examining and catechising the children.⁹⁵¹ This suggests the parish in question was without alternative means of providing religious instruction, through either Sunday schools or confraternities.⁹⁵² Certainly by 1820 in Dublin the vast majority of parishes had Sunday schools and confraternities of Christian Doctrine to catechise.

⁹⁴⁶ Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland 1770-1850*, p. 155.

⁹⁴⁷ This was especially true in the said parishes, which were largely comprised either of mountains or bog land.

⁹⁴⁸ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 109.

⁹⁴⁹ William Carleton, *Traits and stories of the Irish peasantry*, (2 vols, Worcester, 1990), i, p. 148.

⁹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵² Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 190.

When the children had been instructed, the priest collected his dues before dinner commenced for the family, the priest and a number of invited guests. The dinner lasted a few hours, and when finished the party retired for an evening of storytelling, merrymaking, and drinking. Carleton declared that the Station dinner was the ‘very pinnacle of a priest’s happiness’.⁹⁵³

It seems that in some cases the Station Mass was a quasi socio-religious occasion, which eventually became a source of concern for both diocesan and Roman officials. The reasons for their concerns were twofold. Firstly, Roman authorities were concerned at holding Masses outside of churches, in private homes. This practice was contrary to proper practice in the post-Tridentine Church. In 1819 Cardinal Fontana informed Archbishop Troy that news had reached him that there still existed ‘the abuse of administering the sacraments outside of the church’.⁹⁵⁴ He stated that the practice, introduced in penal times, should be abolished.⁹⁵⁵ As well as this obvious breach of ecclesial custom, private homes were deemed unsuitable because they lacked certain church furnishings considered essential for the appropriate celebration of the sacraments. In particular, the practice of holding confessions in houses worried Propaganda Fide. For example, they protested at women being confessed without the necessary safeguards to insure ‘that no irregularities occurred between the priest and the penitent’.⁹⁵⁶ They charged Troy to publicise these ‘abuses’ in all churches and stated that priests were to preach on and explain the Tridentine regulations concerning these matters.⁹⁵⁷ Propaganda stipulated that the sacrament of Penance was to be administered only in a confessional, where priest and penitent were safely separated. However, confessionals, which would have provided safeguards against such irregularities, were, in fact, not common in chapels in Dublin in the pre-Emancipation period. Troy cautioned Fontana against proceeding with such a course of action, outlining the Station Mass’s necessity as an essential part of the Church’s pastoral mission in Ireland. He argued that because the number of chapels in the archdiocese was not sufficient to provide the necessary number of Masses to cater for Catholics, it would have been detrimental to the Church’s efforts at stimulating further changes in religious practice to

⁹⁵³ William Carleton in Connolly, *Priest and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 85.

⁹⁵⁴ Cardinal Fontana to Archbishop Troy, 20 Mar. 1819 (D.D.A., Troy’s Roman correspondence, Part II, AB2/121/7(207)).

⁹⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁶ Cardinal Fontana to Archbishop Troy, 7 Apr. 1821 (D.D.A., Troy’s Roman correspondence, part ii, AB2/121/7(228)).

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid.

suppress the Station Mass.⁹⁵⁸ Troy of course was referring to the pastoral situation in various rural parishes, where some parishes could not afford to keep a curate or, where in some areas, the distance to a chapel prohibited parishioners from attending Mass. The situation in the Dublin City and in towns differed significantly. Parishes in the city, for example, were served by upwards of six priests and consequently were in a position to have more Masses and offer greater pastoral services.

While Troy recognised that he had little alternative but to ignore Propaganda's demands, he was not entirely happy with many of the customs that accompanied Station Masses. The Station dinner, for example, was an event of great concern. Station dinners were expensive to stage, putting a considerable financial strain on parishioners. Troy was equally concerned with the allegedly excessive eating and drinking that went on at many Station dinners, where 'so many of the guests are often guilty of gluttony and drunkenness'.⁹⁵⁹ In 1822 Troy and his suffragan bishops in province of Dublin prohibited this practice.⁹⁶⁰ It seems unlikely though that their efforts were entirely successful; in 1831 the bishops once again broached the topic, this time recommending that the Stations and the collection of clerical dues take place only in chapels.⁹⁶¹ The continuation of the practice may have something to do with the clergy's reluctance to forego the Stations, as they had become an event where clerical dues were commonly collected. The Catholic Church in Ireland was not a beneficed church, therefore its clergy did not receive payments from the state nor were they entitled by law to tithes or any other statutory payments.⁹⁶² Instead priests were almost entirely reliant on the contributions of parishioners for their income. Parish priests were supported by customary contributions given at Easter, and in some parishes at Christmas too. A report for Dublin compiled in 1801 states that in 'the Country they likewise get Hay, & in some places Corn from their Parishioners, who when able, pay certain fees for Marriages, Purifications & other functions'.⁹⁶³ To supplement their incomes it was not uncommon for priests to farm a small acreage, although to what extent this practice remained into the nineteenth century is questionable. In rural parishes curates were paid an annual salary by their parish priest, which in some places were supplemented by a

⁹⁵⁸ Archbishop Troy to Cardinal Fontana, 24 Apr. 1820 in Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 203.

⁹⁵⁹ Cardinal Fontana to Archbishop Troy, 20 Mar. 1819 (D.D.A., Troy's Roman correspondence, Part II, AB2/121/7(207)).

⁹⁶⁰ Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*, p. 206.

⁹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁹⁶² Maynooth College did of course receive an annual grant from the government until 1871.

⁹⁶³ Number of parish priests, curates & other clergy of the Archdiocese of Dublin, with the average ordinary annual income of each parish priest [of the] City of Dublin (D.D.A., AB2/31/1).

part of the quarterly or half-yearly collections made at chapels.⁹⁶⁴ Curates in the city parishes were said to have been maintained by a third share of the parish priests' dues.⁹⁶⁵ When the incomes of parish priests in Dublin were weighed against the national average they compared favourably. For example, returns made to the government in 1801 show that the income of the majority of Irish priests was somewhere between £50 to £100 per year. Excluding the city parishes, whose income was substantially greater, of thirty-nine rural parishes in the diocese, thirty-one had an annual income of £100 or more.⁹⁶⁶

Apart from dues and church collections, the other main source of clerical income was fees received for performing baptisms and marriages, and attending to sick calls and funerals. Of these the most lucrative were marriage fees.⁹⁶⁷ By the 1790s fees charged for performing marriages fluctuated from parish to parish due to the fact that there was no formal regulation set out by the diocese. Unsurprisingly this led to some unscrupulous clergy charging excessive fees for their services. Indeed the voracity shown by some clergy in exacting fees from their parishioners had, amongst other factors, been the cause of some lay Catholics forming themselves into clandestine organisations, the most famous of which being the Whiteboys.⁹⁶⁸ The Whiteboys stepped up their campaign of agitation against clerical dues and fees in the 1780s and by 1786 they had set out a table outlining what they considered to be 'fair' amounts to be paid for baptisms and marriages, which in some areas they posted on chapel doors.⁹⁶⁹ Naturally their actions were a cause for concern. While the activities of the Whiteboys were never that extensive in Dublin, Troy had first hand experience of their actions while serving as bishop in Ossory. In September 1786 he published regulations outlining the fees to be charged for baptisms and other services, and forbidding the refusal of sacraments for the non-payment of fees.⁹⁷⁰ Troy of course recognised the possibility that radical groups such as the Whiteboys, and later the Defenders, could harness the grievances of ordinary Catholics to further their own so-called democratic causes. While it is unknown whether Troy implemented such regulations when he was appointed archbishop later in 1786, it seems unlikely that he would have overlooked the matter of fees and dues when he was transferred to Dublin. Apart from the obvious

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁷ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 228.

⁹⁶⁸ See Keogh, *The French Disease*.

⁹⁶⁹ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 229.

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 230.

dangers posed by Catholics joining radical associations there was also the more important fact that the Church was almost entirely reliant on private contributions to fund its mission. Therefore, while denouncing the actions of radicals, he was mindful not to alienate those Catholics who contributed most and regularly. A prime illustration of the importance of the Catholic laity in funding a parish was the aforementioned case of St. James's parish in 1800, where the parishioners threatened to withhold chapel rents if their requests were not acceded to. Their actions were characteristic of the Catholic laity in the pre-Famine period. It showed a willingness to resort to protests and threats, and occasionally even to violent measures in order to convey their discontent with clerical conduct.⁹⁷¹ Overall, however, examples of discontent developing into protests and threats appear to have been rare in Dublin.⁹⁷²

The attempted regulation of marriage practice

Efforts to implement pastoral reforms in the archdiocese met with difficulties. While the reform of the Station Mass and the collection of fees and dues were hampered by social circumstances, many others were objections to reforming the cultural practices of Catholics. One of the most obvious examples of the difficulties involved the implementation of pastoral reforms was contained in the decree, *Tametsi*. The decree regulated the celebration of the sacrament of marriage. It sought to check abuses and to safeguard the sacredness of the marriage contract. It sought to locate the sacrament firmly within the parochial framework. However, while abuses such as the immorality of clergy or clerical neglect of parish duties could slowly be eradicated by continued action on the part of the archbishop and senior clergy, it proved considerably more difficult to bring the Church in Dublin in line with the Roman guidelines regarding marriage. This was largely because there had been almost universal indifference towards the implementation of *Tametsi*. This indifference existed because improper marriage practices were ingrained in Irish social and religious practice. This apparent apathy towards *Tametsi* was widespread among both clergy and laity. In fact the dispute concerning the implementation of *Tametsi* was one of the most contentious between Propaganda Fide and the Irish Church in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 235.

⁹⁷² Connolly notes an instance where the United Irishmen forwarded a document to the priests of St. Andrew's criticising their excommunication of a number of United Irishmen. Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 236.

Promulgated in 1563, *Tametsi* decreed that a marriage was invalid if not celebrated by the bishop or parish priest, or a priest authorised by either, in the presence of at least two witnesses.⁹⁷³ However, it proved difficult to implement in Ireland because of the social and political circumstances and therefore a compromise was needed. The compromise stated that it was desirable for Catholics to marry before a Catholic priest with at least two witnesses present, but the Church recognised the validity of a mixed marriage conducted before a Protestant minister.⁹⁷⁴ The decree was not binding in any parish or diocese until it was officially promulgated. While this had been accepted generally by both the Irish bishops and Propaganda Fide since the seventeenth century, by the 1770s Propaganda Fide was becoming increasingly uneasy with the apathy shown by the Irish bishops, and pushed for its universal promulgation in Ireland. Evidence suggests that many Irish bishops were in principle in favour of its promulgation. The ‘scandals and abuses’ that allegedly accompanied clandestinity presumably had much to do with the practice of ‘couple-begging’. The term couple-beggar referred to a priest who conducted clandestine marriages i.e. marriages not conducted in accordance with Tridentine guidelines. Many couple-beggars had been previously deprived of their ecclesiastical offices, sometimes for breaches in discipline, while others had conformed to the Established Church but had not found livings there.⁹⁷⁵ Normally couples who wished to be married were required to receive a dispensation from the publication of banns. To receive this they were usually required to pay a fee to their parish priest.⁹⁷⁶ One of the contributory factors that made couple-beggars popular was that they often charged lower fees to perform marriages. Similarly, many couples turned to the couple-beggar if they were refused permission to marry by their families or parish priest. Troy was no doubt referring to such couples in his pastoral letter of 1789 when he implored those tempted to follow such a course to think again. He wrote: ‘We shall not remind you of the Respect, and Deference due to Parents and Guardians, as they are dictated by Nature; particularly at this critical Time, when your Conduct must determine your future happiness in this, and in perhaps the next Life’.⁹⁷⁷ Troy mourned the fact that couples, who were married clandestinely chose this path

⁹⁷³ Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience*, p. 107.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid. The validity of ‘mixed marriages’ conducted before a Protestant minister was regularised by a papal decision in 1785.

⁹⁷⁵ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 200.

⁹⁷⁶ Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience*, p. 179.

⁹⁷⁷ Lenten pastoral, 2 Mar. 1789 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/4(101)).

Instead of calling on God in Prayer, and by a previous Sacramental Concession, and Communion prescribed by the Church, disposing themselves for the married State', he wrote, 'the Parties frequently take forbidden Liberties with each other; and often when almost insensible from Drunkenness, apply to officiating Clergy; by whom they are charitably reprimanded, and desired to return when sober, and duly prepared.'⁹⁷⁸

Couple-beggars were attracted to Dublin in part because of its large Catholic population, many of whom were poor and found it difficult to afford the fees charged by their parish priests. The demand for couple-beggars may have increased due to the large numbers of migrants, some of whom possibly found it difficult to secure dispensations from their former parish priests.

However, as well as breaching the laws of the Church, the couple-beggar was also breaking the civil law when he contracted a marriage between a Catholic and Protestant. A number of 'couple beggars' were tried and convicted in the late 1700s; the most infamous of whom was Patrick Fay, a former Catholic priest, who converted to the Established Church. However, Fay's tenure as a Protestant minister was an unhappy one; he was expelled from position as chaplain to the Royal Hospital Kilmainham for performing an illegal marriage.⁹⁷⁹ Unrepentant, Fay continued performing clandestine marriages, for which he was eventually tried and sentenced to death but was later reduced to transportation.⁹⁸⁰ While few achieved such celebrity status, Fay's activities were far from exceptional. Lewd behaviour was often part of the daily life of the couple-beggar, who allegedly spent much of his day drinking and gambling in ale-houses. In his Lenten pastoral for 1789, Troy lamented the fact that couples who were refused marriage by their own pastors 'fly immediately to a profligate and excommunicate Priest generally as intoxicated as themselves, who runs over the Marriage Ceremony without the smallest Inquiry about Kindred, Consent of Parents, difference of Religion, a former Contract of Marriage, or other Impediments'.⁹⁸¹ Troy then went on to mourn what he saw as the tragic consequences of such marriages. He wrote that 'It frequently happens that after a short Cohabitation, she is abandoned by her unprincipled Seducer, and becomes an outcast of Society; reduced to the sad Necessity of prolonging the wretched Existence by the Wages of Prostitution'.⁹⁸² To act as a deterrent to those tempted by the path of wickedness, the Catholic Church had set out

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 15 Nov. 1787 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 263.

⁹⁸⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 14 Feb. 1795 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 294.

⁹⁸¹ Lenten pastoral, 2 Mar. 1789 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/4(101)).

⁹⁸² Ibid.

severe punishments for offenders. Troy stated that ‘in order to prevent such scandalous Excesses’, the Church

has ordered that the contracting Parties should be married by their Pastor only, or by a Clergyman authorised for the Purposes; and in the Presence of at least two Witnesses: She has also declared, that any other priest presuming to perform that awful Ceremony is not only to be suspended from the Exercise of Clerical Functions, but likewise excommunicated by the very Fact: The Excommunication extended to the Parties, and to every one who assists at these infamous Marriages.⁹⁸³

While the bishops were generally agreed on desirability to eradicate couple-begging and clandestinity, many were in practice reluctant to implement Propaganda’s wishes and universally introduce *Tametsi*. Writing to Bishop Sweetman in 1777, Troy recalled Carpenter’s opinion on *Tametsi*. Carpenter, he said, anticipated the ‘Inconveniences likely to arise from that Step’ but agreed that they bore ‘no Proportion to the Scandals & Abuses occasioned by the present System’.⁹⁸⁴ Even in light of these scandals and abuses Troy was still hesitant about promulgating the decree. Instead he declared that ‘no National, much less a Provincial Council, can declare Clandestine Marriages invalid. That belongs to the Pope’.⁹⁸⁵

The death of Carpenter in 1786 was a set back for those in favour of *Tametsi*. Upon his appointment as archbishop, Troy conducted a survey of parish clergy from the archdiocese concerning its proposed promulgation. Out of the thirty-nine replies received, only seven were in favour of its promulgation while thirty-two advised against it.⁹⁸⁶ This refusal to follow the instructions of the Holy See eventually led to Propaganda in 1791 rebuking the Irish archbishops.⁹⁸⁷ Although many dioceses complied the decree was not universally implemented in the four Irish provinces until 1827, with Dublin finally executing Propaganda’s wishes. This meant that all marriages involving Catholics were considered invalid unless celebrated before the parish priest or designated celebrant.⁹⁸⁸ In the wake of the universal promulgation of *Tametsi* the practice of couple-begging and clandestinity eventually died out. These reforms brought the Catholic Church in Dublin more fully in line with the Roman model of ‘Church’. However, the debate over the implementation of *Tametsi* and the sacramental reform of marriage is further proof that introducing reforms in the Church in Dublin was a tentative process. Progress towards this was slow, and depended not only on the zeal of

⁹⁸³ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁴ Bishop Troy to Bishop Sweetman, 20 Oct. 1777 (D.D.A., Carpenter papers, AB2/6/7(5)).

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁶ Replies from priests from the various deaneries and parishes of the diocese in relation to the proposed promulgation of the papal decree *Tametsi*, 1788 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/1(1-40)).

⁹⁸⁷ Propaganda Fide to the Irish archbishops, 5 Jun. 1791 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/6/7(159)).

⁹⁸⁸ Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience*, p. 179.

bishops and pastors to stimulate change but also was affected by the social climate, with the Catholic laity often proving unreceptive to reform. In the case of *Tametsi*, one of the biggest problems facing reformers was that clandestinity had become ingrained in a society where many were indifferent, if not unwilling, to view this practice as anything other than the norm.

In many parts of the country those whose marriage was conducted by a couple-beggar were made to do some form of public penance, which often took place in their local chapel. Sometimes this took the form of the couple standing outside the chapel door before Sunday Mass or receiving a public rebuke by the parish priest.⁹⁸⁹ The effectiveness of public penance for this offence may have been minimal though, especially in communities where clandestinity was common and generally approved by many Catholics.⁹⁹⁰ However, the significance of the *Tametsi* affair went far beyond marriage regulations. The unwillingness shown by Troy and other Irish bishops in promulgating the decree was an example of the Irish bishops' reluctance to comply fully with the wishes of Rome. Some of the reasons for Troy's apparent refusal to conform have already been illustrated. However, possibly the most significant reason may have been his desire not to offend the Irish and British governments. Marriage regulations were concerns not only to the Catholic Church but also to government. Civil law, for example, had declared mixed marriages conducted by a Catholic priest invalid, although they were recognised by *Tametsi*. Troy may have felt it imprudent to promulgate *Tametsi*, that it could possibly have affected Catholics pleas for concessions, both in the 1780s/90s and 1820s, when calls for reform were greatest.

Changes in 'popular' religious practice: holy wells, pilgrimages and wakes

It was in the areas of belief and practice perhaps that reform-minded clergy and laity had the greatest difficulty in promoting change. The differences between what has been described by some as popular or folk religion, and official, or possibly more accurately, orthodox religion, have been well-documented.⁹⁹¹ Often it was poorer Catholics who were viewed as particularly reluctant to submit to, or accept, orthodox practice and teaching. They have been characterised as a sort of subculture 'living in a mysterious

⁹⁸⁹ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 140.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁹¹ See Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997).

world pervaded by superstition and folk belief”.⁹⁹² Indeed it was the continued existence of this subculture and ‘folk belief’ which greatly concerned reform-minded Catholics. Since its arrival in Ireland Christianity had traditionally absorbed many aspects of pre-Christian pagan beliefs. Their coexistence continued in Ireland well into the nineteenth century was due to the fact that Ireland never really had a truly ‘Tridentine Church’. Religious instruction for many Catholics had been limited to the Lord’s Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Creed, as well as familiarity with the Seven Deadly Sins, ‘as a basis for moral teaching’.⁹⁹³ Substantial improvement in religious knowledge came slowly, and only after the 1700s.⁹⁹⁴ In the absence of an organised catechetical system to promote orthodox Christianity many Catholics retained their own primitive or folk understanding. Beliefs in the supernatural and local traditions were often intertwined.

Commonly the supernatural was manifest at holy wells and other sacred places where patterns or pilgrimages often took place. In many instances the pilgrimage, or pattern, took the form of popular festivals, becoming a mixture of ‘Christian devotion and traditional magic, ritual observance and festive celebration’.⁹⁹⁵ For example, the pattern which took place at St. John’s Well, Kilmainham was celebrated on St. John’s Eve, which corresponded with the pagan feast of midsummer. Holy wells were often characterised as the antithesis of official Catholic belief because of the many superstitious and supposedly scandalous and improper practices that became associated with them. However, wells were not only located in what Gillespie calls the ‘barbaric rural world’ but also in towns and cities.⁹⁹⁶ There was over one hundred holy wells in County Dublin alone.⁹⁹⁷ Indeed there were several in and around Dublin city, many of which continued to attract popular devotion well into the nineteenth century. The most venerated wells in the archdiocese were located at Kilmainham and Mulhuddart.

Devotional practices were associated with the visitation of holy wells. It was common to leave an offering at the well after one had taken the water. Some would leave a religious medal or picture or tie a ribbon around a nearby tree. By later decades of the eighteenth century pilgrimages to holy wells were a source of increasing concern to both Carpenter and Troy. There were two main reasons for their concerns. Firstly, they were uneasy at some of the ‘unchristian’ aspects of devotions, particularly some of

⁹⁹² Ibid., p. 5.

⁹⁹³ Ibid., p. 13.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁵ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 143.

⁹⁹⁶ Gillespie, *Devoted people*, p. 9.

⁹⁹⁷ For a complete list of holy wells in Dublin see Kevin Danagher, ‘The holy wells of County Dublin’ in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 1 (1959), pp 68-87.

the magical or superstitious associations which were not consistent with orthodox Christian belief. Secondly, holy wells and patterns represented almost a parallel system of religious practice, where clerical authority was at best minimal and at worst absent.

While archbishops and senior clergy showed in general a disdain towards the devotional practices associated with holy wells, the pilgrimages to the wells at Kilmainham and Mulhuddart came in for particular criticism. The well at Mulhuddart attracted large crowds on certain feasts, but especially on Lady Day, 8 September.⁹⁹⁸ Traditionally it was believed that the well's water had 'nine cures' for sprains, cuts, bruises, rheumatism and other ailments.⁹⁹⁹ However, pilgrimages to the well became notorious for acts of drunkenness and violence. In 1754 a number of priests attempted to prevent the erection of booths and tents near the well.¹⁰⁰⁰ It appears though that their efforts brought them little success. *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* expressed their disdain at events taking place at the Lady Day pilgrimage. It highlighted the 'enormities and scandalous excesses that are annually committed at the Well' and implored landlords not to 'permit any tents or booths to be erected hereafter upon any part of their lands'.¹⁰⁰¹ Amongst other things, tents and booths sold alcohol and tempted pilgrims with various gambling games. Presumably the prevalence of alcohol encouraged violence, which came to be seen as a feature of the pilgrimage. In 1760 the *Dublin Gazette* recorded that an Edward Campbell, a gentleman's servant, died of the 'wounds he received in a fray at Lady's Well near Mullahedart'.¹⁰⁰² A visitor to the well in the mid eighteenth century, Austin Cooper, gave a more serene account of the site. He wrote that

The well is surrounded by a wall and some large trees and about five years ago hath been vaulted over, on each end are two little uprights of stone work, like chimnies, in the front of each a small niche, one glazed (the others broken) and containing a cross from which hangs a plate of brass with the Virgin Mary and our Saviour lying on her lap after the crucifixion, and a distant view of Jerusalem, reviled thereon... There's a hole at each end-the people lye on their bellies there, with their hedd over the water, repeat a prayer, and drink and repeat another prayer before the little glazed bauble.¹⁰⁰³

Cooper's account highlighted a spiritual autonomy enjoyed by pilgrims, who benefited from direct access to the supernatural at holy sites, and not only at the sacraments. By the 1780s Propaganda Fide wrote to the bishops in Ulster expressing their concern at

⁹⁹⁸ Petra Skyvova, *Fingallian holy wells* (Dublin, 2005), p. 69.

⁹⁹⁹ Danagher, 'The holy wells of County Dublin', p. 76.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 15 Aug. 1754 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 85.

¹⁰⁰² *Dublin Gazette*, 7 Oct. 1760 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 99.

¹⁰⁰³ Austin Cooper, *Notes and sketches* (Dublin, 1782).

events taking place at the annual pilgrimage to St. John's Well in County Meath, describing it as an 'occasion of various evil consequences'.¹⁰⁰⁴ Indeed Archbishop Carpenter ordered an admonition to be read at all Masses in the archdiocese in 1783, condemning 'the many abuses and scandals committed' at the well.¹⁰⁰⁵ It was in light of these abuses that 'the people of the diocese' were 'forbid[den] under pain of the most severe censures of the church to resort, to, or to go there at the ensuing feast'.¹⁰⁰⁶

At roughly the same time as concerns were expressed over events taking place at Mulhuddart, similar worries were uttered concerning the pilgrimage to Kilmainham. Events on St. John's Eve may have been characteristic of the coexistence of the sacred and profane; the best example of which was the collection of 'votaries with tumblers or horn goblets, mixing whiskey with its saintly waters' gathered around the well'.¹⁰⁰⁷ In December 1786 Carpenter issued a prohibition against 'resorting to a place on the Circular Road, to which they give the name of St. John's Well & there under pretext of devotion occasion many scandalous enormities not only disgraceful but evil to society'.¹⁰⁰⁸ Carpenter's prohibition coincided with the feast of St Maignenn, which suggests that it was customary for people to gather at the well on his day. In 1787 Troy followed the lead given by Carpenter by ordering an exhortation to be read in the city's chapels condemning the unchristian actions of some pilgrims at the well. Troy stated that 'instead of gaining indulgence, or reaping any other spiritual benefit thereby' many pilgrims 'generally scandalise their holy religion and disturb public peace by many criminal excesses'.¹⁰⁰⁹ For those who wished 'to glorify God', he said, they could satisfy 'their devotion in the chapels and elsewhere in a becoming manner, without exposing themselves to the dangerous opportunities of intoxication, riot, and other manifold transgressions'.¹⁰¹⁰ He implored all Catholics to conduct themselves 'on this and every occasion in a manner becoming children of the Church, and peaceable members of the community'.¹⁰¹¹ Troy's wishes for propagating this exhortation were twofold. Firstly, in denouncing the excesses of the pilgrimage he attempted to locate religious devotion in chapels under clerical supervision, thus removing the autonomy

¹⁰⁰⁴ A copy of the decision of Propaganda Fide concerning the resolutions of the Ulster prelates, assembled at Drogheda in 1781 (D.D.A., Carpenter papers, AB1/116/3(43)).

¹⁰⁰⁵ Admonition to be read from the altars, 15 Jun. 1783 (D.D.A., Archbishop Carpenter's *instructiones, monita &c.*). Curran (ed.), 'Instructions, admonitions, etc', p. 168.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰⁷ Kevin Danagher, *The year in Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), p. 150.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Admonition to be read before St John's day, 1786 (D.D.A., Archbishop Carpenter's *instructiones, monita &c.*). Curran (ed.), 'Instructions, admonitions, etc', p. 171.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Dublin Chronicle*, 23 Jun 1787 in Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 99.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹¹ *Ibid.*

enjoyed by pilgrims at wells. Secondly, Troy was becoming increasingly concerned at the general perception held by Protestants, and in particular the Irish and British governments, of Irish Catholics. That Catholics be seen as ‘peaceable members of the community’ was important in his eyes if they were to be successful in securing the further repeal of the remaining penal laws. The Protestant press frequently reported on the antics of pilgrims, which may have done little to improve the Protestant view of Irish Catholics, whom they frequently portrayed as barbaric and superstitious.

Efforts to reform pilgrimages and other examples of public devotion seem to have had mixed results. For example, the *Dublin Evening Post* recalled a considerable improvement in behaviour at an annual ceremony in St. James’s churchyard to decorate and bless graves in 1788

No riot or disturbance, however, took place- this scene of former anarchy, which in other years seemed dedicated to confusion, was quite reformed- it was distinguishable in the church-yard for nothing but the piety of pater nosters offered over the graves and the novelty of the sight- and in the street for great crowds, low wit and a multitude of toys.¹⁰¹²

Whether or not this ‘improvement’ was continued in subsequent years is unsure. However, it is known that Troy was sufficiently worried at events taking place at the pilgrimage in Mulhuddart that he devoted a pastoral letter to it in 1803, which he ordered to be read at all masses in the archdiocese. The pastoral letter read:

We deem it our duty to remind you, that those of our Communion, who resort as through devotion, to the Well near Mulhuddart, of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, or within eight days immediately before, or after that day instead of gaining any spiritual benefit thereby, are guilty of disobedience to the Church, as their spiritual superiors have long since, and repeatedly prohibited any meeting of persons there at the mentioned time, on account of the scandal and discredit of religion, occasioned by excesses of every kind committed under the colour and pretence of devotion: We therefore expect that no Roman Catholic will encourage such meeting, by erecting Tents, near the Well, or Church Yard, or by his presence, or in any manner whatsoever.¹⁰¹³

For those ‘pious persons’ who were intent on magnifying the ‘Lord by their veneration of his Virgin Mother, *whom all Generations shall call blessed*’ they should ‘satisfy their devotion elsewhere in a religious manner, without exposing themselves to the danger of intoxication, of riot, and other violations of the Commandments of God and the Laws of Society’.¹⁰¹⁴ Once again Troy finished by imploring that pilgrims behave in a ‘manner

¹⁰¹² *Dublin Evening Post*, 26 Jul. 1788 in, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 260.

¹⁰¹³ Pastoral letter, 23 Aug. 1802 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/9(44)).

¹⁰¹⁴ *Ibid.*

becoming of good Christians, loyal Subjects, and peaceable members of the Community'.¹⁰¹⁵

Efforts by Troy and Murray to reform the patterns at Mulhuddart and Kilmainham eventually bore some success. This limited success was common in most Irish dioceses, where clerical opposition to wells and patterns increased but it was not until the 1840s and 1850s that efforts to suppress gatherings affected their popularity.¹⁰¹⁶ The pilgrimage to Kilmainham no longer attracted large crowds by the 1830s. Up to 1835 the 'observances lingered on' but it was very much inferior to the popularity and scale of events which it previously enjoyed and appeared to have slowly petered out by the Famine.¹⁰¹⁷ The pattern at Mulhuddart proved more resilient and the clergy deemed it more prudent to regulate, or 'Christianise', the festival instead of attempting to eliminate it. Gradually the pilgrimage was brought under increasing clerical control, and slowly the 'excesses' and unchristian behaviour which had come to characterise it were eradicated. Large crowds continued to gather on Our Lady's Day, but the event took on the character of an official religious event.¹⁰¹⁸

However, it was the annual fair at Donnybrook which reforming clergy found it most difficult to regulate. While the fair was not devoted to a particular saint, or had no specifically religious patron, it coincided with the end of summer and harvest and thus was not unlike the Christian feast of thanksgiving. The fact that it was not a denominational event may have rendered it even more difficult to regulate. The annual fair was, however, a universal cause for concern for Catholic, Protestant, and municipal leaders. While it was said to have enforced 'communal solidarity' through carnivalesque expressions, such as foot races, music and song, and the staging of plays, the fair was also associated with sexual licence, drinking and violence.¹⁰¹⁹ It attracted numerous couple-beggars, many of whom were disgraced and defrocked clergy, the most famous of them being a German priest, called the 'Tack'em'.¹⁰²⁰ Prostitution was also allegedly commonplace. By the early nineteenth century the fair was said to have lost much of its 'respectability', and by this stage was frequented mostly by people of the 'lowest sort'. With opposition to the fair increasing steadily, much of it coming from reform-minded Protestant evangelicals and temperance advocates, efforts were made to curtail drinking

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁶ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 149.

¹⁰¹⁷ Danagher, *The year in Ireland*, p. 150.

¹⁰¹⁸ Devotion at the well in Mulhuddart still continues to this day.

¹⁰¹⁹ Séamus Ó Maitiú, *The humours of Donnybrook: Dublin's famous fair and its suppression* (Dublin, 1995), p. 15.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid., p. 26.

and violence at the fair. Once again success came slowly and it was not until the erection of a new church at Donnybrook in 1866 that the fair was finally suppressed.

Connolly argues that what concerned Troy and other Irish bishops in condemning pilgrimages and fairs was not the eradication of Celtic or pagan beliefs from Catholic culture but rather examples of drinking and violence.¹⁰²¹ Murray's approbation of cures accredited to the German, Prince Alexander Hohenlohe in 1823 may be one of the best examples of the reluctance of the clergy to distance themselves from this type of popular culture.¹⁰²² Hohenlohe was one of Europe's most celebrated 'priest heelers', often attracting thousands to his home city of Wurzburg seeking cures and blessings.¹⁰²³ Eventually the numbers petitioning him for a private audience became so large that he was forced to resort to what was known as 'distance healing'.¹⁰²⁴ Hohenlohe stipulated that he would pray for a sick person at a particular time, while prayers were often said, or Mass celebrated, at the same time in close proximity to the petitioner. The most publicised of the miracles in Ireland accredited to Prince Hohenlohe occurred in the Carmelite convent at Ranelagh and involved a Sister Mary Stuart. Stuart was said to have been ill for over five years, suffering constant attacks of paralysis, and was dying by August 1823. After receiving *viaticum* she mysteriously recovered.¹⁰²⁵ The cure was said to have come at the same time as the prince was celebrating Mass in Germany. Murray proclaimed that her miraculous recovery could have only been due to the 'extraordinary interposition of that omnipotent being' in a pastoral letter.¹⁰²⁶ Soon after Murray's pastoral letter was published an array of so-called miracle cures were reported from different parts of the country, one of which took place in Merrion Square.¹⁰²⁷ Belief in miracles it seems was not only for the uneducated, rural peasant but also for a part of Catholic life in such a respectable area as Merrion Square. Hohenlohe even designated 1 September 1823 as a day on which he would offer Mass for the all the sick in Ireland. Once again a plethora of miracles were

¹⁰²¹ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 163.

¹⁰²² Pastoral letter, 15 Aug. 1823 (D.D.A., Murray papers AB3/30/7(1)).

¹⁰²³ Laurence Geary, 'Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastorini and miraculous healing in early nineteenth-century Ireland' in Greta Jones and Elizabeth Malcolm (eds), *Medicine, disease and the state in Ireland, 1650-1940* (Cork, 1999), p. 41.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁰²⁵ Sr. M. Catherine, Ranelagh convent, to Archbishop Murray, 1 Aug. 1823 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/7(65)); Geary, 'Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastorini and miraculous healing in early nineteenth-century Ireland', p. 44.

¹⁰²⁶ Pastoral letter, 15 Aug. 1823 in Geary, 'Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastorini and miraculous healing in early nineteenth-century Ireland', p. 44. .

¹⁰²⁷ Geary, 'Prince Hohenlohe, Signor Pastorini and miraculous healing in early nineteenth-century Ireland', p. 44.

reported, creating what one Protestant observer called a ‘politico-religious mania’.¹⁰²⁸ Newspapers derided belief in Hohenlohe’s cures as superstitious, blasphemous, fraudulent, ignorant, bigoted, and as self-degrading and Jesuitical falsehood.¹⁰²⁹

The publicity surrounding Hohenlohe was, however, part of an overall resurgence in the popularity of Catholic prophecy. 1825 was the year in which the English Benedictine, Charles Walmesley, better known as ‘Signor Pastorini’, predicted the overthrow of the Protestant state in Ireland. While the prophecies never received support from the Irish bishops, they were widely publicised in pamphlets, ballads and rhymes.¹⁰³⁰ Many Catholics anticipated the arrival of 1825 with much impatience, which further polarised the already deteriorating relationship between Catholics and Protestants. Undeterred by the prospect of exacerbating the situation, Murray certified the authenticity of the miracles, in spite of being cautioned not to do so. Murray was not alone in authenticating miracles attributed to Hohenlohe. Bishop Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin published a similar pastoral letter certifying a miraculous cure in Maryborough, Queen’s County, for which he too was much criticised.¹⁰³¹ Irish newspapers carried articles speculating over the authenticity of the miracles. The *Irishman* suggested that Murray’s pastoral was an ‘artfully constructed’ account of a ‘pretended miracle’.¹⁰³² However, opposition to the public pronouncement of the miracle came not only from the press and from various Protestant groups but also from within the Irish episcopate. For example, Dr Curtis, the archbishop of Armagh, wrote to Murray expressing his disagreement with Murray’s approbation of the miraculous cures, in a number of strongly worded letters.¹⁰³³ Curtis was concerned that by authenticating the alleged miracles Murray was adding to the superstitions which many Catholics held. While acknowledging their authenticity Curtis wrote that he could not

reflect, without trembling, on the new wonder working and consequently, dangerous ora[?], that now appears to be opening upon us, when others will attempt to follow the examples, now held out to them, without having Y. G’s prudence and discrimination, to direct, and preserve them from illusion and error in so perilous and delicate a matter.¹⁰³⁴

Curtis was obviously sceptical about fuelling a popular belief in what he described as ‘wonder working’, and in doing so preserving the mind from ‘illusion and error’. Curtis argued that the publication of the pastoral did little to calm the already soaring emotions

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁰²⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁰³⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁰³¹ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 126.

¹⁰³² *The Irishman*, 29 Aug. 1823.

¹⁰³³ Archbishop Curtis to Archbishop Murray, 20 Aug. 1823 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/7(12)).

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid.

of the Catholic population, which were no doubt fuelled by the Pastorini prophecies. He wrote that people's minds were 'now raised to an alarming degree of enthusiasm that seems daily to be augmented, and encouraged by those, whose duty it is to restrain and moderate the wild sallies of a flight imagination, particularly among ladies, and contemplative persons in general'.¹⁰³⁵ Curtis pleaded with Murray to use his 'influence and authority, to preclude any more of Prince Hohenlohe's wonderful cures, from being authoritatively announced to the public, as real miracles, till after they have been fairly submitted, with all their proofs, thro the proper channel, to the Holy See'.¹⁰³⁶ While Curtis was vehemently opposed to the publicising of miracles, it is doubtful whether episcopal silence would have been successful in quelling the surge of popular belief in the miraculous powers of Hohenlohe. Belief in the miraculous powers of Hohenlohe not only grew in 'popular culture' but continued to be promoted by some Dublin priests. Revd Henry Young, for example, corresponded with the prince's secretary, Mr Foster. In 1836 Young informed Murray that the prince would pray for a number of people and intentions on particular days.¹⁰³⁷ The Hohenlohe incident is an example of some Catholics' reluctance to dismiss cases of the 'supernatural' as superstitious.

While 'miraculous cures' were a concern, far more pressing were wakes. Wakes, for example, were opposed by clergy throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1730 diocesan statutes cautioned those holding wakes to prevent abuses by imposing public penances on those who partook in 'lewd games' or sang 'obscene songs'.¹⁰³⁸ As was the case with pilgrimages and patterns to holy wells and other 'holy sites', much of what took place at wakes were seen as both immoral and unchristian. Apart from the excessive drinking that allegedly went on, many of the games played had overt sexual connotations based on the fertility rituals of pre-Christian Ireland, as well as numerous other games described as 'profane' for the mockery of the Crucifixion and the clergy. As has already been illustrated, the obligation of members of Society of St. Patrick in the 1820s was to be present at wakes and read publicly from the scriptures. This was of course an attempt to reform wake practices in the hope of transforming them into sombre, prayerful and respectable occasions. However, the success of their crusade was only gradual. In this respect it would be interesting to see whether or not wakes were successfully reformed in Dublin City, where confraternities and clerical numbers were greatest. In 1831 the diocesan statutes advocated sobriety and

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁷ Henry Young to Archbishop Murray, 21 Feb. 1826 (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/9(7)).

¹⁰³⁸ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 161.

prayerfulness instead of merrymaking and celebration. As was the case with pilgrimages and patterns, reform was slow due to the fact that they were seen as a central part of Catholic popular culture, as a means of both remembering the dead and as communal social events.

The survival of wakes in the nineteenth century poses a number of important questions for historians. Firstly, did success in eradicating malpractice come earlier in the city and towns than in rural areas? Indeed how common were wakes in the city? Had they been more prevalent in rural parishes? It seems unlikely that wakes and their associated merriment were limited to the countryside. However, the continued existence of their 'unreformed' shape may have lasted longer in some of the more isolated areas of the archdiocese. This is not an unreasonable assumption. Generally speaking reforming clergy had more difficulty exercising their authority in remote parishes, which were often served by inadequate numbers of clergy. Examples where clerical authority was extremely difficult to exert in some parishes have already been described.

This mixing of the sacred with the profane was, however, not unique in either Dublin or in Ireland. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reforming bishops in Catholic countries throughout Europe were making increased efforts to 'Christianise the countryside', with the replacement of 'folk religion' with a more orthodox form of Christianity.¹⁰³⁹ Increased emphasis was placed on catechesis, with large volumes of catechisms being distributed throughout rural areas. Schools too gave renewed attention to religious education. As well as attempting to improve religious knowledge, reformers were also interested in transforming carnivals, pilgrimages and other religious events, what has been described as 'the reform of popular culture'.¹⁰⁴⁰ The reform movement took on a particular impetus in many European countries in the wake of the Protestant Reformation. Reformers were especially opposed to certain displays of 'popular culture', including miracle and mystery plays, popular sermons, but especially saints' days and pilgrimages.¹⁰⁴¹ In Austria, for example, ritual was simplified; statues were removed from many churches, and some 'pilgrimage churches' closed altogether. In Tuscany attempts to reform festivals and religious practice were met with peasant discontent between 1788 and 1791.¹⁰⁴² This attempted transformation of popular religious culture can be seen as purification from all that was seen as 'unchristian' and 'immoral'; a transformation towards sobriety, piety and orthodoxy.

¹⁰³⁹ See Aston, *Christianity and revolutionary Europe c. 1750-1830*, pp 79-81.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe* (London, 1978), p. 207.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹⁰⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

For reformers to succeed in their battle against ‘superstition’ and ‘immorality’ other forms of ritual and spectacle had to be introduced to meet the spiritual and communal needs of the community. At carnival time in Milan, for example, the reform minded bishop, Carlo Borromeo, had replaced the medieval plays with religious processions, while others introduced the Forty Hours devotion to satisfy the demand for spectacle.¹⁰⁴³ While systematic attempts to reform Catholic popular culture in Ireland did not come until significantly later, it was certainly not possible to arrange public processions. Similarly acts of public devotion such as the Forty Hours did not become common in Ireland until after the Famine. The Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland was largely incapable of providing events complete with ritual and spectacle to compensate for the carnivalesque proceedings at patterns and wakes. This failure by the Church to provide alternative occasions to express communality and sociability, albeit in a more ‘respectable’ fashion, may have something to do with the difficulties it had in eradicating the abuses taking place at such events. Attempts to transform popular culture were not aided by the prevailing social conditions. Connolly argues that Ireland’s exclusion from industrialisation in the early nineteenth century hindered efforts at reform, which in England had been relatively successful thanks to an increased sense of order and authority which industrialisation brought. Ireland on the other hand remained largely the same as it had been in the eighteenth century, a predominantly agricultural society.¹⁰⁴⁴ Consequently, it may have significantly more difficult to transform popular culture, especially in rural areas, whose societies changed little in the absence of industrial improvements.

Conclusion

By the time Troy was appointed archbishop in 1786 Dublin’s Catholic community was beginning to demonstrate an increasing interest in implementing pastoral reforms. In particular, large sections of the clergy and laity apparently felt the need to regulate and improve sacramental practice. Archbishop Carpenter had initially attempted to stimulate this process by initiating systematic diocesan visitations and publishing provincial and synodal constitutions setting out guidelines for clerical practice within parishes. Carpenter’s lead was followed by Troy and later by Murray. Upon his appointment as archbishop of Dublin Troy conducted a visitation of his new diocese. In nearly every

¹⁰⁴³ Ibid., p. 230.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, p. 171.

subsequent year he visited several parishes, enquiring as to the state of pastoral affairs.¹⁰⁴⁵ As well as this he required pastors to submit parochial returns, which included estimates of the population of the parish, numbers baptised, married, and those who converted, as well as a breakdown of the educational apparatus of the parish.¹⁰⁴⁶ Initially, episcopal efforts to stimulate reform were often met with apathy from both the clergy and the laity and change came slowly. However, Dublin's pastoral apparatus had been transformed beyond recognition by the time Troy died in 1823.

Change and reform were often tentative processes. The refusal of Troy and Murray to promulgate *Tametsi* and comply fully with Rome's wishes for a complete reform of the Station Mass was further proof that the Catholic Church in Dublin in the period was slow to assume all of the characteristics of the Tridentine Church. The debate concerning *Tametsi* raged for over fifty years, until it was universally introduced in all Irish dioceses in 1827. Many Irish bishops may have been unwilling to upset the Protestant establishment by introducing statutes that were contrary to civil law, even if it meant disobeying their superiors in Rome. The reluctance of others may have been due to a realisation that the majority of their clergy were unsupportive of *Tametsi*, a realisation shared by Troy. Similarly, the gradual reform of the Station Mass illustrates the precarious position in which the pre-Famine Church in Ireland existed. Troy lamented the situation in many rural parishes where the numbers of clergy were too small to meet the needs of parishioners. Therefore, he said, he had little alternative but to allow the Station Mass to continue.

By 1790 committees of lay Catholics were central to many changes taking place in parochial life, often assuming responsibility for the physical upkeep of chapels. As chapels were enhanced there came opportunities to improve liturgies. Larger chapels also provided increased capacity at Masses. It was the Catholic poor that in many ways were the source of greatest concern of pastoral reformers. In their eyes it was among the poor and uneducated that negative aspects of popular religious culture were most visible. Their exploits were most infamous at wakes, pilgrimages and patterns, where drinking, fighting and other supposedly immoral deeds were perpetrated. Consequently attempts were made to eradicate unchristian practices, which came to exemplify all that was in need of reform and renewal in Catholic popular culture. This emphasis on the morality of Catholics was a concern because in many ways the excesses at wakes and

¹⁰⁴⁵ Keogh, "'The pattern of the flock': John Thomas Troy, 1786-1823", p. 222.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

pilgrimages came to be seen by many in the Protestant community as characteristic of Catholics in general.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to fill a gap in the history of the Catholic community in the archdiocese of Dublin for the period *c.* 1750-1830. Although studies of other dioceses in Ireland in this period exist, Dublin remained neglected. This omission is somewhat surprising. Dublin was the most important diocese in the country, even though it was not the primatial see. The archdiocese's geographical and demographic setting was also unique. It took in a large city, the second in size only to London in the Empire, but also included vast rural areas. Dublin City was the seat of the Irish government until the Act of Union, and was home to a large body of political figures and state servants. Consequently it had a large Protestant population, unusual in itself outside of Ulster. The city also had a major international port. All of these gave Dublin a uniquely cosmopolitan and dynamic flavour. The Catholic community was similarly broad. It included a growing wealthy merchant class in Dublin City as well as a large middle-farmer body in rural areas, the sections of the Catholic community who were generally most favourable to the reform and renewal of Catholic religious culture. The community was also made up of a multitude of poor. Many of these were newly arrived immigrants in Dublin City.

This study has examined five specific aspects of Catholic culture in the archdiocese of Dublin in the period *c.* 1750-1830: the evolution of diocesan infrastructure; the development of poor-relief, education and catechesis; media of popular piety; clerical life; and the successes and failures of reform. With the exception of the chapter five, they largely dealt with the activities of reform-minded Catholics. Important aspects of Catholic culture were not looked at in detail in this study. For example, the evolution of the political allegiances of Dublin Catholics was put to one side. In this period many in Dublin's Catholic community became increasingly politicised. However, there was disunity in the community as to which political route served their interests best, and there was no universally accepted political cause supported until the movement for Catholic emancipation led by Daniel O'Connell. As more Catholics became increasingly concerned with political issues there was no united approach taken by the Catholic clergy. Some priests were involved in political activities to varying degrees while some, like Archbishops Troy and Murray and other senior clergy, were well-known for the reluctance to throw their weight behind any one political movement. Troy himself was renowned for following the paths which he considered best for the welfare of the Church. He was a vehement opponent of the

radical activities adopted by some Catholics in the 1790s, denouncing them on numerous occasions in pastoral letters and through other public events. There also existed the reluctance of many Catholics to involve themselves in political matters, possibly a lasting hang-up from penal times. As suggested in chapter one, this reluctance was seen in other areas of Catholic culture. However, as the nineteenth century went on more priests and lay Catholics became involved actively in politics, initially seeking Catholic emancipation but later joining the repeal movement. Indeed Seán Connolly suggests that in the nineteenth century the nature of the relationship between all denominations and politics in Ireland changed radically.¹⁰⁴⁷ Considering the importance of the gradual politicisation of the Catholic community it may seem surprising not to examine it in this study. However, there are a number of reasons for leaving it to one side. Firstly, time constraints did not permit a detailed study. Secondly, there exists a relatively voluminous body of literature examining the political activities of Catholics in this period, albeit not from an exclusively Dublin perspective.¹⁰⁴⁸ However, historians have been generally unconcerned with the other aspects of Catholic culture, which undoubtedly influenced the political attitudes of Dublin Catholics. This study has focused exclusively on specific, non-political features of Catholic culture in the archdiocese of Dublin. Politics was not exclusive to other aspects of religious culture. Therefore, this study intended to be complementary to the existing body of historical literature on Catholic politics. Some of those mentioned as philanthropists or catechists in this text were involved in politics while others were not. Indeed many of those who were central to the reform and renewal of Catholic culture, particularly in the earlier period, were entirely independent from politics, adopting similar stances to Archbishops Troy and Murray. The history of Dublin's Catholic community in the period was complicated and, therefore, requires further research. There is, however, much scope for researchers interested in linking the political and non-political activities of Catholics in the archdiocese. An interesting approach would be to take Dáire Keogh's assertion that radicals utilised the expanding system of religious confraternities for their own gains in the 1790s and examine the alleged role of such groups in the spread of

¹⁰⁴⁷ Connolly, *Religion and society in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁴⁸ For example, Keogh, *The French disease*; Thomas Bartlett, *The rise and fall of the Irish nation: the Catholic question, 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992); Fergus O'Ferrall, *Catholic emancipation: Daniel O'Connell: the man and his politics* (Dublin, 1985); Fenning, Hugh, O.P., 'A time of reform: from "penal laws" to the birth of modern nationalism, 1691-1800' Ireland' in Brendan Bradshaw (ed.), *Christianity in Ireland: revisiting the story* (Dublin, 2002), pp 134-43.

both religious and political ideas.¹⁰⁴⁹ Similarly, an examination of the activity of Dubliners in the Catholic Association would be equally valuable.

Much of the primary research for this study was conducted in the Dublin Diocesan Archives. For the period the archives are dominated by the correspondence of Archbishops Troy and Murray, which offers both advantages and limitations for researchers. For example, they contain numerous sources relating to the various pastoral initiatives, which were especially pertinent to this study. They also have both a national and international flavour, representing the attitudes of some clergy both in Ireland and on the Continent. This of course is a major problem for historians working on religious studies. These collections include a vast array of correspondence. Unsurprisingly there is a multitude of letters to clergy, both in Ireland and abroad. There are also letters to and from religiously engaged Catholics. However, due to their institutional nature, they say little about the actions of those Catholics who remained outside of the regular sacramental fold.

Apart from episcopal correspondence in the diocesan archives the papers of various religious orders were examined, as well as numerous sources relating to confraternities and print culture. By utilising this wide array of source material a representative study of the culture of Dublin's Catholic community was conducted, with a focus on the lives of the clergy, and the religiously engaged laity. Undoubtedly this study would have looked considerably different if alternative sources were used. For example, if this study was primarily based on sources in the archives of Propaganda Fide and the other Roman archives, it might have had a more institutional and international flavour. Possibly that story would have had a stronger clerical leaning and would not have afforded as much attention to the laity. This study, however, largely ignored ecclesiastical politics. Indeed this omission might be corrected in the future. A study of the various archives in Rome might reveal more about ecclesiastical politics and how the bishops and clergy attempted to shape Catholic culture in the archdiocese. In any future study particular attention should be given to Daniel Murray. Murray was archbishop from 1823-52, having previously served as coadjutor to Troy. During his term he had to contend with numerous challenges, both of a pastoral and a political nature. As suggested in chapter two Murray was the driving force behind the establishment of a number of indigenous religious orders. Similarly, he promoted the building of churches and schools and was a major force behind the Catholic Church's programme of catechesis and poor-relief. Murray also had to contend with various

¹⁰⁴⁹ Keogh, *The French disease*, pp 125.

political situations, many of which put him at odds with large sections of the Catholic community. One of his first political tasks as coadjutor was the unenviable task of representing the views of the Irish hierarchy to the Roman curia on the Veto question.¹⁰⁵⁰ Murray subsequently became involved in the repeal campaign and the Queen's Colleges controversy. He was also obliged to address the rebellion of 1848. However, his activities have been largely ignored by historians, who have focused their attention on Paul Cullen or William Walsh, while Murray 'could almost be said to be invisible in the ranks of Dublin Catholic archbishops'.¹⁰⁵¹

Traditional diocesan histories form a picture of the state of religious life in a particular area. However, sometimes their focus does not allow for a proper contextualisation of changes occurring in religious belief and practice. This study has attempted, where possible, to compare changes occurring in Dublin with other Irish dioceses, and the Catholic communities in England and Scotland. These communities were chosen because of the many shared characteristics with Dublin. For example, similar penal legislation affected Catholics in these jurisdictions, limiting, to a much greater extent, their capacity to offer pastoral care. While the laws were applied more stringently in England and Scotland than in Dublin, both communities, however, had aspects of a common Catholic culture. The most notable similarity was a shared print culture, as illustrated in chapter three. Both communities showed a slow progression towards organisational standardisation in the Tridentine model. However, there were also important distinctions. Numerically Catholics in England and Scotland were not comparable with their Irish coreligionists; their Catholic communities representing only a small percentage of their respective populations in the late eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵² Possibly because of their size, with a number of exceptions, English and Scottish Catholics found it more difficult to develop Catholic infrastructure or foster public expressions of devotion than their Irish Catholic counterparts.¹⁰⁵³ Indeed the relationship between Irish and English Catholics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has been largely neglected by historians. The study of this relationship may have sat uneasily with nationalist historians in Ireland, who were traditionally reluctant to focus on the closeness of relations of both countries. As has been suggested in chapters one and three, Catholics in Dublin looked as much to

¹⁰⁵⁰ Kerr, 'Dublin's forgotten archbishop: Daniel Murray, 1768-1852', p. 249.

¹⁰⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁰⁵² Significant immigration by Irish Catholics from the early nineteenth-century increased the Catholic population significantly.

¹⁰⁵³ Here the activities of the Catholic gentry in England are excluded, as they were not characteristic of the experience of the majority of English Catholics, especially by the early nineteenth-century.

England for a model as to their continental counterparts. For example, Catholic religious literature was mostly the work of English authors. Catholic clergy in Dublin were also influenced by their English brethren on political issues, especially when it came to matter of the proposed government veto on episcopal appointments in the early nineteenth century.

Another often overlooked relationship is that between the archdiocese of Dublin and the fledgling Catholic communities in North America, especially in Baltimore and Newfoundland, where there were growing Catholic communities. Material relating to these communities is especially voluminous in the Dublin Diocesan Archives. Catholic clergy in both communities regularly corresponded with Archbishop Troy, on some occasions looking for Dublin priests to cross the Atlantic to take up pastoral posts. Indeed the correspondence is especially revealing, saying much about the history of the evolving communities. While he could always not oblige by sending priests, Troy did take an interest, corresponding regularly with Bishop Carroll of Baltimore and Bishop O'Donnell of Newfoundland, both of whom were the first Catholic bishops of their respective dioceses. In the early days, when both jurisdictions had not yet been created dioceses, Troy sometimes dispensed discipline on disruptive clergy. In 1789 he issued a sentence of excommunication on a Revd Power, declaring that Power's behaviour was 'highly criminal, seditious and disturbing to the public peace', and appointing James O'Donnell as superior of the mission.¹⁰⁵⁴ It appears Power was the cause of considerable concern, with many letters in the collection concerning his activities. Apart from the significant number of Irish priests serving in these jurisdictions, Troy also had family connections in Baltimore. His nephew, John James Troy, had been appointed to the Revenue Office by Lord Cornwallis in 1801 and was subsequently promoted to the collector for the Baltimore region in 1822 by Lord Hardwicke.¹⁰⁵⁵ Although sources concerning the pastoral conditions in Baltimore and Newfoundland dominate, the correspondence also sheds light on matters in Ireland. The first of these concerned the establishment of Maynooth College. Troy discussed the matter of accepting government funding and its proposed role in the running of the college with Bishop Carroll in a series of letters.¹⁰⁵⁶ The correspondence say much about what was a difficult situation

¹⁰⁵⁴ Copy of the sentence of suspension and excommunication of Fr Power by Archbishop Troy, [1789] (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/4(76)).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Memo stating that Troy's nephew, John James Troy was appointed to the Revenue Office by Lord Cornwallis in 1801 and promoted to collector for the Baltimore area, 170 miles away, by Lord Hardwicke, 18 Jun. 1822 (D.D.A., Troy and Murray papers, AB3/30/6(57)).

¹⁰⁵⁶ See McNally, *Reform, revolution and reaction: Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Catholic Church in Ireland 1787-1817*, pp 82-85.

for Troy and the Irish bishops in the face of major criticism from clergy and Catholic laity. The second incident discussed concerned the appointment of Thomas Hussey as bishop of Waterford and Lismore and his subsequent pastoral letter, condemning the mistreatment of Catholics in the Irish Militia. The material concerning the relationship between Dublin and the churches in North America provides a fascinating opportunity for further research to illustrate the evolution of the respective communities.

However, Troy's concern for other Catholic communities was not limited to North America or England. The archives also attest to associations with Scottish Catholics. Chapter three highlighted Troy's relationship with George Hay, the Scottish vicar apostolic. While they often discussed Catholic books, they were, however, not the sole concern. Often the correspondence recalled pastoral initiatives. As the Catholic population in Scotland grew, efforts were made to build new chapels and enhance existing ones. The surge in the number of Catholics, especially in cities, was due, in part, to the migration of large numbers of Irish. In the late eighteenth century a number of Irish Catholics were drawn to Edinburgh to study medicine. Sources show that Archbishop Troy was directly involved in the process, securing accommodation and ensuring their spiritual needs were catered for. At the other end of the spectrum the Scottish Church was becoming increasingly populated by poor Irish Catholics by the early nineteenth century. As was mentioned in chapter one, the Scottish Church too was embarking on its own programme of pastoral renewal, albeit on a much smaller scale than in Dublin. Scottish Catholics sometimes wrote to Troy appealing for funds for the erection of Catholic chapels. In 1812 Revd James Catanach of Campbelltown, Kintyre wrote to Troy in search of funds as the previous incumbent, Revd French, had absconded to America with all the monies collected for a new chapel!¹⁰⁵⁷ Catanach's appeal was made on the basis that his 'poor flock' were mostly Irish.¹⁰⁵⁸ While written appeals to Irish bishops were seemingly plentiful, it was also common for Scottish priests to 'cross the Irish Channel and go on begging expeditions throughout Ireland'.¹⁰⁵⁹ It is interesting that by the 1820s some Scottish priests, whose respective congregations had not a 'single Irishman' in their congregations, set off on similar questing missions, 'because they found that Catholics in Scotland were unable to meet the escalating demands made on them as chapel after chapel was planned'.¹⁰⁶⁰

¹⁰⁵⁷ Revd James Catanach, Limecraigs, Campbelltown, Kintyre to Archbishop Troy, 12 Mar. 1812 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB3/30/1(78)).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829*, p. 159.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid.

While the relationship between Catholics in Dublin and England, Scotland and North America was important, an even more comparable Catholic community was that of the Netherlands.¹⁰⁶¹ The Catholic Church in the Netherlands had a precarious existence under Dutch law. While the Netherlands had never been subject to the imposition of Protestantism, the Catholic Church was technically an illegal institution.¹⁰⁶² As in Ireland, Catholics were excluded from political offices and guilds, but were allowed to worship in private homes and other such buildings.¹⁰⁶³ Like their Irish coreligionists, Dutch Catholics were under the authority of Propaganda Fide. However, unlike Ireland, they did not have a hierarchy until 1853. Prior to this the Dutch Church lacked central authority; the only central ecclesiastical structure was the nine archpresbyteries.¹⁰⁶⁴ Nonetheless, the Dutch Catholic community was not small in number. Indeed it was quite sizeable, especially in the country's southern provinces of Noord-Brabant and Limburg, where Catholics formed a majority. The absence of bishops, or even vicars apostolic, did nothing to improve an already inadequate system of pastoral infrastructure. However, from the early nineteenth century Catholics began to build new churches, sometimes large, handsome classical buildings, not unlike the new churches erected in Dublin. In recent years historians have highlighted the resurgence which the Dutch Catholic community experienced in the period.¹⁰⁶⁵ While the Dutch Church experienced a period of decline in the period 1700-40, from 1750 onwards Catholic religious culture began to flourish, especially with the development of an organised system of Catholic print culture.¹⁰⁶⁶ Catholic newspapers and magazines were founded. The programme of renewal and restructuring of Catholic dioceses was not, however, helped by the reluctance of Protestant civil authorities to implement the equal protection and civil rights which had been granted to Catholics in the 1815 Constitution.¹⁰⁶⁷ Catholics were especially discriminated in the field of education. Only the public school system, which was uncongenial to Catholic education, received

¹⁰⁶¹ Here the author refers only to the territory that was part of the United Provinces and not the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, which included modern Belgium and Luxembourg. This was a missionary area known as the *Missio Hollandica*. See Charles Parker, *Faith on the margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch golden age* (Harvard, 2008).

¹⁰⁶² A.G. Weiler, 'The Catholic Church in the Netherlands' in *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (15 vols, Farmington Hills, 2003), x, p. 260.

¹⁰⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁵ Theo Clemens, 'Een kerk zonder bisschoppelijk bestuur. Een herwaardering van de periode vóór 1853' in Jurjen Vis and Wim Janse (eds), *Staf en storm. Het herstel van de bisschoppelijke hiërarchie in Nederland in 1853: actie en reactie* (Hilversum, 2002), pp 17-36. A summary of the text was kindly provided by Brian Heffernan, a postgraduate colleague in the Department of History, NUI Maynooth.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Gerlof D. Homan, 'Catholic Emancipation in the Netherlands' in *The Catholic Historical Review*, lii, no. 2 (1966), p. 201.

financial support from the government.¹⁰⁶⁸ It was not until 1842 that a new king, William II made a number of concessions to Catholics, which allowed for instruction of the Catholic faith in public schools.¹⁰⁶⁹ Catholic emancipation was finally granted in 1848.

A comprehensive comparison between Irish and Dutch Catholics' experiences in the nineteenth century must be undertaken. While often overlooked by historians, its community offers possibly the best example for a comparative study with Dublin. The relative wealth of sources relating to the Catholic communities in England, Scotland and in North America in the diocesan archives suggests that a proper study of the relationship between them and Dublin is in itself worthy. The relationship with England is particularly fascinating. Dublin Catholic culture was heavily influenced by aspects of English Catholic culture, well before any serious migration of Irish Catholics took place. It was to England, and not to the Continent, as has been traditionally suggested, that Dublin Catholics looked for example. While many Dublin priests spent some time on the Continent, the churches of France and Spain were in no way comparable to Dublin. The Irish experience was much closer to that of their English counterparts, although with some important distinctions.

The programme of renewal that the Catholic Church in Dublin in the early nineteenth century adopted should be viewed in its European context. Many of the changes that took in place in Dublin were not unique to either the archdiocese or even to Ireland. In England and the Netherlands, countries which for centuries had Protestant governments, similar programmes of pastoral improvement were taking place. However, as in Dublin, these programmes were gradual. Success came slowly. As has been illustrated many in Dublin Catholic's community displayed reluctance to integrate fully in this new parish centred model of 'Church'. Thus while aspects of this programme, such as the modernisation of chapels and the erection of schools, had made considerable progress, the programme of evangelisation had still some way to go. In 1830 many Catholics still remained outside of the regular sacramental life. However, by 1900 the majority of Catholics had been successfully enticed into the regular sacramental life espoused by Trent. It has been suggested that the success of this programme of evangelisation was hastened by the Famine, in that it wiped out large numbers of the poorest Catholics, those who were most reluctant to conform to the orthodox religion promoted by the reform-minded Catholics. In Dublin, however, the

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

Famine prompted a large migration to Dublin City, therefore, complicating this hypothesis. While this was undoubtedly a contributory factor, it was not the sole reason for the near universal sacramental participation that was subsequently achieved. However, as time has shown, the foundations upon which this 'devotional revolution' was built, were shaky.

Appendix One:

Catholic parishes in the archdiocese of Dublin in 1697.¹⁰⁷⁰

City parishes:

St. Nicholas's, Francis Street
St. Michael's Rosemary Lane
St. Audoen's, Cook Street
St. James's [St. Catherine's]
St. Michan's

Donnybrook, Booterstown &c.

Deanery of Swords

Swords
Clontarf, Coolock, &c.
Finglas and St. Margaret's
Castleknock and Blanchardstown
Rowlinstown [Rolestown]

Deanery of Skerries

Lusk, Rush, and Skerries
Balrothery and Balscadden [Balbriggan]
Naul and Hollywood
Garristowne
Donabate and Portran

Deanery of Bray

Bray, Powerscourt &c.
Delgany, Kilquade &c.
Annamoe, Seven Churches, &c. [Glendalough]
Monkstown, Dalkey, Cabinteely &c. [Loughlinstown]

Deanery of Wicklow

Wicklow, &c
Rathdrum
Castlemacadam, &c. (Ovaca) [Red Cross]
Arklow
Dunganstown, Innisbohin, &c. [Kilbride]

Deanery of Maynooth

Maynooth and Leixlip

¹⁰⁷⁰ 'Record of the present year' in Nicholas Donnelly, 'The diocese of Dublin in the eighteenth-century' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, ix (1888), pp 840-41.

Kildrought (Celbridge) and Straffan.
Lucan and Clondalkin
Rathfarnham
Saggard

Deanery of Athy

Athy
Castledermot, Moone
Ballymore Eustace
Blessington, Rathmore, Boystown &c.
Dunlavin
Kilcullen
Narraghmore

Appendix Two:

Schools and charities in Dublin listed in the *Irish Catholic Directory 1821*.

Name	Address	Parish	Pupils/Residents	Religious Order	Founded	Comments
Parish School	Chapel Enclosure	St. Mary's	150 male pupils	-	-	Twelve children clothed annually
Parish School	Abbey Street	St. Mary's	300 female pupils	Sisters of Charity	-	Children partly clothed and dieted. Annual charity sermon
Dominican Schools	Denmark Street	St. Mary's	Twenty-five male pupils	Dominican friars	-	Children provided until apprenticed
Trinitarian Orphanage	William Street North	St. Mary's	100 day pupils and thirty-four orphans	Sisters of Charity. Four professed sisters	-	Catered for sixteen female interns, others resided near Tallow
Female Orphan School	Summerhill	St. Mary's	Forty orphans	Sisters of Charity	-	Twenty interns, twenty resided near Tallow
Widows' Institution	Liffey Street Lower	St. Mary's	Seven widows	-	-	Donations given to the Revd clergy
Orphan Institution	Townsend Street	St. Andrew's	Sixteen male orphans	-	-	Orphans entirely provided for
Orphan Institution	Townsend Street	St. Andrew's	Seventeen female orphans	-	-	Orphans entirely provided for
Female Day School	Forbes Street	St. Andrew's	250 pupils	-	-	Educated in the various branches of industry
Presentation Monastery	Hanover Street	St. Andrew's	500 male pupils	Christian Brothers. One professed, two novices and three	-	Educated in the Lancastrian Plan

				postulants.		
General Magdalen Asylum	Townsend Street	St. Andrew's	Thirty-seven penitents	-	1798	Employed in needlework and laundry
Teresian Orphan Society	-	St. Andrew's	Fifty-six orphans	-	1790	Resided in Wicklow
St. Patrick's General Free Schools	Cuffe Lane	St. Andrew's	-	Calced Carmelites	1820	Day, evening and Sunday school
Orphan Society		St. Andrew's	Seventeen orphans	-	1817	Resided in Dundrum. Rescued from vice and poverty
Parochial School	Mill Street	St. Nicholas's	500 male pupils	Christian Brothers. One professed, three novices and one postulant	=	Fifty persons educated at a Sunday School
Female Day School	Warrenmount	St. Nicholas's	300 female pupils	Calced Carmelite Nuns. Eighteen professed, three novices and one postulant.	-	Educated under the various branches of industry
Orphan Institution and Day School	Harold's Cross	St. Nicholas's	Eighty-eight female pupils and 100 orphans	Poor Clares. Fifteen professed, one novice and two lay sisters	1803	Previously operated in Hendrick Street
General Free School	Harold's Cross	St. Nicholas's	140 pupils	-	1819	Educated in Christian Doctrine, Evening School
Female Charity School	Ranelagh	St. Nicholas's	100 pupils	Calced Carmelite Nuns. Fourteen professed nuns and some lay sisters	-	Also a boarding section for young ladies
General Free School	Cullenswood and	St. Nicholas's	Male pupils	-	1820	Receive a literary and

	Ranelagh					moral education.
Free School	Mount Alverne	St. Nicholas's	Male pupils	Franciscans. Nine professed friars	1820	Operated a day, evening. and Sunday school
Charity Free School	Rathmines	St. Nicholas's	Both sexes	-	-	Also a Sunday School
Widow House and Female Day School	Great Ship Street	St. Nicholas's	Sixty female pupils and twenty-five residents	-	1797	
Orphan Society (St Nicholas of Myra)	-	St. Nicholas's	-	-	1820	Meetings held in committee rooms of parish chapel
Orphan Society (St Andrew)	-	St. Nicholas's	Twenty orphans	-	1812	-
Orphan Society (St Bridget)	-	St. Nicholas's	Eighteen orphans	-	1820	Meetings held in New Row, Poddle
Orphan Society (St Paul)	-	St. Nicholas's	Five orphans	-	1820	Children snatched from extreme misery and vice
Parochial School	Derby Square	SS Michael and John's	Eight male pupils	-	-	Educated and clothed, twenty-two get breakfast
Parochial School	West of Chaplegate	SS Michael and John's	Eighty female pupils	-	-	Nineteen interns provided for, fifteen partially dieted
Evening School	Derby Square	SS Michael and John's	300 male pupils	-	1800	Established by Thomas Betagh. Sunday School connected
Orphans' Friend Society	-	SS Michael and John's	Eighteen orphans	-	1816	-
Orphan Society of St	-	SS Michael and	Twenty-four	-	1817	Educated in Tullow,

Francis Assisium		John's	orphans			Co. Carlow
St. Bonaventure's Charitable Institution	-	SS Michael and John's	Four orphans	-	1820	Children rescued from schools dangerous to faith
Patrician Orphan Society	-	SS Michael and John's	-	-	1750	Numbers reduced due to lower donations
Parochial School	Archbold's Court	St. Audoen's	Fifty male pupils	-	-	Educated, clothed and most destitute maintained
Parochial School	Archbold's Court	St. Audoen's	Fifty female pupils	-	-	Educated, clothed and most destitute maintained
Widows and Aged Women's Asylum	Archbold's Court	St. Audoen's	Twenty residents	-	-	Removed from John's Lane in 1821
Parochial School	-	St. Catherine's	120 male pupils	-	-	Evening school for 160 boys
Parochial School	-	St. Catherine's	100 female pupils	-	-	Sunday school for 200 girls
Female Charity School	John's Street	St. Catherine's	Forty female pupils	Augustinian friars	-	Educated, clothed and some dieted
St. John the Baptist Orphan Society	-	St. Catherine's	Forty orphans	-	-	Adopted under three and lived at Saggart
Magdalen Orphan Society	-	St. Catherine's	Twenty-six orphans	-	1804	Real orphans, educated at Hackettstown
Parochial School	James's Street	St. James's	220 male pupils	Christian Brothers	-	Sixty were clothed and many received breakfast
Parochial School	James's Street	St. James's	200 female pupils	-	Lately established.	Sixty were clothed and some dieted
Evening School	-	St. James's	-	-	-	Sunday school educated

						100
Parochial School	Lincoln's Lane	St. Paul's	Eighty pupils of both sexes	-	-	Educated and clothed
General Free Schools	Brunswick Street	St. Paul's	350 pupils, both sexes	-	-	Twenty children clothed
Charity School	Church Street	St. Paul's	-	Capuchins. Seven professed friars	-	Children educated and clothed
Female School	North King Street	St. Paul's	Seventy female pupils	Poor Clares. Eight professed nuns	-	Children educated and clothed
House of Refuge	Stanhope Street	St. Paul's	Eighty female residents	Sisters of Charity. One professed sister and five novices	-	Women trained and relieved from vice
Parochial Free School	Mary's Lane	St. Michan's	300 male students	-	-	Also an evening school for fifty elderly men
Female Charity School	George's Hill	St. Michan's	300 female pupils and twenty-five orphans	Presentation Nuns. Eleven professed nuns	-	Educated and clothed, thirty-six dieted
Christian Doctrine Orphan Society	-	St. Michan's	Twenty-two orphans	-	1810	Real orphans maintained at Tallow
Josephian Orphan Society	-	St. Michan's	Sixty orphans	-	1770	Previously maintained 100 orphans

Appendix Three:

A Catalogue of Catholic Books, printed for, & sold by Richard Cross, Bookseller, at the Sign of the Globe in Bridge Street, near the Brazon-Head Inn, Dublin in John Joseph Hornyold, *The Decalogue explain'd in thirty-two discourses* (Dublin, 1770).

The Holy Court[,] Price 1L 2s. 9d.
Parsons Christian Directory, guiding Men to their eternal Salvation. To this Edition is added, the Life of the Author. The whole carefully Corrected. 3s. 9d. ½
The Holy Bible, 5 Vols. 15s.
Bossuets Variations, 2 Vols 6s. 6d.
----- Expositions of Catholic Doctrine 1s. 1d.
Marlay's good Confessor 3s. 3d.
Gother's sincere Christian's Guide 1s. 7d. ½
Evening Office of the Church 2s. 8d. ½
Shortest Way to end Disputes about Religion 2s. 2d.
Poor Mans Catechism. 2s. 2d.
Office of the Holy Week 2s. 8d. ½
Morality of the Bible 2s. 8d. ½
Large Double Manuals 2s. 2d.
The Garden of the Soul, or a Manual of Spiritual Exercises by Challoner, D.D. 1s. 1d.
Difference between Temporal & Eternal 4s. 4d.
Practical Reflections for every Day in the Year 2s. 2d.
Catholic Christian introduced in the Sacraments & Ceremonies of the Church 2s. 2d.
Life of Christ, & the Blessed Virgin Mary 1s. 1d.
Lady's Primmer 3s. 3d.
Lives & Deaths of Sir Thomas Moor, & John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester 2s. 8d. ½
Practical Thoughts on the Epistles & Gospels of all the Sundays & moveable Feasts throughout the Christian Year, by Gother 6s. 6d.
Sufferings of Christ, 2 Vols 8s. 8d.
Manning's Moral Entertainments 3s. 3d.
Darrell's Moral Reflections, 2 Vols 5s. 5d.
De Sale's Introduction to the Devout Life 2s. 8d ½
Daily Exercise 4s.
England's Conversion & Reformation compared 2s. 8d. ½
Fleury's Historical Catechism 2s 2d.
A Neat little Pocket Manual 6d. ½
Preparation for Death 4d.
True Wisdom 4d.
The following of Christ, in 4 Books, written in Latin by T. a Kempis, newly translated by Dr. Challoner 1s. 1d.
Devotions for the Afflicted & Sick 1s. 1d.
Entertainments for Lent 1s 1d.
Weddings Garland of Divine Songs 4d.
Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine with the Profession of Faith 6d ½
Novena, or the Nine Days of the Office of the Dead, English and Latin 8d.
Life of St Joseph 8d.
Think Well on't 6d ½

Pax Vobis: or Gospel, & Liberty against Antient and Modern Papists 6d ½
 Abridgement of the Christian Doctrine 6d ½
 Touch-stone of the Reformed Gospel 6d ½
 ----- of the new Religion 6d ½
 History of the Protestant Religion 6d ½
 The spiritual Combat 1s 4d
 Hell opened to Sinners 6d ½
 Rituale Romanum 1s 7d ½
 Roman Catholic's Reasons why he cannot conform to the Protestant Religion 1d.
 Life of St Patrick 6d ½
 Key of Paradise 1s 8d.

As said Cross is a New Beginner, & intends to lay himself out principally in the Catholic Business, he humbly begs leave to assure those Gentlemen who are pleased to honour him with their Commands, that he will make it his particular study to give entire Satisfaction, & hopes by his Assiduity & Care, to merit their Favour & Protection.

Said Cross is constantly supplied with the greatest Variety of Country Chapmen's Books, which he sells by Wholesale & Retail on the most favourable Terms; & he gives the greatest Encouragement to Country Merchants & others, who buy and sell again.

Appendix Four:

*Report of a meeting of priests and parishioners of [St. Andrew's], at Townsend St. Chapel to discuss parish finances and arrange an appeal for funds 1 Jan. 1795.*¹⁰⁷¹

At a meeting of the Catholic Inhabitants of the United Parishes of Saints Andrew, Mark, Anne and Peter, conveyed in the Vestry-Room of Townsend Street Chapel, on 1st of January 1795; The Reverend Doctor Morris in the Chair.

A Committee was appointed to inspect the Temporal Concerns of said Chapel, composed of the following Gentlemen.

For St. Andrew's; Mr. James Connolly, Mr. Michael M'Carthy, Mr. Michael Butler, Mr. John Weldon, Mr. Michael Boylan, Mr. Thomas Callaghan.

For St. Mark's; Mr. Matthew Cardiff, Mr. M. Hughes, Mr. John Brady, Mr. James McMahan, Mr. Timothy M'Evoy.

For St. Anne's: Mr. Bartholomew Doyle, Mr. Garret Moore, Mr. Thomas Taylor, Mr. William Reaf, Mr. Tim. Cahill.

For St. Peter's: Mr. James Kenny, Mr. Bryan Bolger, Mr. John Moore, Mr. J.G. Kennedy, Mr. Martin Kenny, Mr. Donnolan.

There then follows a list of the years expenses. It concludes with the following:

That a report appears due on the Lease of said Chapel, and its Premises, amounting to £300.0.0.

That 18% Interest is annually paid is annually paid on said Mortgage £18.0.0.

That the different Repairs, necessary for said Chapel, changing the stairs leading to the principal Gallery, for the more commodious Reception of the Parishioners, and the Expense of a House, now building in the Chapel-yard, for the greater Convenience of receiving Subscriptions and lodging one of the Assistant Clergy, will, on a gross Estimate amount to £200.0.0.

That for the more decent support of the Ministers of the Altar, and Credit of the Parishioners, a Sum of 200% at least, be appropriated for their use £200.0.0.

That the Annual Expenses of the Altar for Wine, Candles, Linen, Washing, &c. will be at least £25.0.0.

That there be annually allowed to an Organist who is to teach to the Orphan Children to sing, and one to play on the Organ, £25.15.0.

That the Salary of a Clerk and his Assistant, for keeping a regular Account of the Calls of the Parish, cleaning the Chapel and its Avenues, and attending the different Services, be £20.0.0.

And that the annual collection at the Gallery Door by or for him be stopped

That the Annual Repairs of the Organ will amount to £3.13.9.

¹⁰⁷¹ (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/6(43)).

That a proper Person, for keeping the Chapel Avenues free from Beggars, be allowed
£3.8.3.
£ 794.16.0.

That Subscription Books be opened, in which each Parishioner may enter his or her Name, annexing such Sum as he or she shall think proper to pay annually for the above Purposes.

As this Committee has been appointed for promoting the Worship of God, the Respectability of his Ministers, and the Cleanliness of his House, they think they have Reason to expect a liberal Subscription from wealthy Parishioners who wish to see so praise-worthy an undertaking brought up to a speedy and happy Conclusion. In a few days the Gentlemen of the Committee will wait on you for your Subscription.

Signed by James Walsh Junior, Secretary.

Appendix Five:

Prosopography of some Dublin clergy

Abbreviations:

B.Th	bachelor in theology
B.U.I.	bachelor <i>in utroque jure</i>
D.D.A.	Dublin Diocesan Archives
D.U.I.	doctorate <i>in utroque jure</i>
L.A.	promotion in the arts: licentiate of arts
L.Th	licentiate in theology
L.U.I.	licentiate <i>in utroque jure</i>
M.A.	master of arts
M.O.	minor orders
O. Carm.	Calced Carmelite
O.C.D.	Discalced Carmelite
O.F.M.	Franciscan
O.F.M. Cap.	Capuchin
O.P.	Dominican
O.S.A.	Augustinian
P.P.	parish priest
S.J.	Jesuit
SSTr	Holy Trinity College, Louvain
S.T.B.C.	<i>sacrae theologiae baccalaureus currens</i>
S.T.B.F.	<i>sacrae theologiae baccalaureus formatus</i>
U.L.	University of Louvain

A.

ALLEN, Henry. Returned to the diocese from Kilkenny College in 1827 (O’Riordan, (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

ANDERSON, William. Attended the University of Paris. Deacon 1770, priest 1771 (Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 102.); returned to Dublin 1771 from Paris, member of the Paris Community (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 488.); appointed prebend of ‘De Castronoe’ [Castleknock/Tassagard/Kilmactalway?] in 1788 (Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum, 1783 (D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7))); archdeacon from 1791 (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 177.); P.P. of Baldoyle in 1777 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 330.); P.P. of St. Audoen’s 1791-1801 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37); P.P. of St. Andrew’s 1801-1811, died 1811 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 36.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty-six. Address given as Liffey Street. Received Minor Orders 1768, subdiaconate 1769, diaconate 1770 and priesthood at Paris 1771 (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 60.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775); idem, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints*

(Dublin, 1801); Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); Claude Duplain, *A religion vengée des blasphèmes de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1783); F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); Nicholas Fontaine, *A history of the Old and New Testament* (Dublin, 1782), six copies; George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784) twelve copies; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808); *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791)

ANGLAN, Robert. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1826 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1827 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

ARCHBOLD, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1816 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1816 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

ARCHER, Francis. Student at the Irish College, Lisbon. Came to Lisbon in 1807. From a letter to Dr Troy dated 20 Sept. 1807, it appears that he formed a very bad impression of the college and showed concern about the course of study he is supposed to have followed and the state of discipline within the institution. He showed particular concern at the absence of a professor of philosophy as many students from the northern dioceses came specifically to commence philosophy (O’Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon 1590-1834*, p. 118.); curate in St. Audoen’s in 1810 (William O’Riordan, ‘List of curates if the Archdiocese of Dublin, 1797-1824’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1 (1971), p. 163.); P.P. of Kilcullen 1816-27 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.); P.P. of Blessington 1827-52, died 1852 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.)

ARMSTRONG, Edward. Ordained subdeacon 21 Sept. 1799 as *Titulum Missionis*, in St Mary’s chapel [Liffey Street], deacon 7 Jun. 1800 (William O’Riordan, ‘Ordinations by Archbishop Troy, 1797-1815’ in *Rep. Nov.*, ii, no. 2 (1960), p. 380.); ordained priest in Maynooth 1802 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); previously studied in Carlow (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 383.); curate in St Mary’s 1808 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin, 1797-1824’, p. 165.); administrator of St. Andrew’s 1820-26 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 36.); P.P. of St. Michan’s 1826-28, died 1828 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.); subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin 1824); Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808); John Joseph Hornyold, *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses, to which is added King Henry the Eight’s Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther* (Dublin, 1814), address given as Liffey Street; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Liffey Street; Alonsus Rodriguez, S.J., *The practice of Christian and religious perfection* (Kilkenny, 1806).

AUSTIN, John, S.J. Born 12 Apr. 1717. Entered the Society at Nancy 27 Nov. 1735. Studied philosophy at Pont-à-Mousson 1737-9, taught philosophy at Rheims 1739-44. Studied theology at Rheims and ordained priest 22 Sept. 1747. Completed theology at the Grand College, Poitiers while serving as prefect at the Irish College in the city 1747-9. Returned to Dublin 1750. Incardinated in the diocese at the Suppression. Died 27 Sept. 1784, buried in St. Kevin's churchyard (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community' p. 91.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 2 Oct. 1784: 'Died, in Cook-street, after a tedious illness, the Rev. Dr. Austin; his death is much regretted by all ranks of people, but particularly by the poor, as he was a husband to the distressed widows, and a father to the helpless orphans' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 227.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775), Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); John Joseph Hornyold, *The Real Principles of Catholics* (Dublin, 1773); idem, *The Commandments and Sacraments Explained* (Dublin, 1770).

AUSTIN, Thomas. Admitted to the Irish College, Lisbon in 1685 with Roger Matthews (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 59.); P.P. of St Nicholas 1709-40 (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, vi, p. 38.); *Freeman's Dublin Journal*, 13 Jan. 1741 reported Austin's death on 11 Jan. 1741. It states that he was eighty-two years old and that 'he was a gentleman of great learning, true piety, very charitable to the poor, to whom he gave all his income, and of universal good character, which makes his death very much lamented by people of all persuasions' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, pp 62-3.)

B.

BARNEWALL, Patrick, S.J. Born on 10 Oct. 1709 in Bremore in the archdiocese of Dublin (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon 1590-1834*, p. 59.); entered the Society at Coimbra 9 Nov. 1726. Made all his ecclesiastical studies in Portugal. Taught humanities for six years in Portugal before being recalled to Ireland in 1744. Assistant curate in a Dublin parish until 1751 when he joined the English province. Served on the mission at Preston where he died 1 Feb. 1762 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 91.)

BARRETT, John. Returned to Dublin in 1782 from the Paris Community ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a J. Barrett was curate in St. Nicholas's in 1802-12 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 162.); a Barrett was also a curate in St. Catherine's in 1801 and in Rathfarnham 1797-1807 (O'Riordan, List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', pp 163, 168.); subscribed to Nicholas Fontaine, *A history of the Old and New Testaments* (Dublin, 1782); George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788) two copies; George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); a Fr Barrett made derogatory remarks about Archbishop Troy in two letters in 1796. Troy wrote to McMahon on 7 August 1796 concerning Fr Barrett, who he believed repented his misconduct. Barrett subsequently wrote to Troy apologising for the remarks he made, commenting that 'I shall not hesitate My Lord, to apologise for what may have been

harsh or indiscreet in my words, as I never intended to insult your Lordship, and no person sets a higher value on the clerical character than I do. I wrote under the impression of conceived injury'. It was not specified what these remarks were (D.D.A., AB2/116/6(135-6))

BARRY, Michael. Ordained at Maynooth in 1822 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864, p. 391.); P.P. of Saggart 1876-84, died 1884 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 180.)

BEAGHAN, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1816 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864, p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1816 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.).

BENSON, Richard. Attended the University of Salamanca in 1774. 'On 15 March, Bishop Alonso Marco de Llanes ordained Dn Ricardo Benson a priest, the latter being dispensed in 13 months of age (O'Doherty (ed.), 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', p. 51.); P.P. of Finglas 1784-95 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); P.P. of Lusk 4 May 1795- 7 May 1795, resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 325.); P.P. of Finglas May 1795 to Feb. 1802 (O'Riordan, ed., 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); P.P. of Blanchardstown Feb. 1802 to Mar. 1802 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); P.P. of Finglas 9 Mar. 1802-23, died 1823 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.).

BERGIN, John. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782, from the Kildare diocese. Left Dublin for Nantes in 1782. Returned to Dublin in 1788 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); a Revd Bergin was a curate in SS Michael and John's in 1797-8 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 163.); *Dublin Evening Post* 10 Jul. 1798 reported the death of 'Rev. Mr Bergen of Rosemary Lane Chapel' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 305.).

BERMINGHAM, Bernard. Ordained by Dr Fitzsimons on 10 Sept. 1769, left for Paris in 1770. Returned to Dublin sick in 1780 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785' p. 385.).

BERMINGHAM[CROLLY], Christopher. Registered in the faculty of law in the University of Paris, Apr. 1732, priest and *pauper*; B.U.I. 4 Dec. 1732; L.U.I. 18 Jun. 1733 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 102.); curate in St. Nicholas's before becoming P.P. of St. Catherine's (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 223.); P.P. of St. Catherine's 1765-1783; died 3 Jun. 1783, Meath Street (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); became archdeacon of Dublin in 1767 and later served as vicar general under Archbishop Fitzsimons (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 223.); a dispute occurred between Dr Carpenter and Dr Bermingham over the vacant see in Jan. 1771 (See *Rep. Nov.*, i, no. 1, pp 156-7 and Fenning, *The Irish Dominican Province*, pp 371-5.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 3 Jun. 1783: 'Died in Meath-street, the Rev. Dr. Bermingham, many years parish priest of St. Catherine's (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 222.)

BERMINGHAM, Peter, O. Carm. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged sixty-four [date unknown], address given as Ash Street Chapel. Received minor orders, subdiaconate 1739, diaconate 1740, and priesthood 1741 at Barcelona (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 62.)

BERMINGHAM, Simon. Ordained at Maynooth in 1820 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1819 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

BETAGH, Thomas, S.J. Born in Co. Meath 8 May 1738. Educated in Dublin at John Austin's school. Entered the Society at Pont-à-Mousson 1758. Taught humanities for four years before he completed his studies at Pont-à-Mousson. Ordained priest 24 May 1766. Recalled to Ireland 1767 and assigned as assistant curate in SS Michael and John's. Incardinated into the diocese at the Suppression. C. 1781 founded free schools. Appointed P.P. and vicar general 1799. Died 16 Feb. 1811 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 91.); P.P. of SS Michael and John's 1799-1810, resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 17 Dec. 1791: 'Josephian Charity Society and Te Deum. To-morrow, the 18th inst., at 1 o'clock, will be preached A Charity Sermon, by the Reverend Mr. Betagh, in St. John's-street chapel, Thomas-street, for the support of a considerable number of the most wretched orphans of both sexes...' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 280.); *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Feb. 1811: 'The Charity Children of Rosemary-Lane Chapel, two and two; next the hearse containing the body of the deceased, drawn by six horses; next near two thousand respectable citizens on foot, in scarfs and handbands two and two, followed by upwards of 150 private carriages. The rear was composed of an immense multitude, the whole forming an aggregate of upwards of 20,000 persons... The utmost respect and veneration was evinced throughout the whole of the ceremony and especially marked by the Citizens shutting their shops in the different streets through which the procession passed'; took the Oath of Allegiance, date unknown, aged forty-four. Received minor orders 18 May, diaconate 23 May and priesthood 24 May 1766 at Spire, Germany (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 62.); subscribed to Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphemes de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1783); Nicholas Fontiane, *A history of the Old and New Testaments* (Dublin, 1782); George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784), three copies; l'Ábbe Grou, *The characters of real devotion* (Dublin, 1795), twelve copies, address given as Castle Street; l'Ábbe Grou, *The School of Christ* (Dublin, 1801), five copies; Edward Hawarden, *Charity and truth, or, Catholics are not uncharitable in saying that none are saved out of the Catholic Church* (Dublin, 1809); Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808), described as 'VG'; Alonsus Rodriguez, S.J., *The practice of Christian and religious perfection* (Kilkenny, 1806).

BETHAL, Robert. Arrived at Salamanca from Santiago on 22 Apr. 1758. Left for Ireland with six other newly ordained priests in Jun. 1760. P.P. of Lusk until 1772. P.P. of Swords 1762-66 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella, 1605-1769*, p. 78.); P.P. of Rathfarnham 1766-81 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 181.); P.P. of St. Audoen's 1781-91, died 1791 (O'Riordan,

'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37.); before his appointment as vicar general he served as Archdeacon of Dublin and previously as prebend of Tipper (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 176.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775), Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); idem, *The morality of the Bible* (Dublin, 1765), address given as Swords; Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphèmes de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1783).

BLAKE, Michael. Returned to the diocese from the Ludovician College, Rome in 1798 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.); ordained subdeacon by Dr Troy 22 Jul. 1798, 'titulo Missionis', deacon 25 Jul. 1798, and priest 26 Jul. 1798 at St. Mary's (O'Riordan, 'Ordinations by Archbishop Troy, 1797-1815', p. 379.); P.P. of SS Michael and John's 1810-31 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37.); rector of the Irish College, Rome 1826-28 (John Hanly, *The Irish College Rome* (Dublin, 1989)); administrator of St. Andrew's 1831 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 36.); P.P. of St. Andrew's 1831-3 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 36.); subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare* (Dublin, 1824); F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Mary's Lane; John Joseph Hornyold, *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses to which is added Henry the Eighth's defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther* (Dublin, 1814); Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Mary's Lane Chapel; Joseph Reeve, *A short view of the history of the Christian Church* (Dublin, 1809), three copies.

BOYCE, James. Attended Paris Laou. Returned to Dublin in 1774 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); P.P. of Celbridge 1780-1802 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 183.); P.P. of Blanchardstown 1802-3, died Nov. 1803 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 178.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and principal Saints* (Dublin, 1802), address given as Blanchardstown; George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784) address given as Celbridge; idem, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788) three copies; *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791); address given as Celbridge.

BOYLAN, John. Died at the hospital of St. Andre, Bordeaux 9 May 1730, aged twenty-two, buried in the Irish church of St. Eutrope, Bordeaux (Walsh (ed.), 'The Irish College at Bordeaux', p. 132.)

BOYLE, Richard. Son of Jacob Boyle and Margareta Grace, born 6 Apr. 1701. RecMatr. L, pauper 31 Aug. 1721- 28 Feb. 1722. LA 16 Nov. 1723. Ordained tonsure, minor orders, subdeacon, deacon and priest 21 Dec. 1725- 25 Sept. 1726 in Malines. *Vigour dimissoriarum, titulo parochiae de Kilbarock*. MA 17 Jun. 1726. S.T.B.C. 28 Feb.- 31 Aug. 1726. S.T.B.F. 28 Feb.- 31 Aug. 1728. P.P. in the diocese of Ghent 20 January 1729-44. Died 14 October 1755, buried in the Ghent Cathedral (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', pp 179-180.)

BRADY, Bernard, O.F.M. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty [date unknown]. Listed as serving in the Franciscan Chapel in Cook Street. Received minor orders and subdeaconship 1763, deaconship 1764, and priesthood 1765 in Prague (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 57.); *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Jan. 1795: 'Saturday night last, the Rev. Dr. Brady, a Roman Catholic clergyman, was stopped in Kevins-port, and robbed of four guineas'. (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 294.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 Jan. 1795: 'To be let, for a term of 35 years, the lands of Clavinstown, Co. Meath, containing 170 acres, with a good farm house and offices. Proposals in writing to be received by Rev. Bernard Brady of Adam and Eve house, Dublin, or by John Lynch, Esq., of Belpor, Dunshaughlin' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 294.)

BRADY, Hugh Joseph. Attended the University of Leuven. Matriculated L, pauper, philosophus 7 Feb. 1775. LA Aug. 1766. Returned to Dublin in 1780. P.P. of Baldoyle 19 Aug. 1796-1806, resigned with pension (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 248.)

BRADY, Peter, O.F.M. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty-one [date unknown], address given as Swords. Received minor orders, subdeaconship, deaconship and priesthood 1766 at Prague. (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 61.)

BRADY, Philip. Attended the University of Leuven. Matriculated F, minorennis, philosophus 25 Jan. 1767 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 233.); returned to the diocese in 1772 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); P.P. of Donabate 1828-36, died 1836 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 326.); a Peter Brady of Swords took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty-one. Received all orders in 1766 at Prague. He may have been a relation of Patrick and Philip (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 61.)

BRENNAN. Returned to the diocese from Carlow College in 1830 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

BRENNAN, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1783, from the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); returned to Dublin in 1787 from the Irish College, Antwerp ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); P.P. of Finglas 1801-2 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); P.P. of Celbridge 1802-21 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 183.); P.P. of Maynooth 1821-31, died 1831 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no.1, p. 184.); subscribed to *A treatise on the advantages of frequent communion* (Dublin, 1793), four copies; a Revd Brennan was curate in St. Michan's parish in 1800-1 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin, 1797-1824', p. 164.)

BRENNAN, Thomas, S.J. Born in Dublin 20 Dec. 1708. Entered the Society in Rome 2 Jan. 1726. Made all his ecclesiastical studies at the Roman College where he was ordained in 1740. Taught humanities in various colleges of the Roman province.

Returned to Ireland 1744 and was assigned as assistant curate in St. Michan's. Rector of the Irish College, Rome 1754-9. Procurator of the Irish College, Poitiers 1759-62. On the dissolution of the Society in France he joined the English province in 1762 and served in Derbyshire. Died c. Nov. 1773 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 91.)

BRODERICK, Daniel, O.F.M. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged twenty-seven [date unknown], address given as Adam and Eve's Chapel. Received minor orders, subdeaconship, deaconship and priesthood 1778 at Mechlin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 60.)

BROWN, Christopher. Registered in faculty of law Oct. 1741 in the University of Paris (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 102.)

BURKE, Miles. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1819 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.)

BYRNE, Andrew. Returned to the diocese in 1825 from Carlow College in 1825 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

BYRNE, Bernard. Ordained tonsure, minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priest 17-21 May 1785 by Dr Carpenter. Left for Louvain in 1785, matriculated C, minorennis, philosophus] 17 Jan. 1786. Returned to the diocese in 1791 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 270.); a 'B. Brady O.S.F.' was a curate in Booterstown in 1807 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 165.)

BYRNE, Daniel. Registered at the University of Paris, M.A. 1742, priest, L.Th 1748; superior of Irish College, Nantes, 1753-1778, died. In 1772 he held the priory of St Crespin-en-Bas-Anjou, diocese of Nantes (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 103.)

BYRNE, Dudley. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1781, from the diocese of Kildare. Left for Paris in 1781 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1786 from the College in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); subscribed to *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791), address given as Athy.

BYRNE, James. Ordained at Maynooth in 1829 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1829 from Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

BYRNE, James. Student at the University of Leuven. Matriculated F, minorennis, philosophus 21 December 1786. Possibly the John Byrne P.P. of Red Cross till his death some time before 25 Apr. 1851 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 271.); a John Byrne was P.P. of Red Cross 1844-52, died 1851 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 186.)

BYRNE, James. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1786 from the College in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a J. Byrne was curate in SS Michael and John's in 1800-4 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 163.)

BYRNE, John. Registered in the faculty of law 1746 in the University of Paris. (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792, p. 103.); a John Byrne was P.P. of Monkstown 1761- c.1770. He was inducted into the chapter as prebend of Castleknock (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, iv, p. 146.)

BYRNE, John. Returned to the diocese in 1825 from Carlow College in 1825 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

BYRNE, Laurence. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Mar. 1779, from the diocese of Kildare. Left for the Irish College, Antwerp in 1779 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1783 (Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a L. Byrne was curate in Castledermott in 1797 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 167.); a L. Byrne was curate in St. Nicholas's in 1798 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824' p. 162.); P.P. of Saggart 1798-1812, may have died in 1812 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 180.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and principal Saints* (Dublin, 1802), George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788).

BYRNE, Laurence. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1818 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1818 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850' p. 384.); a L. Byrne was curate in St. Nicholas's 1819-24 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 162.)

BYRNE, Patrick. Student at the Irish College, Paris. Returned to Dublin in 1787 from Paris Laon ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798, p. 489.); a Patrick Byrne was listed as curate in St. Nicholas's in 1810-12 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 163.); a Patrick M. Byrne was P.P. of St. Michan's Jun.-Jul. 1804, resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.); archdeacon of Glendalough 1782-88 (*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7)); a Patrick Byrne is also listed as serving in St. Catherine's in 1808 [Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ*] and in 1809 [Reeve, *History of the Christian Church*].

BYRNE, Patrick. Ordained subdiaconate 7 Jun. 1805, diaconate 31 May 1806, priest 24 May 1807, all at Maynooth (O'Riordan, 'Ordinations by Archbishop Troy', p. 380.); a P. Byrne was curate in St. Catherine's 1810-12 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 163.)

BYRNE, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth in 1830 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1830 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

BYRNE, Paul. Arrived in Lisbon around 22 Jul. 1791. When he finished his course he stayed on to teach philosophy. Left for Dublin on a ship bound for Liverpool, on 6 Jul. 1797. Reported to the archbishop that ‘he always behaved well’ while living at the college (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 119.)

C.

CAFFREY, Anthony, O.P. Native of Burrishoole, Co Mayo. Received the habit for Burrishoole Priory at the Novitiate, Esker, Co Galway on 25 Sept. 1776. Studied in France, as he was referred to as ‘Licentiate of Sorbonne’. Served in Washington D.C. 1794-1804. In 1811 he was curate in St. Michan’s. Spent the remainder of his life in Dublin and Burrishoole (Luke Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1 (1961), pp 153-4.); curate in St. Michan’s in 1811 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824’, p. 164.) subscribed to William Gahan, *A compendious abstract on the history of the Church* (Dublin, 1793).

CAINAN, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1818 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1817 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); P.P. of Maynooth 1835-69, died 1869 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.)

CALLAGHAN, Christopher. Returned to Dublin in 1785 from Paris Laon (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); P.P. of Bray 1794-1823, died 1823 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.)

CALLAGHAN, Patrick, S.J. Student at St Patrick’s College, Lisbon, working there in 1733 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 62.)

CALLAGHAN, Richard. Student at the Irish College, Leuven. UL, SStr. Rhetorica 1 Oct. 1759. Dialectica 1 Oct. 1760. Matriculated C, paper, philosophy 19 Jan. 1761. Ordained tonsure, minor orders and subdiaconate 16 Jun. 1764 in Malines. *Vigour dimissoriarum*. Returned to the diocese in 1771. This was possibly the Richard Callaghan, S.J. who studied in Spain c. 1774 (Nilis, ‘Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797’, p. 223.)

CALLAN, James. Ordained by Dr O’Keeffe, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin in June 1770, left for the Irish College, Paris in 1770 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 485.); returned to Dublin in 1774 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.)

CALLANAN, James. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1812 (Maynooth ordinations, p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1814. Adopted from the diocese of Cork (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, p. 384.); curate in St. Catherine’s 1815-18 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of

Dublin 1727-1824', p. 163.); P.P. of Celbridge 1821-29 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 183.); P.P. of Coolock 1829-46, died 1846 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.)

CAMPBELL, James. Ordained at Maynooth in 1813 (O'Riordan, ed., 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1813 from Carlow (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); curate in St. Catherine's 1817-23 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 163.); P.P. of Saggart 1823-32 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, 180.); P.P. of St. James's 1832-42, resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin 1824).

CANAVAN, George. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1818 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1818 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); P.P. of Naul 1832-42 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 327.); P.P. of St. James's 1842-51, died 1851 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin 1824).

CARBERRY, Thomas, O.P. Native of Wexford. Joined the Dominicans in Italy about 1768 and was ordained priest in Rome in 1779. Was awarded the Lecotrata 'summa cum laude' in 1780 and undertook postgraduate studies in the Minerva, Rome. Returned to Ireland in 1780. Resided in Kilkenny and Mullingar. When Troy became archbishop he brought him to Dublin where he served until 1815. Curate in SS Michael and John's 1797-1815. Between 1800-2 he translated three volumes of *The foundations of religion and the foundations of impiety* by F.A. Valsecchi. Left for New York in 1815 but returned in 1822. Died on his way to Rome in 1829 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', pp 154-5.); subscribed to George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784).

CAREY, James, O.P. Born in 1771 in Wexford. Educated at the Corpo Santo Priory, Lisbon. In 1798 he was appointed curate in Stamullen, diocese of Meath. In 1802 he was appointed curate in Swords where he later succeeded Fr John Browne as P.P. in 1806 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes' p. 155.). Curate in Swords 1802-6 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824', p. 169.); P.P. of Swords 1806-50, died 1850 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 326.); this same Carey wrote two letters to Dr Murray in December 1828 regarding the erection of a pew by the Taylor family in the parish chapel, Swords. Carey described it as 'a commodious servants' pew' which he said 'shortens the space for communicants'. Carey said he feared this would lead to trouble and rioting (D.D.A., Murray papers, AB3/30/11(40, 43); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints* (Dublin, 1802), address given as Swords; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808), described as P.P. of Swords (Dublin, 1808).

CAREY, James. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1773, left for the College at Paris in 1773 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1778 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); subscribed to Eugene Martin, *A comparative view of the advantages of religion* (Dublin, 1789).

CARPENTER, John. Ordained on 18 Jun. 1752, student at the Irish College, Lisbon (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 63.); archbishop of Dublin and P.P. of St. Nicholas's 1770-86 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 33.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged fifty-three. Address given as 20 Usher's Island. Minor Orders and subdiaconate 1751. Diaconate and priesthood at Lisbon 1752 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 63.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775); idem, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); Richard Challoner, *The morality of the Bible* (Dublin, 1765); Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphemes de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1783); Nicholas Fontaine, *A history of the Old and New Testament* (Dublin, 1782), six copies; George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); idem, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); John Joseph Hornyold, *The real principles of Catholics* (Dublin, 1773); *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1754).

CARR, Matthew. Student at the University of Toulouse. Augustinian from St. Catherine's parish, Dublin. Tonsure 11 Mar. 1775, diaconate 15 Mar. 1777, priest 13 Jun. 1778. (Brockliss and Ferte, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 103.); subscribed to George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788). *Dublin Evening Post*, 23 Aug. 1791 records a meeting of the Catholics of the parish of Rathfarnham and Tallaght at which thanks were given to 'the Rev. Matthew Carr, for the excellent discourse delivered by him'. This took place at a meeting thanking local Protestant clergy for their 'benevolent liberality' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 278.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown]. Address given as 148 Thomas Street. Carr was then aged twenty-seven and was serving in John's Lane Chapel [Augustinian]. Received Minor Orders at St Papule, France 23 Sept. 1775; subdiaconate at St Lizie, Cozerans 2 Mar. 1776; diaconate 15 Mar. 1777, and priest at Toulouse 13 Jun. 1778 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 57.)

CAULFIELD, James. Student at the University of Paris. Registered in the faculty of law Oct. 1724. Priest and pauper, B.U.I. 13 Jun. 1725, L.U.I. 5 Sept. 1727, D.U.I. 3 Sept. 1728 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 103.).

CAWOOD, Michael, S.J. Born in Leinster 1708, son of a Protestant father who was later received into the Catholic Church. Entered the Society at Seville 28 Jan. 1726. Studied rhetoric at Carmona, philosophy and theology at Granada and was ordained priest in 1734. Served at the Jesuit church, Granada 1736-8. Recalled to Ireland 1738 and thenceforth ministered as assistant curate in St. Mary's Lane. Died 4 Jun. 1772 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 92.)

CLARKE, Brennan. Returned to the diocese from Blois in 1830 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

CLARKE, Thomas Augustine, O.P. Born a Protestant, his father being a Captain Clarke from Co. Armagh. Moved to Dublin to study divinity but converted to Catholicism. Studied in Corpo Santo in Lisbon and was ordained there about 1800. Served as curate in St. Mary's 1802-9 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', pp 155-6.); inscription from his tombstone: 'Here lieth the body of the Revd. Thomas Augustin Clarke of the Order of St. Dominick Who having, in early youth, at the expense of many worldly advantages embraced the Catholic Religion, became by his singular zeal piety and eloquence, one of its brightest ornaments. While strenuously engaged in the labours of his ministry (the powerful Advocate of virtue, the ...[?] Comforter of the poor, the Friend and Benefactor of Mankind, apparently in the midst of a career which promised the most important benefits to Religion and Society) he was snatched out of life, after a short illness, being the Curate of St. Mary's Parish Dublin, where public gratitude has raised a Monument to perpetuate the memory of his distinguished worth. He died on the 12th day of June 1809, aged 33 years 2 Months and 7 Days.' (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/29/12(14)); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints* (Dublin, 1802), address given as Denmark Street; Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808); Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808); Joseph Reeve, *A short view of the history of the Christian Church* (Dublin, 1809), address given as Liffey Street.

CLARKE, William. Ordained on 16 May 1751, student at the Irish College, Lisbon (O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 64.); P.P. of St. Marys 1752-97 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 40.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged fifty-four; address given as Drumcondra Lane; minor orders, subdeacon, deacon and priest in Lisbon 1751 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 61.); *Hibernian Journal*, 3 Feb. 1773: 'The Rev Mr Clarke, parish priest of St. Mary's was attempted [to be robbed]... on Thursday night [29] by a middle sized in brown clothes and a laced hat, who got access to his apartment under pretence of business (and then pulled out a pistol) but Mr Clarke's resolute behaviour disarmed the villain who departed without his prey on condition of safe conduct out of the house, which was strictly performed...These are supposed part of a London gang lately arrived' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 151.); he was Chancellor of the Chapter 1783, died July 1797 (Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum, 1783 (D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7)); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775); Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); Thomas of Jesus, *Sufferings of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Dublin, 1754); Teresa of Avilla, *The life of the holy Mother St Teresa* (Dublin, 1791); *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791), listed as 'Revd Dr'.

CLINCH, Peter Richard. Student at the University of Leuven. SStr Poesis 1 Oct. 1780. Rhetorica 1 Oct. 1781. Irish Pastoral College, Leuven Tyrell scholarship 1783-5. Matriculated C, minorennis 17 Jan. 1783. Returned to the diocese in 1787. P.P. of Irishtown 1788, died 29 December 1791 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 259.)

CLONEY, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1783, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese. Student at the Irish College, Paris (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); returned to Dublin in 1789 from the College in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.)

COGHLAN, James. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Mar. 1775, left for the Irish College, Paris 1775 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1781 from the College in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.)

COLEMAN, Patrick. Matriculated L, minorennis, philosophy 2 Jan. 1794. P.P. of St. Paul's 22 Dec. 1825- 17 May 1828. P.P. of St. Michan's until his death on 25 May 1838, described as V.G. (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 286.); had previously been educated at Paris before Louvain. Was subsequently at Carlow and Maynooth before returning to the diocese in 1797 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 383.); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Townsend Street; Alonsus Rodriguez, S.J., *The practice of Christian and religious perfection* (Kilkenny, 1806).

COLGAN, Patrick, S.J. Born in Dublin 21 Jul. 1707. Educated at the Jesuit school and John Harold's academy. Entered the Society in the Venetian province 15 Mar. 1726 completed his studies at the Roman College 1739-42. Recalled to Ireland 1744. Assistant curate at Dirty Lane chapel, died in Dublin between and 1772-4 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 93.)

COLLEN. Returned to the diocese from Seville in 1807 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, p. 384.)

CONRAHY, John. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782, from the Ossory diocese, left for the Irish College, Nantes 1782 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1788 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Conroy was curate in Redcross 1797-8 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 166.); a John Conroy was P.P. of Avoca 1798-1808, died 1808 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 186.)

CONRY, James. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1785, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese. Student at the Irish College, Bordeaux (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); returned to Dublin from Bordeaux in 1791 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.)

CONRY, Thomas. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-two [date unknown]. Address given as 119 Church Street. Received minor orders and subdiaconate 21 Sept. 1752, diaconate 21 Sept. 1753, priesthood 21 Sept. 1754, at Antwerp. (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 57.)

CONWAY, Peter. Student at the University of Paris. MA 7 Dec. 1709, BTh 1710, defended his *tentative*; roll of Paris licentiands 1714. Resident at college d'Harcourt,

priest. LTh 1716 [presumably the Peter Conway, priest in Paris, Mar. 1717, called the heir of Maurian Kearney] (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 103.)

COOKE, Walter. Returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1819 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.).

COOPER, Peter. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1822 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1823. Adopted from the diocese of Kerry (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

CORCORAN, Michael. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1780, from Kildare and Leighlin. Left for Paris in 1780. Returned to Dublin from the College in Paris in 1785 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

CORR, Michael. Returned to the diocese in 1807 from Carlow (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.).

CORR, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth in 1813 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Carlow in 1813 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); subscribed to Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808), St. Mary's Lane; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808), address given as St. Mary's Lane Chapel.

COSTELLO, Daniel. Ordained at Maynooth in 1830 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1830 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

COSTELLOE, Bartholomew. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1828 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.)

COSTIGAN, Augustine. Ordained at Maynooth in 1821 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); P.P. of Lusk 1843-68, died 1868 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 325.)

COSTIGAN, Daniel. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1778, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese. Left for Nantes in 1778 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1783 having studied in both Nantes and Bordeaux ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); he was a curate in St. Mary's in 1797 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 165.); administrator of St. Mary's 1797-1824, died 1824 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 40.); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian*

religion against its enemies (Dublin, 1800), address given as Liffey Street Chapel; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year, principally from the Epistles and Gospels proper to each Sunday* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Liffey Street Chapel; in 1824 a Revd Costigan made allegations to Dr Murray about Fr William Stafford, 28 Upper Camden Street, living outside of his parish and not performing his duties properly (D.D.A., AB3/30/8(28)).

CRUMPE, Patrick. Sent to Paris to complete his studies in 1827 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

CULLEN, Michael. Entered St. Nicholas du Chardonnet 1784, priest, pension of 550 livres (Brookliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 103.); ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1784, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 488.); returned to Dublin in 1789 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 490.); P.P. of Narraghmore 1797-1803, died in 1803 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 185.)

CULLINAN, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth in 1830 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1830 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

CUMMINS, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1815 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); a Revd John Cummins of Maynooth College subscribed to *The manual of St Augustine* (Dublin, 1813).

CUMMINS, Michael, O.P. Received into the Dominican Order for the Athy Priory in San Clemente, Rome on 21 Nov. 1753. Professed 21 Nov. 1754 and ordained priest 18 Oct. 1756. Returned to Dublin in 1759. Was a curate in SS Michael and John’s in 1774, died in 1793 (Taheny (ed.), ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, p. 157.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 5 Oct. 1790: ‘Died on Friday night [1] of a fever, the Rev. Mr. Cummins, a curate in Rosemary-lane chapel (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 274.); took the Oath of Allegiance, [date unknown], aged forty-eight. Address given as 10 Nicholas Street. The report lists him as ‘a curate of the united parishes that belong to Rose Mary Lane Chapel. Tonsure, minor orders 21 Dec. 1754; subdiaconate 20 Sept. 1755; diaconate 13 Mar. 1756 and priest at Rome 18 Oct. 1756 (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 62.); subscribed to Michael Fontaine, *A history of the old and new testament* (Dublin, 1782)

CUMMINS, Thomas. Ordained in Mar. 1779, from the Kildare diocese. Left for Bordeaux in 1779 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 487.); a Cummins was curate in Dunlavin 1797-9 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824’, p. 166.); a Cummins was curate in Castledermott in 1800 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824’, p. 167.); a Cummins was curate in Kilcullen in 1801 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824’, p. 167.); P.P. of Kilcullen 1801-10, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.)

CURRAN, William. Ordained deacon 8 Jun. 1805, priest 31 May 1806 (O’Riordan, ‘Ordinations by Archbishop Troy’, p. 380.); ordained at Maynooth in 1806 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); a Wm. Curran was curate in Maynooth in 1807-14 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1727-1824’, p. 168.); subscribed to Abbé Proyard, *The life of Princess Louisa, daughter of Lewis XV of France, a Carmelite nun. To which is added the life of M. Julia MacMahon, a religious of the same Order* (Dublin, 1812), address given as Maynooth College.

D.

DALTON, Thomas, O.P. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-seven [date unknown], address given King’s Street, Oxmanstown. Received priesthood and all other orders 1748 at Mechlin (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 54.)

DALY, Bernard. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1813 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.)

DALY/O’DALY, John, O.P. Native of North Kildare where he was born in 1734/5. Entered the Dominican Order in Louvain in 1747 and was ordained priest in Malines 19 Sept. 1750. Was prior in Louvain from 1760-3. May have moved to Dublin around 1763 when he became curate in St. Andrew’s, and resided at 1 Cumberland Street. While serving as prior of Newbridge he remained connected to St. Andrew’s. Died aged eighty-four in 1809 (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, pp 157-8.); a John Daly took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-six [date unknown]. Address given as 9 Lazer’s Hill. Received tonsure, minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood in 1761 at Mechlin (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 61.); subscribed to Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); John Joseph Hornyold, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1795).

DARCY, Morgan. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1784 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 488.); returned to Dublin in 1791 after studying at both Nantes and Bordeaux (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 490.); Donnelly sates that he was also known as ‘Pelagius Darcy’ and had been from the well-known Darcy family that founded a Dublin brewery. He was a renowned preacher who gave a supposedly famous sermon at the opening of St. Paul’s church, Soho. He attended a meeting in Bridge Street chapel to protest against the Veto. In chapter he was Prebend of Jago from 1821, he died in 1831 (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 177.); P.P. of St. Audoen’s 1813-31 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37.); he had served as curate in St. Nicholas’s and St. Mary’s before coming to St Audoen’s (Donnelly. *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 177); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Celbridge Academy.

DARCY, Peter. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782, from the Ferns diocese. Left for Nantes in the same year. Died in Nantes on 14 Oct. (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.)

DAVIS, John. Returned to Dublin from Nantes in 1771 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); P.P. of Garristown 6 Mar. 1776- 1 Apr. 1776, resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.* iii, no. 2, p. 327.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1795).

DAVITT, William. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty-seven [date unknown]. Address given as Damoldstown. Co. Dublin. Subdiaconate 1766, diaconate 1767, and priesthood 1768 at Paris. (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 59.); P.P. of Naul 1771-96, died 1796 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 327.).

DAVOC, William. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1815 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); curate in St. Paul's 1816 (O'Riordan 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 165.); curate in SS Michael and John's 1823 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 163.)

DEANE, Joseph Joy. Lived in St Patrick's, Lisbon in Mar. 1807 as a member of staff. Returned to Dublin in about 1808 (O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon 1590-1834*, p. 68.); returned to the diocese in 1808. Adopted from the diocese of Down and Connor (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); was curate in Blanchardstown in 1805 and then again in 1810-24 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 169.); P.P. in Blanchardstown 1825-36; died in 1836 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 178.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and Principal Saints* (Dublin, 1802), address given a St Patrick's College, Lisbon; Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive tradition* (Dublin, 1808), Dublin; Henry VIII, *Defence of the Seven Sacraments* (Dublin, 1766), address given as Blanchardstown; John Joseph Hornyold, *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses, to which is added Henry the eight's defence of the Seven Sacraments* (Dublin, 1814), address given as Blanchardstown; Joseph Reeve, *A short view of the history of the Christian Church* (Dublin, 1809), address given as Mary's Street.

DEMPSEY, Bernard. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1781, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese. Left for Nantes in 1781, died in Nantes (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.)

DEMPSEY, James. Returned to the diocese in 1829 from Kilkenny College (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

DEMPSEY, John. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487); returned to Dublin in 1788 from the College in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); subscribed to *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate*

(Dublin, 1791); William Gahan, *Compendious abstract of the history of the church* (Dublin, 1793).

DEMPSEY, Mogue. Returned to Dublin in 1773, adopted from the diocese of Ferns ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); P.P. of Avoca 1778-91, died 1791 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 186.)

DEVOY, Michael. Returned to the diocese from Douay in 1771 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); P.P. of Rathdrum 1781-4 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.* iii, no. 1, p. 190.); P.P. of Ballymore Eustace 1784-1810, died in 1810 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 182.); Fr Nicholas Phepoe, P.P. of Kilcullen signed a report made by five local priests on 6 Sept. 1796 concerning allegations made by a Captain Richard Doyle that Revd Michael Devoy, Baltinglass subscribed to 'French philosophy and that he denounced Captain Doyle from the altar at Mass. It is likely that Phepoe was resident in the parish of Blessington (D.D.A., AB2/116/6165); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800).

DIGNAN, William. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1821 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.)

DIXON, Joseph. Student at the University of Paris. Born 1733. Studied theology for two years residing in the Irish College, Paris, priest 1756. Spent six years as tutor to nephews of Dillon, archbishop of Narbonne, with no *bourse*. Entered St Nicholas du Chardonnet 1766, paid 200 *livres* (Brookliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 104.); P.P. of St. James's 1770-1772 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); during his time in St. James's he was Prebendary of Tipper Kevin (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, xi, p. 59.); P.P. of St. Michan's 1773-1797, resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.); Donnelly states that he had to leave for Paris in order to protect one of his own flock from being brought up a Protestant. This was Jenico, son of Viscount Gormanstown. Gormanstown died in 1786, and his wife, a Protestant, attempted to have Jenico made a ward in Chancery and have him brought up a Protestant. Dixon remained with him in Paris until he reached adulthood. In 1792 he was appointed vicar general and archdeacon of Dublin (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, xi, p. 59.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 16 Oct. 1798: 'Died in Prussia-street, the Rev. Joseph Dixon, upwards of twenty years pastor of the parish of St Michan' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 306.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged forty-three; address given as Greek Street; orders to priesthood exclusively in Dublin 1762 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 63.); Dixon was mentioned in a letter from Dr Carpenter to Dr Sweetman on 29 Jan. 1778 regarding the implementation of the Papal decree *Tametsi*. Carpenter stated that he believed that Dixon was against its promulgation (D.D.A., AB2/6/7(15)); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775); Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphemes de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1783); John Joseph Dwyer, *The Trinitarian manual* (Dublin, 1795); George Hay, *The devout Christian*, Dublin, 1784).

DONAHOE, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese. Student at the Irish College, Paris (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.)

DONNELLAN, Michael. Ordained by Dr Carpenter 10-14 Jun. 1783. Left for the Irish College, Douai (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); a Michael Donnellan returned to the diocese in 1789 having studied at the 'Laon. College' ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.); P.P. of Boystown [Blackditches, Valleymount] 1799-1810 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no.1, p. 187.); P.P. of Blessington 1809[10]-23, died 1823 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other Principal Saints* (Dublin, 1802), address given as Black Ditches; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808).

DONNELLAN, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter 16 Mar. 1771, left for Douay in 1771 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 485.); returned to the diocese from Douay in 1773 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770', p. 488.); P.P. of Boystown [Blackditches, Valleymount] 1777-99 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1 p. 187.); P.P. of Kilcullen 1799-1801, died 1801 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.)

DORAN, Edmund, S.J. Born in Leinster 5 Jan. 1717. Entered the Society at Lisbon 28 Jul. 1732. Made his ecclesiastical studies at Coimbra and taught humanities for six years in Portugal before returning to Ireland in 1750. Assistant curate in Dublin until his death 17 Apr. 1758 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 93.)

DORAN, James. Student at the University of Paris and the Irish College, Alcalá. Studied philosophy and theology for five years at Alcalá then Paris, entered St. Nicholas du Chardonnet Aug. 1767 (pension 150 *livres* plus mass stipends). Born 1749. Priest 1761 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 104.); P.P. of Castledermott in 1771-82, probably died 1782 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 182.)

DORAN, James. Son of James Doran and Honora Kavanagh of the parish of Disard[?], archdiocese of Dublin. He was a *porzionista* 25 May 1763, when he was nominated for an option on the first vacant *beca* for Leinster. He was examined in Latin in 1763, received Gerard Drake's *beca* in 1764, was a *consiliario* in 1766, and went to the mission in 1761 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares 1649-1785*, p. 63.)

DOWDALL(DOUDALL), Daniel, Baronet of Athlumney. Student at the University of Paris. Registered in the faculty of law Apr. 1721, priest, B.U.I. 15 Apr. 1721. L.U.I. 10 Jul. 1721 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', 104.); P.P. of St. Paul's 1724-1729 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 39.)

DOWDALL, Richard, S.J. Student at the Irish College, Lisbon. Was working in Dublin in 1733 and had been a student in St. Patrick's, Lisbon (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon 1590-1834*, p. 70.)

DOWDALL, Stephen, O.C.D. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty-two [date unknown], address given as Stephen Street Chapel. Received minor orders 1761 at Bordeaux, subdiaconate 1763 at Bazas, diaconate 1764 at Agen, and priesthood 1764 at Bazas (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 60.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 12 Feb. 1784: 'Died at Stephen St., the Rev. Stephen Dowdall, a clergyman of the Church of Rome, and a superior of the order of Carmelite friars'. (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century*, p. 223.)

DOYLE, Daniel. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1778. Left for Paris in 1778 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1782 from the Paris Community ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Doyle was curate in Ballymore Eustace 1797-8 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 167.); P.P. of Rathdrum 1799-1802, died 1802 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.); subscribed to John Joseph Dwyer, *The Trinitarian manual* (Dublin, 1795); George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); idem, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788); Doyle's home in Blessington was subject to a robbery by an armed gang in January 1791 (*Dublin Chronicle*, 11 Jan. 1791)

DOYLE, James. Ordained subdeacon 31 May 1806, deacon 10 Jun. 1807, and priest 10 Jun. 1808 (O'Riordan, 'Ordinations by Archbishop Troy', pp 380-81.); a J. Doyle was curate in St. James's 1809-11 (O'Riordan, ed., 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 164.); a James Doyle was P.P. of Avoca 1811-23 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 186.); P.P. of Bray 1823-26, died 1826 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.)

DOYLE, John. Returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1818 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

DOYLE, Laurence. He took the oath in Santiago de Compostella 17 Mar. 1728 and in Salamanca on 27 Nov. 1730. The rector objected to his being passed in examination because he had arrived from Santiago without the customary certificate, which was later overruled. A letter in Spanish from the archbishop of Dublin not permitting him to Holy Orders and revoking his *dimissorias* is dated 9 Aug. 1731. Was examined in second year on 25 Jul. 1732 and approved (O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella, 1605-1769*, p. 91.)

DOYLE, Michael. Ordained in Maynooth in 1806 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); a Michael Doyle was curate in SS Michael and John's 1807-24 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 163.); subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin 1824); Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Rosemary Lane.

DOYLE, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Mar. 1771, left for Nantes in 1771 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1777 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); Donnelly states that he some point in time he was P.P. of Monkstown (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin Parishes*, iv, p. 181.) P.P. of Dunlavin 1782 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 188.); in 1786, on the translation of his uncle to St. James's he was transferred from Dunlavin to Loughlinstown (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, iv, p. 151.); admitted to the Chapter as prebendary of St Audoen in succession to his uncle, Revd Dennis Doyle (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, iv, p. 151.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty-four, address given as Dunlavin. Subdiaconate, diaconate and priest at Dublin 1771 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 64.).

DOYLE, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth in 1808 (O'Riordan, 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); a Patrick J. Doyle was P.P. of St. Audoen's 1831-32 and P.P. of Booterstown from 1832 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37.); P.P. of St. Michan's 1838-58, died 1858 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.); a Patrick Doyle of Liffey Street subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin 1824), Liffey Street; John Joseph Hornyold, *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses, to which is added King Henry the Eight's Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther* (Dublin, 1814), Liffey Street; Abbé Proyard, *The life of Princess Louisa, daughter of Lewis XV of France, a Carmelite nun. To which is added the life of M. Julia MacMahon, a religious of the same Order* (Dublin, 1812);

DOYLE, William, S.J. Born in Dublin 30 May 1717. Entered the Society at Nancy 12 Jul. 1734 studied philosophy at Pont-à-Mousson and taught humanities at various colleges in Champagne. Completed his studies at Rheims where he was ordained in 1747. On the teaching staff of the Irish College, Poitiers until 1750. Assistant curate in Dublin 1750-5, returned to France and was on the mission in Champagne until 1771 when he joined the English province and served in Lancashire until his death 15 Jan. 1785 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 93.).

DUIGNAN, James. Returned to Dublin from Nantes in 1771 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.)

DUNGAN, Michael. Ordained at Maynooth in 1823 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1823. Adopted from the diocese of Kerry (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. p. 384.); P.P. of Blanchardstown 1836-68, died 1868 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 178.)

DUNN[E], John. He was the first collegian sent by Archbishop Carpenter to the Irish College, Lisbon after the recovery of the college. Having finished his studies in the college in 1788 he agreed to stay on to supervise the philosophy course. Returned to the diocese in 1791 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon 1590-1834*, p. 71.); P.P.

of Palmerstown with Lucan 1798-1800 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 179.); P.P. of Clondalkin, Lucan and Palmerstown [a new parish having been created in 1800] 1800-37, died in 1837 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 180.); he was rector from 1811-1823, apparently with Troy’s approval. The records abound with complaints against him, although Fr Daly spoke highly of him. He was in Dublin in 1820 and made arrangements for the running of the parish of Clondalkin, until he returned as parish priest in 1823 (O’Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon 1590-1834*, p. 71.).

DUNN, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1824 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1823 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.); P.P. of Saggart 1832-53, died 1853 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 180.)

DUNN, Terence. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782, from the diocese of Kildare (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 487.); student at the University of Paris. M.A. 19 Mar. 1788, priest (Brookliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 104.);

DUNN, Thaddeus. Student at the Irish College, Paris. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1785, from the Kildare diocese. Returned to Dublin in 1791 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 488.)

DUNNE, Andrew. Ordained in Bordeaux 23 Sept. 1769 (Walsh, ‘The Irish College at Bordeaux’, p. 130.); returned to Dublin from Bordeaux in 1770 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 488.); curate in St. Catherine’s before becoming P.P. (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 224.); P.P. of St. Catherine’s 1806-16, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); prebend of Tipper Kevin 1783 (*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7)); secretary to the trustees of Maynooth College from in 1795. President of Maynooth College 1803-6 (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 224.) subscribed to William Gahan, *Compendious abstract of the history of the Church* (Dublin, 1793), described as ‘Revd DD’.

DUNNE, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun 1781, from the Kildare diocese. Left for Nantes in 1781. Died in Nantes 1782 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 487.).

E.

EDEWORTH, Robert. *Socius* Irish College, Toulouse 1752. Registered in the faculty of law Nov. 1762 (Brookliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 104); this may have been the Abbé Edgeworth, son of a Protestant minister who converted to Catholicism and moved to Toulouse. Edgeworth became a life long friend of the future bishop of Cork, Francis Moylan, also a student at Toulouse. Edgeworth was considered one of the favourites to succeed John Carpenter as archbishop of Dublin in 1784. He later moved to Paris to continue his theological studies in the Collège de Trente-Trois. After ordination he joined the society of the *Missions étrangères* and ministered in Paris, taking special

interest in the poor and needy Irish in the city. (Swords; 'The Irish in Paris at the end of the ancien regime', p. 202.); *Clonmel Gazette*, 13 Feb. 1793: 'The Rev. Mr. Edgeworth who attended the unhappy Louis XVI in his last moments, has arrived in London' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 287.)

ENNIS, Andrew. Returned to the diocese in 1773 from Salamanca ('Dublin priests returned from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); P.P. of Finglas 1774-77 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); P.P. of Maynooth 1777-1821, died 1821 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.); Prebend of unius portionis de Tipper Kevin 1784 (*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7))

ENNIS, Andrew. Ordained at Maynooth in 1812 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1812 from Maynooth ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 384.)

ENNIS, John. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1817 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.)

F.

FAGAN. Returned to the diocese from Paris in 1828 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

FAGAN, Andrew. Returned to the diocese from Carlow College in 1827 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

Fagan. Returned to the diocese from Kilkenny College in 1829 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

FANNIN, Richard. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Sept. 1773, left for Nantes in 1773 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1779 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); curate in Blanchardstown 1797-1803 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824', p. 169.)

FARRELL, James, O. Carm. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged thirty. Received minor orders at Pampelona, subdiaconate and diaconate in 1775 and priesthood 1776 at Zaragosa (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 57.)

FAY, Patrick. Student at the Irish College, Compostella. Took the oath there on 17 Mar. 1752 and arrived in Salamanca on 26 Aug. 1755. Rector John O'Brien wrote that he would have been the best in the second year examination but he was ill at the time and recovering in the summer residence on 22 Aug. 1756. Having taken final examinations on 22 Jun. 1757 he left for Ireland four days later. Received minor orders in Santiago from Bishop Carlos Antonio Rional, bishop of Mondonedo (O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella, 1605-1769*, p. 93.); P.P. of Balrothery in 1771-77 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 324.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged fifty-two; address given as 27

James's Street. Received minor orders in Santiago 1752, subdiaconate, diaconate and priest at Salamanca 1753 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance' p. 63.); prebend of Dunlavin 1771-86, prebend of Tipper Kevin 1783 (*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7)); P.P of St. James's 1777-86, died 1786 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); subscribed to Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); Thomas of Jesus, *Sufferings of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Dublin, 1754); *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1764), two copies.

FERRELL, Dennis, O.P. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged thirty-one, address given as Denmark Street. Received tonsure, minor orders 2 Jul. 1769 at Louvain, subdiaconate 5 Jun. 1773, diaconate 18 Dec. 1773 at Milan, and priesthood 3 Jul. 1774 at Crema, in the state of Venice (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 62.)

FERREL/FARRELL, James. Student at the University of Paris. Minor orders May 1771 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 104.); returned to Dublin in 1776 from the Community in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a James Farrell of Greek Street took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty-two. Subdiaconate and diaconate in Dublin 1773, priest in Paris 1774 (Walsh, 'Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 59.).

FIELD, John. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-two [date unknown], address given as 12 Castle Street. Received minor orders 1753, subdiaconate and diaconate 1754, priesthood in 1755 at Paris. (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 59.); P.P. of St. Audoen's 1760-67, appointed treasurer of the chapter in 1762 (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 175.); P.P. of SS Michael and John's 1767-84 (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 194.); *Hoey's Journal*, 18 Mar. 1784: 'Died in Castle st, the Rev. Mr. Field, many years parish priest of Rosemary-lane chapel'. (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 224.).

FINN, Carol Joseph. Son of Charles Finn and Francisca Plunkett. Student at the University of Louvain, SStr Poesis 1 Oct. 1782, Rhetorica 1 Oct. 1783. Irish Pastoral College Leuven Nottingham scholarship 1783-5. Matriculated C, minorennis, philosophus 7 Jan. 1785. LA Aug. 1786 U.L.. C.M. Sinnich scholarship 9 Oct. 1786. *Theologus 7 December 1786: pro 8 menses et 10 dies ad 17 julii 1787, Novembri 1786 exivit as Hibernicum, redivit 11 julii 1787*, Nov. 1786 to Louvain. Returned 11 Jul. 1787, departed Mar. 1788 and 26 Mar. 1790. Returned to Ireland 3 May 1791 with full *viaticum*. P.P. of Irishtown until his death on 29 Jun. 1849 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 265.)

FITZGERALD, Edmund, O.C.D. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-nine [date unknown], address given as Chapel, Stephen Street. Received minor orders, subdiaconate and diaconate at Elvas, Portugal, and priesthood at Lisbon in 1748 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 61.)

FITZGERALD, Richard. Returned to the diocese from the Ludovician College, Rome in 1779 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); curate in St. Audoen's 1797-1800 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824', p. 163.); P.P. of St. Audoen's 1801-13, died 1813 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37.); prebend of Swords from 1797 (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 177.); took the Oath of Allegiance aged thirty [date unknown]. Address given as Chapel Alley, Bridge Street. Received minor orders in Sept. 1771, subdiaconate 1778, diaconate and priesthood in 1779 at Rome (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 62.); subscribed to Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808); Barnaby Murph, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808).

FITZHARRIS, John. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1812 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1812 from Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); a Fitzharris was curate in Rathfarnham in 1818 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824', p. 168.); P.P. of Skerries 1819-20, died 1820 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 324.)

FITZSIMONS, William. Student at the University of Paris. M.O. 1770, subdeacon 1771, member of the community of clerics Irish College, Paris, 1772 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 108.).

FLANAGAN, James. Took the Oath of Allegiance forty [date unknown], address given as 7 Arran Street. Received minor orders and subdiaconate 10 Mar. 1765, diaconate 12 Mar. 1766, and priesthood 13 Jun. 1767 at Mechlin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 56.)

FLANAGAN, Matthew. Ordained at Maynooth in 1809 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); a Flanagan was curate in St. Catherine's 1819-24 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824', p. 163.); P.P. of St. Nicholas's 1827-56, died 1856 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no.1, p. 33.); subscribed to Abbé Proyard, *The life of Princess Louisa, daughter of Lewis XV of France, a Carmelite nun. To which is added the life of M. Julia MacMahon, a religious of the same Order* (Dublin, 1812).

FLEMING, Christopher, O.F.M. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-two [date unknown]. Listed as resident at Adam and Eve's. Received minor orders and priesthood at Prague (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 56.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 28 Jan. 1783: 'Last Sunday [26] the corps of Dublin Independent Volunteers attended a charity sermon at the Romish chapel on Lazer's Hill preached by the Reverend Doctor Fleming. The affection at present subsisting between all religious denominations in this united and happy nation is not only a striking testimony of the liberality of its inhabitants, but a pleasing presage of future prosperity'. (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 222.); *Hoey's Journal*, 5 Dec. 1794: 'At 7 o'clock yesterday died the Rev. Christopher

Fleming of Adam and Eve chapel; a gentleman deservedly regretted for those excellent qualities and acquirements which render a clergyman respectable and useful'. (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 294.)

FLOOD, William. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1780, from the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. Left for Antwerp in 1779 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1784 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); curate in the parish of Loughlinstown in 1797-1823 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824', p. 165.); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations fit to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800), address given as Sandyford; George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788).

FOGORTY. Returned to the diocese in 1806 having studied at Kilkenny College. Adopted from Ossory (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 383.)

FOSTER, Edward. Returned to the diocese in 1807 having studied at Carlow and Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

FOTTRELL, Laurence, O.C.D. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged twenty-nine [date unknown], address given as Great George's Street. Received tonsure and minor orders 22 Dec. 1775, subdiaconate 23 Mar. 1776 at Como, Italy, diaconate 29 Dec. at Caserta, and priesthood 4 Apr. 1778 at Naples (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 64.)

FOY, Anthony, O.P. Educated at Corpo Santo, Lisbon. Appointed curate of Nual in 1799. Curate in Maynooth in 1800. Elected as definitor of the Chapter in 1801. Died in 1804 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', p. 158.); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800).

FOYLE, Michael. Returned to the diocese in 1806 having studied at Carlow and Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 383.)

FRENCH, Edmund, O.P. Born in 1774 of non-Catholic parents. Accepted as a postulant for the Claddagh Priory in 1794. Served as curate in St. Michan's 1806-10. Became warden of Galway in 1812 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', pp 158-9.)

FULLUM, John, S.J. Born in Dublin 3 Apr. 1718. Educated at the Jesuit school, Dublin. Entered the Society at Avignon 2 Dec. 1735. Studied philosophy, taught humanities for six years and completed his studies at Lyon where he was ordained 10 Sept. 1747. Recalled to Ireland in 1749 and was appointed assistant curate in the city. School master for many years. Incardinated into the diocese on the Suppression; was a *Fidei Commissarius* of the diocese 1775-93. Died 7 Aug. 1793 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 94.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 10 Aug. 1793: 'Died on Usher's-quay, the Rev. Mr. Fullam, a

gentleman of the late Society of the Jesuits' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 290.)

FURLONG, Walter. Returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1813. Adopted from Ferns returned to the diocese in 1812 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.).

G.

GAHAN, John. Resident at the Irish College, Paris, returned to Dublin in 1772 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); a John Gahan took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty-eight. Address given as 'Hon. Mrs. Plunkett's, Britain Street'. Received minor orders 22 Jun. 1766 and priesthood 29 Jun. 1766 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 57.); a Gahan was a curate in St. Mary's in 1796 (Report of William Corbett in Keogh, *The French Disease*, p. 129.)

GALLAGHER, Simon Felix. Student at the University of Paris. M.A. 26 Apr. 1781, subdeacon (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 104.); returned to Dublin 1782 from the Paris Community ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); subscribed to George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784)

GARTLAND, James. Ordained at Maynooth in 1829 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1829. Recorded as having studied at Salamanca. Also says 'ex to Clogher'. (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

GERARD, James. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1773, left for Bordeaux in 1773 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin from Nantes in 1779 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Revd Gerard was a curate in St. Nicholas's in 1798-99 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 17927-1824', p. 162.)

GERMAIN, Arthur. Ordained at Maynooth in 1823 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1823. Adopted from the diocese of Kerry (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); curate in Redcross in 1824 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 166.); P.P. of Boystown [Blackditches and Valleymount] 1833-68, died 1868 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.)

GINNIVAN, John, O.F.M. Cap. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged twenty-nine [date unknown], address given as Church Street. Listed as officiating in Church Street Chapel. Received minor orders and subdiaconate 1774, diaconate 1775, and priesthood 1777 at Besancon (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 64.)

GLANNON, Christopher, S.J. Born in Dublin 10 May 1711. Educated at the Jesuit school and commenced his ecclesiastical studies under John Harold. Entered the Society at Landsberg 1731. Made his ecclesiastical studies in Upper Germany and returned to Ireland in 1741. Assistant curate in the city until his death in Sept. 1773 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 94.); *Hoey's Journal*, 3 Sept. 1773: 'Died in Watling-street, Mr Christopher Glennan, a Romish clergyman.' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 154.)

GLYNN, Joseph. Ordained subdeacon 17 Dec. 1802, priest 8 Jun. 1805 (O'Riordan, 'Ordinations by Archbishop Troy', p. 380.); ordained at Maynooth in 1805 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); administrator of St. Mary's 1824-31 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 40.); subscribed to Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808), Liffey Street; John Joseph Hornyold, *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses, to which is added King Henry the Eighth's Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther* (Dublin, 1814), Liffey Street; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Liffey Street; Abbé Proyard, *The life of Princess Louisa, daughter of Lewis XV of France, a Carmelite nun. To which is added the life of M. Julia MacMahon, a religious of the same Order* (Dublin, 1812), Liffey Street.

GOGARTY, John O.P. Born c. 1776, studied at Louvain and was ordained in Malines on 14 Mar. 1778 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', p. 159.); curate in Athy 1804-12 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 167.)

GOUGH, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1817 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1817 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

GRACE, John. Ordained in March 1779, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese. Left for Paris in 1779 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1782 from the Paris Community ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); curate in St. Andrew's 1798-1806 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 162.); P.P. of Balrothery and Balscadden 1804, 18 Jul.- 25 Jul., resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 324.); subscribed to Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphèmes de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1783); George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); a Revd John Grace of the Celbridge Academy subscribed to Joseph Reeve, *A short view of the history of the Christian Church* (Dublin, 1809).

GRACE, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1816 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1816 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 384.); curate in St. Nicholas's 1817-19 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 162.); curate in Wicklow 1821-24 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 166.); P.P.

of Avoca Aug. 1825- Sept. 1825, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, vol. iii, no. 1, p. 186.); P.P. of Wicklow 1826-63, died 1863 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.)

GREEN, John. Returned to the diocese in 1829 from Kilkenny College (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

GREEN, William. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-two [date unknown], address given as Black Bull, Drumcondra. Received minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood 1763 at Mechlin (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 57.)

GRIFFIN, James. Student at the University of Louvain. Matriculated L, minorennis 14 Jan. 1791. Returned to the diocese in 1794 (Nilis, ‘Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797’, p. 278.); a Griffin was curate in St. Andrew’s in 1797 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 162.)

GRIFFITH, Raymond, O.P. Born in Limerick on 15 Oct. 1798. Received the habit in Lisbon 2 Feb. 1816, professed in Rome on 17 Mar. 1817. Returned to Ireland after ordination. Prior of St Saviour’s, Denmark Street 1823-6, served as curate in St. Andrew’s c. 1830 (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, pp 159-60.)

H.

HALL, James. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in October 1776 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1776 having previously studied in Salamanca and finished his studies in Bordeaux (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); P.P. of Baldoyle 1783 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, vol. iii, no. 2, p. 330.); died in Bordeaux 12 Aug. 1786, aged thirty-six. Buried in the Irish church of St. Eutrope (Walsh, ‘The Irish College at Bordeaux’, p. 133.)

HALPIN, Thomas. Returned to the diocese from Paris in 1827 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

HAM, Joseph, O.P. Probably studied in Lisbon c. 1782. Professor in Corpo Santo, Lisbon, and was rector there 1793-5. Subsequently bursar in 1797. Returned to Ireland in 1797 and resided at Mullingar. Curate at Wicklow 1800-5, curate in St. Catherine’s in 1806, curate in Coolock 1808-18, died c. 1820 (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, p. 160.); subscribed to Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Clontarf.

HAMILL, Martin. Returned to the diocese from Propaganda, Rome in 1779 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); P.P. of St. Nicholas’s 1797-1823, died 1823 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 33.); *Hoey’s Journal*, 11 Apr. 1794: ‘A few days ago a Catholic dignitary, of the name of Hamill, arrived in this city from Bordeaux, having narrowly escaped the search making after those called refractory and fanatical priests by the military tribunal in that place; by refractory is meant such of the regular or secular clergy as refuse the strange tests offered by the government and by fanatical, all, whether clergy

or laity, who dare show any outward reverence for divine or public worship' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 292.); subscribed to l'Abbé Grou, *The School of Christ* (Dublin, 1801), three copies; Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808); John Joseph Hornyold, *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses to which is added Henry the Eighth's defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther* (Dublin, 1814), listed as Dean and VG; Joseph Reeve, *A short view of the history of the Christian Church* (Dublin, 1809)..

HAMILTON, James. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1813 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); P.P. of St. Michan's 1853-62, died 1862 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.)

HAMILTON, John. Returned to the diocese from Paris in 1824 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

HAMILTON, John Baptist. Student at the University of Louvain, SStr Rhetorica 1 Oct. 1775, matriculated L, minorennis, philosophus 20 Jan. 1777. Returned to Ireland with Nicholas Horan in 1781. P.P. of Baldoyle 20 Nov. 1784- 18 Aug. 1796. P.P. of Balrothery till 17 July 1804. P.P. of St. James's until his death on 8 Jun. 1810 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 249.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints* (Dublin, 1802); F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); l'Abbé Grou, *The School of Christ* (Dublin, 1801); Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808); Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808).

HARMAN. Returned to the diocese in 1829 from Nevers (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

HAROLD, James. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Mar. 1775, left for Antwerp in 1775 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1779 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); P.P. of Kilcullen 1789-94 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.); P.P. of Saggart 1794-8, exiled 1799 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 180.); in 1788 Harold was the subject of 'of bitter Orange hate in his arrest, detest and transportation'. He was arrested in the autumn of 1798 and imprisoned on the tender *Lively* in Dublin Bay. He was transported on the convict ship *Minerva*, arriving in Sydney 11 Jan. 1800. He was 'accused wrongfully of complicity in the Parramatta insurrection in September 1800' and was 'treated with the greatest sadism and again imprisoned in the dreaded penal settlement of Norfolk Island until 1807'. In Jul. 1810 he was allowed to leave Van Diemen's Land and went to Philadelphia where he became involved in the unhappy 'trustee dispute'. He reached Dublin in 1815 and died 15 Aug. 1830, buried in Goldenbridge Cemetery ('Petition of Rev. James Harold, 1799' in *Rep. Nov.*, i, no. 2 (1956), p. 499.); subscribed to *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791).

HAROLD, James. Ordained at Maynooth in 1821 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); P.P. of Kilcullen 1815-16, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.)

HART, Andrew. Ordained at Maynooth in 1808 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); an A. Hart was curate in Clondalkin 1810-11 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 168.); subscribed to Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Arran Quay; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808).

HENDRICK, William. Ordained at Maynooth in 1823 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1823. Adopted from the diocese of Kerry (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

HICKEY, Francis, O.S.A. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-three [date unknown], address given as 136 Thomas Street. Received minor orders in 1749, subdiaconate Mar. 1750, diaconate at Bordeaux Mar. 1751, and priest in Dec. 1752 at Toulouse (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 55.)

HOEY, Patrick. In September 1767, Revd N. Martin, a parish priest in the diocese of Meath, certified to having examined Patrick Hoey in March of that year. Martin believed that Hoey, who was aged twenty-three at this point, was in his opinion fit for ordination (Certification of Patrick Hoey by Revd N. Martin, Tullyallen, 16 Sept. 1767 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB1/116/2(71)); returned to the diocese in 1777 from Louvain, adopted from the diocese of Meath (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); P.P. of Skerries 1792-1819, died 1819 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 324.); subscribed to Joseph Reeve, *A short view of the history of the Christian Church* (Dublin, 1809).

HOLMES, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1814 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1814. Adopted from the diocese of Cork (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); curate in SS Michael and John’s 1817-24 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 163.); subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramental*

HOOKE, Luke Joseph. Student at the University of Paris. M.A. 10 Jul. 1734, noble, cleric. Paris resident at St Nicholas du Chardonnet, 1735-37, called professor of philosophy, *gradue nimme* (as M.A.) by Paris University, B.Th 1737. Defended his major ordinary 4 Apr. 1739. L.Th 1740; *socius* of Sorbonne. Professor of Theology Sorbonne, 1743-52, 1762-66 (Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 105.); see Thomas O’Connor, *Luke Joseph Hooke 1714-96: an Irish theologian in enlightenment France* (Dublin, 1995).

HORAN, Daniel. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1785 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); left for Ireland in 1791, when he had finished his course. He asked to remain in the college for some more time to review his moral theology. Died in 1794 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 77.)

HORAN, Nicholas. Ordained by Dr Carpenter 23-25 May 1777. Left for Louvain in 1777. Matriculated L, pauper 14 Jan. 1778. Returned to Dublin with John Baptist Hamilton in 1781 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 254.)

HYLAND, John. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1818 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1819 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); P.P. of Dunlavin 1827-62 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists,' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 188.)

J.

JENNET, John. Student from Dublin who came to St Patrick's College, Lisbon from the Irish College, Lille, and left after six months on 21 July 1790, as he did not wish to take the 'oath' (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 78.)

JONES, Edward. Ordained at Maynooth in 1814 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.)

JONES, Thomas. Ordained by Dr Carpenter on 16 Mar. 1771, left for Nantes in 1771 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1780 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Jones was curate in Clondalkin 1815-17 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 168.)

JUDGE, Nicholas. Ordained by Dr Carpenter 19-21 March 1779. Left for Douay 1779 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.)

K.

KAVANAGH, James. Ordained in Maynooth in 1809 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); a J. Kavanagh was curate in St. Nicholas's 1812-16 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 162.); subscribed to John Joseph Hornyold, *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses, to which is added King Henry the Eight's Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther* (Dublin, 1814); Abbé Proyard, *The life of Princess Louisa, daughter of Lewis XV of France, a Carmelite nun. To which is added the life of M. Julia MacMahon, a religious of the same Order* (Dublin, 1812).

KEARNEY, John. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1812 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1812 from Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); a J.P. Kearney was curate in St. Nicholas's 1813-24 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin

1797-1824', p. 162.); a John Kearney was P.P. of St. Catherine's 1837-50, died 1850 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.)

KEARNS, Nicholas. Returned to Dublin from Bordeaux in 1785, having completed formation at the Irish College there. Appointed professor in Lisbon ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); curate in St. Catherine's 1797-99 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 163.); *Freeman's Journal*, 7 Jun. 1798: 'Dublin. We have authority to state, that the Rev. Nicholas Kearns, of Meath-street chapel, who was arrested through mistake, was yesterday honourably liberated' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 304.); 'attended Lord Edward Fitzgerald in his last moments' (O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 122.); P.P. of Arklow 1799 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 185.); P.P. of Rathfarnham 1810-32, died in 1832 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, p. 181.); subscribed to Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons throughout the year, principally from the Epistles and Gospels proper to each Sunday* (Dublin 1808).

KEEGAN, Gregory. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in March 1779, left for Paris 1780, died in Paris in 1780 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.)

KEEGAN, Mauritius. Student at the University of Paris. M.O. 1771, member of the community of clerics Irish College, Paris. 1772, acolyte (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 105.); returned to Dublin from the Community in Paris in 1776 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); P.P. of Castledermott 1787-9 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 182.); P.P. of Athy 1789-1825, died in 1825 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 182.)

KELLY, John. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1810 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1811 from Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

KELLY, Martin. Ordained by Dr Carpenter 17-21 May 1785, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); returned to the diocese in 1790 having studied at both Douay and Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.); P.P. of Narraghmore 1803-27, died 1827 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 185.)

KELLY, Martin. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1785, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); originally educated in Douay. Returned to Dublin in 1790 having spent time at the Irish Colleges at Douay and Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.); curate in Narraghmore in 1797 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 167.); P.P. in Narraghmore 1803-27, died 1827 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no 1, p. 185.)

Kelly, Matheus. Student at the University of Paris. Deacon 1770, priest 1771 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 106.); returned to Dublin in 1771 from the Paris Community

(‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 488.); resident in St. Mary’s parish 1816 (D.D.A., AB3/30/6(62); P.P. of Finglas Jan. 1823- Oct. 1823, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); administrator St. Andrew’s 1826-1831 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, 36.); P.P. of St. James’s 1832, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 28.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775); George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); John Joseph Hornyold, *The real principles of Catholicicks* (Dublin, 1773).

KELLY, Mathias. Ordained at Maynooth in 1809 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1811 from Maynooth (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); a Mathias Kelly was P.P. of Finglas Jan. 1823- Oct. 1823, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); a Matthias Kelly was P.P. of Clondalkin, Lucan and Palmerstown 1837-55, died 1855 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 180.); a Mathias Kelly was administrator of St. Andrew’s 1826-31 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.); the same Kelly was P.P. of St. James’s 1831-32, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.)

KENNA Andrew. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in June 1781, left for Nantes in 1781, died in Nantes in 1782 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 487.)

KENNEDY, John. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1773, left for Paris in 1773 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 486.); returned to Dublin from the College in Paris in 1778 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); a John Kennedy of St. Mary’s died in Jan. 1786 (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 248.); a Revd John Kennedy took the Oath of Allegiance [return undated]. The report lists his address as Liffey Street and his age thirty-four (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 61.)

KENNELLY, John, O.P. Native of Knockainey, Co Limerick. Received the habit in Louvain in 1787. Ordained priest in Malines on 29 May 1790. Returned to Limerick c. 1793 where he worked as a curate 1793-1809; resided in Newbridge 1809-12. Curate in Athy 1816-23. Died 25 Dec. 1842, aged seventy-eight (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, p. 160.)

KENNEY, Alexander, O.S.A. Took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], address given as 105 Thomas Street. Received minor orders and subdiaconate 15 Mar. 1766 at Naples, diaconate 10 Mar. 1768 and priest 16 March 1768 at Dublin (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 55.)

KENNY, Patrick. Returned to Dublin from Paris Laon. in 1786 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); a Kenny was curate in St. Mary’s in 1796 (Report by William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 129.); P.P. of Rush 1796-1802 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 325.); P.P. of Lusk 1802-4, resigned to go on the American Mission (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, vol. iii, no. 2, p. 325.)

KENDRICK, Richard. Ordained deacon 8 Jun. 1805, priest 31 May 1806 (O’Riordan, ‘Ordinations by Archbishop Troy’, pp 380-81.); curate in St. Nicholas’s 1808-23 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 162.); P.P. of St. Nicholas’s 1823-27, died 1827 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 33.); subscribed to John Joseph Hornyold, *The Sacraments explained in twenty discourses, to which is added King Henry the Eighth’s Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther* (Dublin, 1814); Alonsus Rodriguez, S.J., *The practice of Christian and religious perfection* (Kilkenny, 1806).

KEOGHAN, Michael. Returned to the diocese in 1808 from Maynooth. Adopted from the diocese of Meath (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

KINDELAN, Samuel, O.P. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged twenty-five [date unknown], address given as Denmark Street Chapel. Received minor orders 1775 at Rome, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood 1781 at Mechlin (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 64.)

KING, Columba. Student at the University of Louvain. Matriculated (pauper) 11 May 1741. P.P. of Donabate 1772-94, transferred to Lusk as P.P., died 13 Oct. 1794 (Nilis, ‘Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797’, p. 200.)

KIRWAN, Patrick, O.F.M. Took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown]. Listed as serving in Adam and Eve’s. Received tonsure, minor orders and subdiaconate 7 Mar. 1762 at Mechlin, diaconate 27 Mar. 1762 at Liege, and priesthood 18 Sept. 1762 at Mechlin (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 56.)

KIRWAN, Thomas M. Ordained at Maynooth in 1814 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1814. Adopted from the diocese of Cork (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); curate in St. Michan’s 1817-21 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 164.)

L.

LACY, Michael. Ordained subdeacon in Bordeaux 1 Mar. 1738 by Mgr Honore-Francois de Maniban, archbishop of Bordeaux (Walsh, ‘The Irish College at Bordeaux’, p. 127.)

LALOR, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1780, left for Nantes in 1780 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1785 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); a P. Lalor was curate in Rathdrum in 1806 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 166.); a Revd Lalor was a curate in St. Catherine’s in 1824 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 163.).

LAWLOR, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1821 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); P.P. of Athy 1835-53, died 1853 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 182.)

LAWLOR, Thomas. Ordained at Maynooth in 1816 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1816 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); curate in St. Paul’s 1817-24 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 165.); P.P. of Athy 1825-35, died 1835 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 182.)

LAPHEN, John. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1824 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); P.P. of St. Catherine’s 1851-61, died 1861 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.)

LEDWIGE, Gregory. Ordained by Dr Carpenter 26 May 1771, left for Paris in 1771. Spent only one year in Paris having previously spent one year of divinity with the Jesuits (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 386.); returned to the diocese from Douay in 1772 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 488.); P.P. of Palmerstown with Lucan 1783, may have died in 1783 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 179.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775); Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphèmes de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1783).

LEDWIGE, William. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1774, left for Antwerp in 1774 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1779 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); P.P. of Rathfarnham 1781-1810, died 1810 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 181.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 23 Aug. 1791 ‘At a meeting of the Roman Catholics of the parish of Rathfarnham and Tallaght, held at Rathfarnham, on Wednesday the 17th inst., Rev. William Ledwich in the chair. Resolved, that thanks of this meeting be given to the Protestant gentlemen of these parishes for their benevolent liberality manifested towards them on every occasion, particularly at a sermon preacher on Sunday last, for the purpose of rebuilding the chapel at Bohirnabrina, now in a most ruinous state. Resolved, that thanks of this meeting be given to the Rev. Mathew Carr, for the excellent discourse delivered by him on that occasion’ (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 278.); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations fit to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); l’Abbé Grou, *The school of Christ* (Dublin, 1801); George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788), address given as Rathfarnham; idem, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791), address given as Rathfarnham.

LENNINGHAM, Nicholas. Student at the University of Paris. M.A. 14 Aug. 1761, subdeacon. (Brookliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 106.); prebend of *Alterius portionis de Tipper Kevin* before 1785 (*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7))

LENNON. Left for Dublin on 14 Mar. 1807 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 80.)

LEONARD, James alias John Baptist, O.F.M. Cap. Took the Oath of Allegiance thirty-two, address given as Church Street. Received tonsure and minor orders 23 Dec. 1769 at Montpellier, subdiaconate 30 Mar. 1771 at Avignon, diaconate 4 Apr. 1772 at Montpellier, and priesthood 27 Mar. 1773 at Perpignan (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 63.)

LEONARD, Nicholas. Returned to Dublin in 1778 from the Community in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Leonard was curate in St. Michan's in 1797 (Report of William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 130.); P.P. of Naul 1797-9, died 1799 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 327.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty-seven. Address given as Church Street and officiating in St. Michan's. Minor orders 1766, subdiaconate 1773, diaconate 1775 at Paris, priesthood in 1777 at Ypres (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 58.)

LINCOLN, Richard. He took the oath in Santiago on 17 Mar. 1725, having entered on 8 Jun. 1724, and in Salamanca on 14 May 1727. On 26 Sept. 1728 he was examined for first year theology and gave a good account of himself. On 27 Jul. 1729 he was examined and approved for third year. He had received minor orders on 24 Feb. 1725. In Jul. 1730 he left for Ireland having finished his studies (O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella 1605-1769*, p. 104.); archbishop of Dublin 1757-63; *Pue's Occurrences*, 25 Jun. 1763: 'Died at his house in Smithfield, the Rev. Dr. Lincoln, titular Bishop of Dublin, a gentleman of great piety and learning and whose death is sincerely lamented by all who had the happiness of being acquainted with him' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, pp 107-8.)

LONG, [Patrick?] Returned to the diocese from the Ludovician College, Rome in 1791 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.).

LONG, Peter (Paulus). Born 1759/60 (Boyle, 'Irish Ecclesiastics at St Nicholas's, Paris', p. 488.), resident at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, Aug. 1783- Aug. 1785. Already studied at the Irish College, Paris. Subdeacon (pension of 350 livres), MA 25 Sept. 1790. Escaped to Ireland in 1792 having served as cure in the diocese of Laon, rector of the Irish College Paris, 1815-19, called 'D.Th' (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 106.); in 1795 a Paulus Long returned to Dublin from 'Galia' ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.); curate St. Nicholas's 1801-1804 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 162.); P.P. of Coolock Apr. 1805-29 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); while he was P.P. of Coolock he lived in Paris for some time to safeguard the interests of the Irish Colleges in France (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 225.); a Paul Long was president of the Lay College, Maynooth in 1808; P.P. of St. Catherine's 1829-1837, died 1837 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); Long was treasurer of the Chapter. Believed to be buried in the vaults of St. Nicholas's church (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 225.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal*

Saints (Dublin, 1802); Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808); Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808).

LOWE, Christopher. Returned to Dublin in 1779 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); P.P. of Glendalough 1778[9?]-1805, died 1805 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 189.); subscribed to George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788), address given as Seven Churches; *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791); *Freeman's Journal*, 19 Jun. 1798: 'Wicklow insurgency. The rebels would have committed further outrages were it not for the interference of the Rev. Mr Low, a Roman Catholic clergyman, and parish priest, who exorted and went down upon his knees imploring them to desist, before them the consequences of such desperate, wanton and wicked atrocities... Thus laudable interference of the Rev. Mr. Low, deserves the highest encomium...' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 305.).

LUBY, William. Student at the Irish College, Alcalá. Son of Andrew Luby and Maria Andrews of the parish of St. Catherine's. Admitted to the college in 1767. He was subsequently murdered in Alcalá (O Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares 1649- 1785*, p. 68.)

LYNAM, Francis. Resident at St, Nicholas du Chardonnet, Sept. 1783- Jul. 1786, priest. Pension of 550 livres (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 106.); ordained by Dr Carpenter Jun. 1783 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); returned to Dublin in 1786 from the Paris Community ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Francis Lynam was a professor at the in the Collège de Navarre at the end of the eighteenth-century (Swords, 'The Irish in Paris at the end of the ancien regime', p. 193.); *Hibernian Journal*, 8 Aug. 1794: 'Died at Bristol Hotwells, the Rev. Francis Lynham of Lazer's Hill chapel' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century*, p. 292)

LYONS, James. Son of Thomas Lyons and Catherine Fitzmaurice; ordained '*ad prim. tonsuram*' in Bordeaux 12 Mar. 1740 by Mgr Honore-Francois de Maniban, archbishop of Bordeaux (Walsh, 'The Irish College at Bordeaux', p. 128.)

M.

McCABE, Ross, O.P. Native of Co Cavan. Curate in Naul some time prior to 1799. Parish priest of Naul 1799-1824; died 11 Feb. 1824 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', p. 161.)

McCANN, John. Ordained priest in Bordeaux 13 Jun. 1772. Died in the hospital of St. Andre, Bordeaux 20 Feb. 1780, aged thirty-one, buried in the Irish church of St. Eutrope (Walsh, 'The Irish College at Bordeaux', pp 130, 133.)

McCANN, Thomas. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1823 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1823 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

McCARTHY, James. Returned home from his studies in 1776 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); P.P. of Finglas 1778-84, died 1784 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); took the Oath of Allegiance, aged forty-one [date unknown]. Received tonsure, minor orders and subdiaconate 21 Sept., diaconate 28 Sept., and priesthood 29 Sept. 1766 at Dublin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 57.)

McCORMICK, Peter. Ordained by Dr Carpenter May 1780, left for Nantes in 1780 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1785 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); P.P. of Finglas May 1795 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); P.P. of Rush 1795-96, died 3 Feb. 1796 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 325.)

McDANIEL, Barn. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.)

McDERMOTT, Bernard J, O.P. Native of Co Galway. In 1794-5 he was in Esker and then went to Lisbon to complete his studies. Returned to Ireland in 1800 and spent the next twenty years between Sligo and Dublin. Curate in St. Nicholas's 1806-15. Went to Lisbon in 1822 and was rector there until 1829 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', pp 161-2.)

McDERMOTT, Michael, O.P. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged seventy [date unknown], address given as Denmark Street Chapel. Received minor orders and subdiaconate in 1736, diaconate 1737, and priesthood 1738 at Mechlin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 59.); *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 3 Apr. 1790: 'Died yesterday[31] at his lodgings in Castle-street, at an advanced age, the Rev. Michael McDermott, brother of the late Anthony McDermott, Esq., late of Usher's Quay', (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 273.)

McDONNELL, James. Ordained at Maynooth in 1819 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.)

McDONNELL, Randolph. M.A. 4. Oct. 1751, priest. LTh 1756-60 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 106.)

McEVOY, Robert. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1783 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); returned to Dublin in 1789 from the College in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.); excommunicated by Dr Troy in Sept. 1792 for marrying a Protestant and justifying it on the grounds that the French National Assembly had released all priests of their vow of celibacy (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(83))

McKENNA, James. Student at the University of Louvain. SStr Poesis 1 Oct. 1749, Rhetorica 1 Oct. 1750, Dialectics 1 Oct. 1751. Matriculated F, minorennis, philosophus 1 Oct. 1751 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 211.)

McKENNA, James. Ordained at Maynooth in 1821 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); P.P. Rathdrum 1835-54, died 1854 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.)

McKIERNAN, Charles. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1778, left for Bordeaux in 1778 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1778 after spending three years in Bordeaux (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); subscribed to *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1794), address given as James’s Street.

McLAUGHLIN, Terence. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-seven [date unknown]. Received minor orders in 1749, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood in 1750 at Rome (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 56.); P.P. of Coolock, alias Clontarf in 1771-1785? (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); prebend of ‘De Menahenoe’ before 1785 (*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A, AB2/3/1(7)).

McMAHON, Michael, O.P. Born in Limerick in 1797. Received into the Dominican Order on 31 Dec. 1817 in Lisbon. Professed in 1820 and returned to the diocese in 1820 where he was curate in Athy. Died 8 Apr. 1820 (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, p. 162.)

MADDEN, Joseph. Returned to Dublin in 1785 from the Paris Community (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); a Madden was curate in St. James’s in 1796 (Report by William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 130.); a Rev Madden went to the Irish College in Lisbon in 1823, said Masses for the intentions of Conde de Pena Fiel in 1823, and for the president on the English College in 1824. Dr George Plunkett of Elphin in a letter to Dr Dunn of Dublin and president of the Irish College in Lisbon said that this student was a nephew of Fr McManus of Elphin, and had been at the Irish College at Paris for eighteen months before returning to Ireland as an invalid. He had been ordained and was now sent to Lisbon to ‘prosecute his studies’ (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, pp 122-3.); subscribed to George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788).

MAGUIRE, Michael. Returned to Dublin from Bordeaux in 1774 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); a Maguire was curate in St. James’s 1797-1800 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 164.); a Maguire was curate in Clondalkin in 1803 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 168.); a Maguire was curate in Wicklow 1807-11 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 166.); P.P. of Wicklow 1811-26, died 1826 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty; address given as 7 Watling Street; attached to St. James’s. Tonsure and minor orders at Rennes 1770, subdiaconate at Bordeaux 1774, diaconate 1774, priest at Ballybegs, Co Westmeath 25 Aug. 1774 (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 58.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775); F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend*

the Christian religion against its enemies (Dublin, 1800), address given as James Street;

MAHER, John. Returned to Dublin in 1772 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); P.P. of Rathdrum 1784-99 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.); P.P. of Arklow Feb. 1799- Aug. 1799 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 185.); P.P. of Wicklow 1799-1811, died 1811 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.)

MAHER, William. A William Meagher from Ossory matriculated from Maynooth in 1814 (Patrick J. Hamell (ed.), *Maynooth students and ordinations index, 1795-1895* (Maynooth, 1982), p. 9.); returned to the diocese in 1820 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

MALONE, Thomas. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Sept. 1773, left for Nantes in 1774 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1780 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.)

MANGAN, Patrick. Student of the University of Salamanca in 1789. 'A native of the Archdiocese of Dublin, of Catholic and Noble parents, 22 years of age, he has enjoyed a burse for four years. He made much progress in his native land in Latin, Greek, French, and other branches of the Humanities. In this College he has studied Hebrew, Mathematics and Philosophy, and is at present in First Year's Theology; in all this, he has progressed commensurately with his great talents, application, and excellent conduct. He is a youth of great promise.' (O'Doherty (ed.), 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', p. 53.)

MANNIN, Francis, O.Carm. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged sixty-five [date unknown], address given as Ash Street Chapel. Received minor orders, subdiaconate 1739, diaconate 1740 and priesthood 1741 at Barcelona (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 62.)

MANNIN, James. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty-three [date unknown], address given as Bridge Street. Received minor orders 1761, subdiaconate and diaconate 1762, and priest in 1762 at Salamanca (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 58.); a Manning was curate in St. Audoen's in 1796 (Report by William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 130.)

MILEY, Miles. Student at the University of Louvain. Matriculated C, minorennis, philosophy 24 Jan. 1794 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 286.); curate in St. Nicholas's 1798-9 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 162.); subsequently studied at Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 383.); P.P. of Blessington 1801-9, died 1809 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.)

MILEY, Roger. Returned to Dublin from Nantes in 1770 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); a Miles Miley was curate in St. Nicholas's in 1789-9 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p.

162.);¹⁰⁷² prebend of 'De Stagony' in 1785 (Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum, 1783 (D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7); P.P. of Blessington 1773-1801, died 1801 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.); *Dublin Chronicle* 11 Jan. 1791: 'On Monday night last, or rather on Tuesday morning about one o'clock, the house of the Rev. Mr. Miley, parish priest of Blessington was burglariously entered by seven armed robbers, who burst open his kitchen window with a huge stone, and immediately proceeded to the apartments of his assistants, the Rev. Messrs. Doyle and Naul, whom they tied hands and feet, first robbing the former of his watch, silver shoe buckles, and about three guineas in cash; after which they proceeded to a vigorous attack on Mr. Miley's chamber both within and without, but were spiritedly repulsed by him though different times fired at through his window, which he always returned, being well prepared (since a former attempt) with arms and ammunition. His last shot took place in their endeavouring to force the door, and they in consequence made a precipitate retreat, without any further booty than a large volunteer's sword that lay in the kitchen. Mr. Miley would have either killed or disabled them all, were he not directed by a mistaken lenity, having them covered in a narrow hall with a large blunderbuss well charged with ball and swan drops.' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, pp 275-6.); Miley acted as a mediator in a dispute between a Mrs Ormsby and a Mrs Miley over a pew in the church at Ballymore Eustace. (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/6(34-6). Miley's address was given as Miley Hall and described himself as P.P. of Blessington; Miley wrote to Troy in Jun. 1798 giving an account of the rising in his area, describing the anarchy that pervaded the parish and thanked General Dundas for his exertions (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(91)); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); Nicholas Fontaine, *A history of the Old and New Testaments* (Dublin, 1782); George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788), address given as Blessington; idem, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784).

MILLES, Michael R. Ordained at Maynooth in 1823 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1823 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 385.)

MOLLOY, John. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782 died in Nantes (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.)

MOONEY, Patrick. Returned to the diocese from Carlow in 1827 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

MOONEY, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth 12 Jul. 1830 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1830 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

MOORE, Daniel. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1784, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); returned to Dublin

¹⁰⁷² A Miles Miley was P.P. of Blessington in 1801. This may have been the same Revd Miley as there are no further accounts of a Revd Miley after 1801 when Roger Miley died.

in 1790 from the College in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.)

MOORE, Thomas, O.S.A. Student at the University of Toulouse. Tonsure 11 Mar. 1775, diaconate 24 May 1777, priest 13 Jun. 1778 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 106.).

MORAN, Gerard. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Mar. 1775, left for Nantes in 1775 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to Dublin 1780, Carpenter described him as an '*apostatavit*' ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 9 Oct. 1788 carries the story of 'the Rev. Mr. Moran, a clergyman of the Church of Rome', who was imprisoned for having married a young girl to a prisoner in Kilmainham Gaol'. This may have been the same Moran as it was possible he was either excommunicated or recanted to the Protestant Church, as was common for couple-beggars to do (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 261.); a Gerald Moran took the Oath of Allegiance, aged thirty [date unknown]. The address given was Liffey Street, the report states that he was attached to said chapel. Received minor orders 10 Mar., subdiaconate and diaconate 11 Mar. and priest 12 March 1775 at Dublin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 57.)

MORAN, Michael, O.F.M. Took the Oath of Allegiance thirty-four [date unknown], address given as Adam and Eve's Chapel. Received minor orders and subdiaconate 1770, diaconate and priesthood at Prague 1771 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 60.)

MORAN, Peter, O.F.M. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged twenty-seven [date unknown]. Listed as serving in Adam and Eve's Chapel. Received tonsure, minor orders and subdiaconate 21 Dec. 1776, diaconate 20 Sept. 1777, and priesthood 13 Jun. 1778 at Mechlin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 56.); *Freeman's Journal*, 3 Aug. 1797: 'The Rev. Mr. Archer, Inspector General of prisons, has received from the Rev. Mr. Moran, of Adam of Eve chapel, one guinea towards the relief...' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 304.)

MORGAN, Stephen, O.P. Educated in Santo Corpo, Lisbon c. 1779. Attended the chapter on 23 Jun. 1804 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', p. 162.); subscribed to Edward Hawarden, *Charity or truth, or, Catholics are not uncharitable in saying that none are saved out of the Catholic Church* (Dublin, 1809)

MORRIS, Nicholas. Swore the oath on 17 Mar. 1749 in Compostella and on 13 Sept. 1751 in Salamanca. Was examined for first year theology on 26 Aug. 1752 and was pronounced as 'excellent' and for the second year on 21 Aug. 1753 as 'very good'; was ordained on 31 Mar. 1754 and on 13 Apr. defended *Conclusiones* in theology in the Royal College. On 17 Jun. 1754 he was examined for third year and did very well. He left for Ireland on 27 Jun. 1754 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella 1605-1769*, p. 111.); P.P. of St. James's 1773-7 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); P.P. of St. Audoen's 1777-81 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37.); during his time in St. Audoen's he

was appointed vicar general and archdeacon of Glendalough (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 176.); he was appointed precentor in 1781 (*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7)); P.P. of St. Andrew's 1781-1801, died 1801 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 36.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775), listed as 'Revd Dr'; took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged fifty-three; address given as Parliament Street. Received minor orders 1751, subdiaconate 1752; diaconate and priesthood at Salamanca 1753 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 63.)

MULCAILE, James Philip, S.J. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-five [date unknown], address given as 22 Pill Lane. Received minor orders Dec. 1747, subdiaconate 20 Dec. 1760, diaconate 14 Feb. 1761, priesthood 7 Mar. 1761 at Paris (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 55.)

MULLEN, Thomas. Came to the college in 1797, with a letter from Dr Troy for the rector. He indicated that he wished to become a subject of the house (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 123.)

MULHALL, James Thomas, O.P. Took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], address given Denmark Street. Stated as serving in Denmark Street chapel. Received tonsure and minor orders 22 Oct. 1775 at Como, subdiaconate 23 Mar. 1766, diaconate 29 Mar. 1777, and priesthood 1 Nov. 1777 at Placence, Italy (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 57.)

MURPHY, John. Took the oath in Compostella on 17 Mar. 1728, and in Salamanca on 27 Nov. 1730. Examined for second year on 25 Jul. 1732 and approved and praised for good ability and application (O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella 1605-1769* p. 112.); P.P. of St. Catherine's 1744-53, Donnelly states that Murphy received a DD in Salamanca (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 222.); *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 3 Jul. 1753: 'Yesterday died Mr. John Murphy, a Romish priest, a gentleman of exceeding fair character, much beloved and esteemed by persons of all professions, for his piety, charity and learning' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism the eighteenth-century press*, p. 82.); *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 11 Aug. 1753: 'The following distiches are to be put under the print of the late Doctor John Murphy... Translated: "By Patrick's wonders, pagan worship dies; Through Murphy's labours sacred altars rise. Each saint deserves an everlasting crown. And Murphy shares with Patrick in renown". This day is published by James Hoey in Skinner's-row, an account of the life and character of the late Rev. John Murphy, DD., taken from authentic memoirs, and original papers, by the living testimony of his fellow students and contemporaries... Compiled by the Rev. F. J—K--, and revised the Rev. S—K--...' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, pp 82-3.); *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* 8 Sept. 1753: 'We hear that a gentleman in this city has most generously, at his own expense, purchased a handsome marble tombstone, which is this day to be placed over the grave of the late Rev Dr John Murphy D.D., in St James's church-yard, with an inscription thereon to the memory of that good man' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 83.)

MURPHY, John. Returned to the diocese from the Ludovician College, Rome in 1776 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); curate in SS Michael and John's before his appointment as P.P. (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, viii, p. 195.); P.P. of SS Michael and John's in 1784 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no.1, p. 37.); he became archdeacon of Dublin in 1791, having been appointed precentor in 1781 (*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7)).

MURPHY, Patrick. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1828 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.)

MURPHY, Richard. Ordained by Dr O'Keeffe, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin in June 1770, left for Nantes in 1770 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 485.); returned to Dublin in 1771 due to sickness ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); P.P. of Eadestown [this became the parish of Blessington in 1777] 1776-7 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 183.); P.P. of Kilcullen 1777-89 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.); P.P. of Dunlavin 1789-1801, died 1801 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 188.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775); Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788), address given as Kilcullen.

MURPHY, Thomas. Returned to the diocese in 1829 from Kilkenny (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

MURRAY, Daniel. Student of the University of Salamanca in 1789. 'A native of the Archdiocese of Dublin, of Catholic and Noble parents, 21 years of age, he distinguished himself at home for his knowledge of Latin, Greek, French and other branches of Humanities. He has been a student of the College for four years, during which time, he studied [the same subjects as Mangan]. This youth gives proof of a real ecclesiastical vocation, joined to the extraordinary talents, application and edifying conduct, and has made such rapid progress in all he had undertaken till now, that he surpasses by a great deal all his fellow-students and is of the greatest promise.' (O'Doherty (ed.), 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', p. 53.)

MURRAY, James. Returned to the diocese from Paris in 1825 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

MURRAY, Richard. Returned to the diocese from Rome in 1825 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

MURRAY, Thomas, O.P. Born around 1760. Ordained at Navan in Mar. 1788 and then went to Lisbon for his studies. Curate in Lusk in 1805, curate in Swords 1808-16. P.P. of Garristown 1816-39, died 1839 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', p. 163.)

N.

NOLAN, John. Returned to Dublin from Bordeaux in 1784 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.)

NUGENT. Returned to the diocese from Rome in 1828 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

NUGENT, Joseph. Ordained at Maynooth in 1819 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); a Nugent was curate in SS Michael and John’s in 1824 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 163.); a Nugent was administrator and curate in Coolock in 1820 and 1821-22 respectively (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 169.); a Nugent with an address at Liffey Street subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin, 1824).

O.

O’BRIEN, James. Student at the University of Louvain. SStr, Rhetorica 1 Oct. 1764. Matriculated C, pauper, philosophy 21 Jan. 1766. LA Aug. 1767. P.P. of ‘Adam and Eve Chapel, Cook Street, Dublin, 32 years’ [improbable as Adam and Eve’s was not a secular chapel]; ordained at Malines (Nilis, ‘Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797’, p. 229.)

O’BRIEN, James Thomas, O.P. Received into the order in San Clemente for the Athy Priory on 26 Nov. 1770 and was professed there on 26 Nov. 1771. Ordained to all the orders at Azola in 1775, probably having studied there. Living in 30 Essex Street c. 1780. Prior of Athy in 1799; curate in SS Michael and John’s in 1800. Died c. 1813 (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, p. 163.); subscribed to Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808), address given as Rosemary Lane; Joseph Reeve, *A short view of the history of the Christian Church* (Dublin, 1809).

O’BRIEN, Matthew. Ordained in Bordeaux 27 Feb. 1779 (Walsh, ‘The Irish College at Bordeaux’, p. 130.); returned to Dublin from Bordeaux in 1786 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.)

O’BRIEN, William, O.P. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty-one [date unknown], address given as Denmark Street Chapel. Received minor orders, subdiaconate and diaconate 1767, priesthood 1768 at Caizo, Naples (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 64.)

O’CONNELL, Andrew. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1817 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); an Andrew O’Connell was P.P. of SS Michael and John’s 1831-49 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv. no. 1, p. 37.); P.P. of St. Mary’s, Haddington Road 1849- (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv. no. 1, p. 37.); subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin, 1824), address given as Bridge Street.

O'BRIEN, John, O.F.M. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged thirty-two [date unknown], address given as Adam and Eve's Chapel. Received minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood 1775 at Mechlin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 60.)

O'BRIEN, Terence. Returned to Dublin in 1772 from the Irish College, Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); subscribed to Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphèmes de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1783); John Joseph Hornyold, *The real principles of Catholics* (Dublin, 1773).

O'CONNOR, Ambrose, O.P. Born c. 1701; professed for the Roscommon Priory in 1721 and was educated in Louvain; prior to 1742 he accepted a parish in the Dublin archdiocese. Died in Castlecaven, Co Wicklow, 1757 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', pp 163-4.).

O'CONNOR, John, O.P. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged fifty-one [date unknown], address given as Smithfield. Stated as serving in Denmark Street Chapel. Received minor orders Mar. 1753 at Rome, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood Sept. 1754 at Sarni (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 55.); author of *An essay on the rosary and Sodality of the most holy name* (Dublin, 1772).

O'CONNOR HAY, Patrick. Had been a collegian in St Patrick's College, Lisbon. He was preceptor of the dukes of Cadaval and Lafoes in 1822, and resided in the house of the former. He was one of the signatories of the 1822 letter sent to Dr Troy regarding the state of the college. He was professor of philosophy and theology at the college (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 124.)

O'CONNOR LUBY, Andrew. Returned to the diocese from Propaganda, Rome in 1787 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Fr Lube was curate in St. Mary's 1797-1808 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 165.); an Andrew Lube was P.P. of St. James's 1810-31, died 1831 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.).

O'DUNNE, James. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1781 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); student at the University of Paris. MA 21 Dec. 1786, priest (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 104.)

O'KANE, Gilbert. Ordained at Maynooth in 1825 (O'Riordan, ed., 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.)

O'KELLY, Patrick. Student at the Irish College, Lisbon. Ordained on 18 Jul. 1802, left the college in consequence of indisposition. Was captured on the way home, returned to Lisbon and left a second time in 1804 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 90.)

O'KELLY, Patrick. Student at the University of Louvain. Matriculated 14 Jan. 1791. Returned to the diocese in 1794. Possibly the P.P. of Rush and Lusk till his death on 23 Oct. 1834 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 278.);

subscribed to Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808); Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808); Abbé Proyard; *The life of Princess Louisa, daughter of Lewis XV of France, a Carmelite nun to which is added the life of M. Julia MacMahon, a religious of the same Order* (Dublin, 1812); Joseph Reeve, *A short view of the history of the Christian Church* (Dublin, 1809).

O'MARA, John. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged thirty-eight [date unknown]. Address given as Greek Street. Received minor orders in 1766, diaconate and priesthood in 1767 at Rome (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 58.)

O'NEILL, John, O.P. Received into the order at San Clemente on 28 May 1752 and professed the following year. Returned to Ireland in Jun. 1761. Curate in Swords in 1772, died in Drogheda in 1774 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', p. 164.)

O'NEILL, William. Ordained by Dr Fitzsimons on 10 Sept. 1769, left for Paris in Sept. 1773, returned to Dublin in 1778 after three years in the College in Paris (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 485.); P.P. of Kilquade 1791-1822, died 1822 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and principle Saints* (Dublin, 1802); George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788) address given as Kilquade; *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791), address given as Kilquade, Co Wicklow.

O'REILLY, Michael-Hugo. Student at the University of Toulouse. M.A. 13 May 1762 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 107.)

O'REILLY, Philip, O.P. Studied at Louvain. Received tonsure and minor orders 26 Feb. 1768 and the subdiaconate 27 Feb. 1768, priesthood 28 May 1768. P.P. of Rolestown 1777-89, died 4 Oct. 1789 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', p. 164.); took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty [date unknown]. Listed as serving in the parish of Rolastown, Clonmethen and Kilsallaghan. Received minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood in 1768 in Mechlin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 61.); subscribed to George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); John Joseph Hornyold, *The Commandments and Sacraments Explained* (Dublin, 1770), six copies.

O'ROURKE, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth in 1829 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1829 from Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.); P.P. of Celbridge 1833-55, died 1855 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 183.)

O'ROURKE, Thomas. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1823 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.);

returned to the diocese in 1823 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

O’TOOLE, Michael. Ordained at Maynooth in 1812 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); appointed P.P. of Kilcullen 1815, declined appointment (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.); P.P. of Saggart 1815-23 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 180.); P.P. of Blessington 1823-27 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.); P.P. of Narraghmore 1827-54, died 1854 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 185.)

P.

PARSLEY, Laurence. Ordained at Maynooth in 1827 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1827 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

PEARSON, John V, O.P. Educated at Lisbon in the early 1800s. Curate in St. Michan’s in 1806. Curate in SS Michael and John’s 1807-c.1810. Recuperating in Lisbon in 1814, died in 1817 (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, p. 165.)

PHEPOE, Nicholas. A native of Maynooth, cousin of Fr Clement Kelly, P.P. of Maynooth 1755-77 (‘Two Dublin priests’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv no. 1 (1971), p. 173.); returned to Dublin in 1786 from the Paris Community (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); P.P. of Kilcullen 1794-9, died 1799 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 25 Jun. 1799: ‘Died at Kittymount, co. Kildare, the Rev. Nicholas Phepoe, parish priest of Kilcullen and Gormanstown’ (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 308.); Phepoe signed a report compiled by five local priests on 6 Sept. 1796 concerning allegations made by a Captain Richard Doyle that Revd Michael Devoy, Baltinglass subscribed to ‘French philosophy and that he denounced Captain Doyle from the altar at Mass’. It is likely that Phepoe was resident in the parish of Blessington at this time (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/6165); General Dundas, commander of government forces in the area, wrote to Troy on 7 Jun. 1798 regarding the transfer of Phepoe from the parish of Kilcullen. Dundas commented that having seen the letter to Phepoe telling of his imminent transfer, that he had [Dundas] taken ‘the liberty to represent to your Lordship that I judge it imprudent in the present crises of affairs to remove him at the moment he is labouring to restore and confirm his deluded flock to a just sense of their duty to their King and country.’ (D.D.A., AB2/116/7(93)); Phepoe wrote to Troy on 8 Jun. 1798 expressing his surprise at being removed as parish priest ‘at this awful period from a Flock I just rescued from eternal perdition’. He believed that he had succeeded in getting some of the rebels to agree to the terms of surrender and acquired the signatures of twenty-five of their leaders and despatched these to Generals Lake and Dundas (D.D.A., AB2/116/7(95)); in a letter to Dr Troy on 15 June 1799 General Dundas states that Nicholas Phepoe has recently died. Dundas petitioned Troy to elect Revd Molly as parish priest; died 12 June 1799 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/7(179)); his death was said to have been hastened by ill-treatment at the hands of the military in 1798, he was buried in New Abbey

churchyard ('Two Dublin priests', p. 173.); a Revd Phepoe subscribed to George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788); *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1791), address given as Rathcoole.

PLUNKETT, George, O.P. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged thirty-nine, address given as Denmark Street. Stated as serving in Denmark Street Chapel. Received tonsure and minor orders 21 Sept. 1763, subdiaconate 22 Sept. 1763, diaconate 22 Sept. 1764, and priesthood 22 Dec. 1765 at Mechlin (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 65.)

POWER, John. Student of the University of Salamanca in 1789. 'Native of the archdiocese of Dublin of Catholic and Noble parents, twenty-two years (completed) of age, he learned Latin, Greek, French and other Humanities, at home. He entered this college, three years ago, during which he has studied etc. (as v. 3), in all of which he has made good progress and has given proof of pretty fair talent, application and conduct.' [v. 3 refers to Patrick Morgan, who studied Hebrew, Mathematics and Philosophy, and was then in first year's theology'] (O'Doherty (ed.), 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca', p. 54.)

PRENDERGAST, Michael. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1784, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.); returned to Dublin in 1791 from the College in Paris ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.); a Prendergast was curate in St. Audoen's in 1796 (Report by William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 130.)

PRESTON, Seneca. Student at the University of Paris. Registered in the faculty of law Oct. 1776, priest. B.U.I. 26 Jun. 1777 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', p. 107.)

PURCELL, Edward. Ordained tonsure, minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate, priest Dublin 15-17 Jun. 1781 by Dr Carpenter. Left for Louvain in 1781. Irish Pastoral College, Louvain Morgan scholarship 1781. Matriculated L, minorennis, philosophy 21 Jan. 1782; Irish Pastoral College Dublin scholarship 1784. Returned to the diocese in 1785 (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 261.); a Purcell was curate in St. Mary's in 1796 (Report by William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 130.)

PURCELL, John. Ordained subdeacon 6 Jun. 1805, priest 24 May 1806 (O'Riordan, 'Ordinations by Archbishop Troy', p. 380.); ordained in Maynooth in 1807 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); curate in St. Andrew's (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 163.)

PURCELL, Patrick. Returned to the diocese in 1810 from Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.)

R.

REDMOND, James. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1827 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.);

returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1828 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.); P.P. of Arklow 1839-77, died 1877 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 185.)

REDMOND, Martin. Ordained at Maynooth in 1808 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1810 from Maynooth. Adopted from Ferns (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); curate in Lusk and Rush 1807-13 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 169.)

REDMOND, [Mogue] Student at the Irish College, Lisbon remained on at the college to commence a course of studies in philosophy in Oct. 1795 Mentioned in a letter from the rector to Dr Troy in May 1803 as being resolved to leave the college shortly. He was a member of staff. Returned to Ireland in 1804, Dr Crotty sadly remarking that ‘We shall be very lame without him’ (O’Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 91.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and principal Saints* (Dublin, 1802), listed as ‘rector, St Patrick’s College, Lisbon’; Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive tradition* (Dublin, 1808).

REILLY, Philip. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged forty [date unknown]. Listed as serving in the parishes of Rolastown, Clonmethen and Kilsallaghan. Received minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood 1768 at Mechlin (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 61.)

RICKARD, James. Ordained at Maynooth in 1826 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1826 from Maynooth (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 385.); P.P. of Ballymore Eustace 1845-63, died 1863 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 182.)

ROCHE. Returned to the diocese in 1806 having studied in Kilkenny. Adopted from Ossory (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 383.)

ROCHE, Alexander. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1809 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1811 from Maynooth (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); curate in SS Michael and John’s 1812-22 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 163.); P.P. of Kilquade 1822-26 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.); P.P. of Bray 1826-59, died 1859 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 187.)

ROCHE, Edmund. Returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1813 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

ROCHE, James. Matriculated from Maynooth in 1819. Adopted from the diocese of Ferns (Hamill, *Maynooth students and ordinations 1795-1895*, p. 45.); returned to the

diocese in 1820 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

ROCHE, Nicholas. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1825 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1828 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.); P.P. of SS Michael and John’s (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 37.)

ROONEY, Cornelius. Ordained at Maynooth in 1817 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); curate in St. Audoen’s 1819-24 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 164.); P.P. of Coolock 1846-78, died 1878 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); subscribed to *The manual of St Augustine* (Dublin, 1813).

ROONEY, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1778, left for Nantes in 1778 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1783 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); *Freeman’s Journal*, 6 Jul. 1793 reported the death of Revd Mr Rooney in Liffey Street, a clergyman in St. Mary’s on 2 Jul. 1793 (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 290.).

RORKE, Thomas. Ordained in Maynooth in 1805 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); P.P. of Baldoyle 1806-13, died 1813 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 330.); subscribed to Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808); Alonsus Rodriguez, S.J., *The practice of Christian and religious perfection* (Kilkenny, 1806).

RUANE, William. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1777, from the Kildare and Leighlin diocese, left for Paris in 1777 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1784 from the College in Paris (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.)

RUSSELL, William. Ordained in Aug. 1772, left for Paris in 1772 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 486.); returned to Dublin from the College in Paris in 1778 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); a Russell was curate in St. Paul’s in 1796 (Report of William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 130.); P.P. of St. Paul’s 1797-1825, died 1825 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 39.); prebend of *Alterius portionis de Tipper Kevin* 1785-*Ordo membrorum Capituli Dublinis. Praesens Capitulum*, 1783, D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7)); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788); George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); Eugene Martin, *The comparative advantages of religion* (Dublin, 1789), address given as Arran Quay; Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808); *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Dublin, 1794).

RYAN, Matthew. Returned to the diocese in 1778 from Salamanca ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.)

RYAN, Michael. Returned to the diocese in 1783 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Michael Ryan was P.P. of Palmerstown with Lucan 1788-98, resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 179.); curate in St. Andrew's 1801-11 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 162.) P.P. of Booterstown 1811-21, resigned (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, iii, pp 108-10.); Revd Michael Ryan of Townsend Street subscribed to Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808)

RYAN, Patrick. Ordained tonsure, minor orders, subdeacon, deacon and priest 15-17 Jun. 1781 by Dr Carpenter. Left for Louvain in 1781. Irish Pastoral College Louvain Morgan scholarship 1781. Irish Pastoral College Louvain O'Brien fund 1782-5. Matriculated L, minorennis, philosophus 21 Jan. 1782; LA 1784. Returned to the diocese in 1786. P.P. of Donabate 27 Sept. 1836 until his resignation on 12 Nov. 1848 with a yearly pension of £20 sterling to be paid by his successor, John McCarthy (Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797', p. 261.).

RYAN, Patrick. Returned to the diocese from the Ludovician College, Rome in 1791 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.); a Patrick Ryan was P.P. of Coolock 1797-1805, when he became coadjutor to the bishop of Ferns (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, i, no. 2, p. 328.); a Patrick Ryan was P.P. of Coolock, alias Clontarf 1836-48, resigned (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, i, no. 2, p. 326.)

S.

SALMON, John. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1814 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1814. Adopted from the diocese of Ardagh (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); subscribed to *The manual of St Augustine* (Dublin, 1813).

SAVAGE, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth in 1822 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); P.P. of Maynooth 1831-35, died 1835 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 184.)

SHAW, John. Returned to the diocese in 1776 from Salamanca ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.)

SHERLOCK, Bartholomew. Ordained 1 Apr. 1753. P.P. of St. Catherine's and dean of Dublin, died on 3 Jul. 1806. On his return home he was appointed to St. Mary's parish (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 94.); P.P. of St. Audeon's 1771-77. Took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged fifty-four. Address given as Old Church Street. Minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate in Macoa; priest in Lisbon 1753 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 63.); P.P. of St. Catherine's 1783-1806; died in 1806 (O'Riordan,

'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Jan. 1794: 'A few nights since, the Rev. Mr. Sherlock, Catholic clergyman of St. Catherine's parish, was attacked and robbed' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 291.); subscribed to Alban Butler, *The moveable feasts* (Dublin, 1775), listed as 'Revd Dr'; Richard Challoner, *Considerations upon Christian truths* (Dublin, 1772); Nicholas Fontaine, *A history of the Old and New Testaments* (Dublin, 1782); George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788); idem, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784).

SHERRY, William. Was ordained in Lisbon in 1816 and was a student at St. Patrick's College (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 94.); in 1822 he wrote a letter to Troy thanking him for the recommendation that he should succeed to Dr John Dunn. He informed Troy that there was possibility of Dr Dunn giving over the rectorship, and complained bitterly about the treatment he received from Dunn (O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834*, p. 105.)

SMITH, John, O.P. Educated at Holy Cross Priory, Louvain. Received minor orders and subdiaconate at Malines in Mar. 1784. Curate in Balrothery (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', pp 165-6.); P.P. of Rush 1802-4 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 325.); P.P. of Balrothery 25 Jul. 1804-27, retired (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 324.); died 1840 (Taheny, 'Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes', pp 165-6.); subscribed to Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout ;the year* (Dublin, 1808), listed as P.P. of Balbriggan.

SMITH, John. Returned to the diocese in 1810 from Maynooth (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 384.); P.P. of Balrothery and Balscadden 1828-51 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 324.)

SMITH, John. Returned to the diocese from Carlow in 1828 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

SMITH, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in May 1782, from the diocese of Kilmacduagh (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 487.); returned to the diocese in 1786 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Patrick Smith was curate in St. Andrew's 1797-1818 (O'Riordan, 'List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824', p. 162.)

SMITH, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth in 1830 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1830 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.); a Patrick Smyth of Townsend Street Chapel subscribed to Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808).

SMYTH, James, O.C.D. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged thirty-three [date unknown], address given as Stephen Street. Received minor orders 1769 at Nepi, subdiaconate 1770 at Orte, diaconate 1772 at Orte, and priesthood at Rome 1772 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 60.)

STAFFORD, Patrick. Returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1813 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

STAFFORD, William. Returned to the diocese in 1797 having studies in Louvain and Maynooth (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 383.); P.P. of Milltown and Harold’s Cross 1823-48, died 1848 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 34.)

STENNET, Charles. Matriculated from Maynooth in 1815 (Hamill, *Maynooth students and ordinations 1795-1895*, ii, p. 55.); returned to the diocese in 1819 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

STOREY, Richard. Matriculated from Maynooth in 1817. Ordained in 1824, from the diocese of Ferns (Hamill, *Maynooth students and ordinations 1795-1895*, ii, p. 55.); returned to the diocese in 1824 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

STRONG, John, O.P. Entered the order on Rome in 1767 and was professed in San Clemente in 1768. Ordained in 1771 and probably returned home in 1774. Was in Dublin 1796-8 and is said to have been an advocate of radical policies. Curate in Coolock 1799-1807. Died at some point before 1817 (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, p. 166.)

SWEETMAN, John. Student at the University of Paris. M.A. 2 Apr. 1746, cleric. L.Th 1752. A John Sweetman was vicaire of Boynes (dep. of Loiret) in 1752 (Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 108); *Pue’s Occurrences*, 27 Nov. 1762: ‘Died in Thomasstreet, the Reverend and learned Dr John Sweetman (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 106.)

T.

TAYLOR, George Andrew. Student at the University of Paris. M.A. 4 Jul. 1779, priest. L.Th 1744. A.G. Taylor was vicaire of Boynes (Dep. of Loiret), 1744-48. Cúre of St. Amand de Burdy en Gatinois, 1748 (Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 108.)

TERNAN[TIERNAN], Edward. Ordained by Dr Carpenter in Jun. 1778, left for Paris in 1778 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 487.); returned to Dublin in 1782 from the Paris Community (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.).

TOMMINS, Michael. Ordained by Dr Fitzsimons on 10 Sept. 1769, left for the College in Paris in 1770 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 485.); returned to Dublin from the College in Paris 1774 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged forty, address given as Elbow Lane. Minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood in Dublin 1769 (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 59.); a

Tommins was curate in St. James's in 1796 (Report by William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 130.)

TOOLE[E], Andrew. Ordained by Dr Carpenter 7-9 May 1773. Left for Douay 1773 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 486.); returned to the diocese from Douay 1782 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty-three; address given as Castledermott. Received minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood at Dublin 1773 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 65.); P.P. of Palmerstown with Lucan 1783-8 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 179.); P.P. of Wicklow 1788-99, died 1799 (O'Riordan, 'Successions lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 190.); *Hoey's Journal*, 1 Sept. 1784: 'Sunday morning [29] the Rev. Mr. Toole, the parish priest of Lucan, returning there from Palmerstown, after celebrating Mass, was attacked and robbed of two guineas and his watch, by a single footpad, genteelly dressed; some people on the road having got the alarm, pursued and took the villain, who is lodged in the county jail.' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 226.); *Freeman's Journal* 29 Aug. 1799: 'The Rev. Andrew Toole, P.P., of Wicklow was found dead on the road, near his own house on Saturday last' (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 308.).

TUITE-McCARTHY, Nicholas. Student at the University of Paris. M.A. 2 Aug. 1788, cleric, noble. Born in Dublin, 1769, died Annecy 1833. His father, Justin emigrated to Toulouse 1773. Kinsman of Archbishop Dillon of Narbonne. Nicholas entered the Parisian Collège du Plessis in 1775. Tonsure at Paris 1783. His theological studies were interrupted by the Revolution and he returned to Toulouse. A renowned preacher. Joined the Jesuits in 1820 (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', pp 108-9.)

TYRELL, John. Returned to the diocese in 1829 having studied in Paris and Bordeaux (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

U.

USSHER, Stephen, S.J. Grand-nephew of the Dublin Jesuit, John Ussher (1613-98) Born in Dublin 22 Jun. 1701. Son of Patrick Ussher and Mary Nulty. Educated at the Irish College, Poitiers and entered the Society at Bordeaux 9 Nov. 1718. After his philosophy course he taught humanities at Lucon 1723-7. Studied theology at the Grand College, Poitiers 1727-31. Stationed in Dublin from 1733. Superior of the Dublin residence from 1736. Rector of the Irish College, Poitiers 1746-51. Rector of the Irish College, Rome 1751-4. Rector again at Poitiers 1754 until his death in the college 10 Feb. 1762 (Finnegan (ed.), 'Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community', p. 99.)

W.

WADE, Nicholas. Returned to Dublin from Paris Laon. in 1785 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 489.); a Wade was curate in St. Nicholas's

in 1796 (Report by William Corbet in Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 130.); P.P. of St. Michan's 1797-1802, died in 1802 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.); Donnelly states that he was a native of Lusk and that he was buried in Lusk with his ancestors of New Haggard and Tomminstown (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, xi, p. 60.); subscribed to F.X. de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or a collection of observations to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800); l'Abbé Grou, *The School of Christ* (Dublin, 1801); George Hay, *The pious Christian* (Dublin, 1788); *A treatise on the advantages of frequent communion* (Dublin, 1793), two copies; listed as a member of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in St. Michan's parish in 1801 (Ronan, *The Catholic Apostle of Dublin*, p. 123.)

WALL, Andrew. Matriculated from Maynooth in 1818 (Hamill, *Maynooth students and ordinations 1795-1895*, ii, p. 59.); returned to the diocese in 1824 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850', p. 385.)

WALL, Christopher. Attended Paris Laou, returned to Dublin 1774 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 488.); possibly P.P. of Palmerstown with Lucan 1775-7 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 179.); P.P. of Finglas 1777-8 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 328.); P.P. of Baldoyle 1778-83 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 330.); P.P. of Blanchardstown 1783-1802 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 1, p. 178.); P.P. of St. James's 1802-4 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 38.); P.P. of St. Michan's 1804-26, died 1826 (O'Riordan, 'Succession lists' in *Rep. Nov.*, iv, no. 1, p. 35.); he was elected dean in 1823. However, when Rome heard of this they declared his election null and void as the right of nominating the dean appertained exclusively to the Holy See (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, xi, p. 62.); Wall signed a lease with Carpenter for the leasing of two plots of land at Baldoyle from George and Thomas Furnace in 1779 (D.D.A., AB1/116/2(199)); was prebend of 'Alterius portionis de Donachmore in O'Maile' in 1782 (D.D.A., AB2/3/1(7)); promoted to precentor of the Chapter in 1807, having previously been canon of St. Michan's (D.D.A., AB2/29/11(46)); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty-three, address given as Baldoyle. Received minor orders in Dublin 1766, subdiaconate in Paris 1769, diaconate 1770, and priesthood in Paris 1771 (Walsh, 'A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance', p. 61.); subscribed to Nicholas Fontaine, *A history of the old and new testament* (Dublin, 1782); Edward Hawarden, *The true Church of Christ shown from the concurrent testimonies of Scripture and primitive Tradition* (Dublin, 1808); George Hay, *The devout Christian* (Dublin, 1784); Barnaby Murphy, *Sermons for every Sunday throughout the year* (Dublin, 1808).

WALSH, Bartholomew. Ordained by Dr Carpenter Jun. 1784 (Curran (ed.), 'Ordinations 1769-1785', p. 488.) returned to Dublin in 1790 ('Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798', p. 490.)

WALSH, Francis. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1822 (O'Riordan (ed.), 'Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1802-1864', p. 391.); subscribed to Joanne Cabassutio, *Juris Canonici Theoria et Praxis, ad forum tam sacramentale, quam contentiosum, tum ecclesiasticum, tum seculare...* (Dublin, 1824), address given as Meath Street Chapel.

WALSH, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1808 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); adopted from the diocese of Ferns (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); a John Walsh was curate in Clondalkin in 1812 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 168.); a John Walsh was P.P. of Rolestown 1820-55, died 1855 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 327.)

WALSH, Joseph. Student at the University of Paris. M.O. May 1771. Member of the community of clerics in the Irish College 1772, acolyte (Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 109.); returned to Dublin from the Paris Community in 1774 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 488.). *Hibernian Journal*, 8 Feb. 1799 records the death of a Rev. Joseph Walsh (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press*, p. 197.)

WALSH, Laurence Ignatius. Student at the University of Paris. M.A. 3 Aug. 1743, priest (Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 109.); a Rev Laurence Walsh of Philipstown is mentioned in a letter from George Hay to Dr Troy in 1791 (D.D.A., Troy papers, AB2/116/5(58)); a Laurence Walsh was P.P. of Garristown in 1771-6, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 327.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged sixty-six. Address given as Mountrath Street but serving in Garristown and Ballymadun. Subdiaconate, diaconate and priest at Channel Row, Dublin 1739 (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 59.)

WALSH, Patrick. Ordained by Dr Carpenter on 16 Mar. 1771, left for the College in Paris in 1771 (Curran (ed.), ‘Ordinations 1769-1785’, p. 486.); returned to Dublin in 1776 (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); a Patrick Walsh was P.P. of Donabate in 1778 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 326.); a Patrick Walsh was P.P. of Lusk 1794-1802, died 1802. Walsh was made P.P. of Lusk and administrator of Donabate *ad beneplacitum* in 1794 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, pp 325-6.); took the Oath of Allegiance [date unknown], aged thirty-four, address given as Donabate. Ordained to subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood in Dublin 1771 (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 65.)

WALSH, Patrick, O.P. Educated at Lisbon c. 1795. Returned to Dublin in 1797. Was prior of St. Saviour’s while at the same time acting as curate in St. Mary’s. Died 16 May 1827 (Taheny, ‘Dominicans serving in Dublin parishes’, p. 166.)

WALSH, Patrick. Ordained at Maynooth in 1815 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese in 1815 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

WALSH, Pierce. Returned to the diocese in 1806 having studied in Kilkenny. Adopted from the diocese of Ossory (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 383.)

WARD, John, S.J. Born in Dublin on 2 Feb. 1704. He swore the oath on 17 Mar. 1725 in Compostella. Was presented for minor orders in Compostella 24 Feb. 1725. Entered the Society on 28 Oct. 1725 at Madrid and ordained seven years later. Died in Dublin 12 Oct. 1775 (O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella, 1605-1769*, p. 126.); recalled to Ireland in 1738 where he taught humanities and for some time conducted classes in philosophy, after the death of Canon John Harold. Superior of the Dublin residence 1752. Superior of the mission 1760. Incardinated in the diocese after the Suppression in 1773, died 12 Oct. 1775 (Finnegan (ed.), ‘Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community’, p. 99.)

WARD, Patrick, O.C.D. Took the Oath of Allegiance aged thirty-six [date unknown], address given as Stephen Street. Listed as serving in Stephen Street Chapel. Received minor orders and subdiaconate 19 Jun. 1770 at Nepi, Italy, diaconate 30 Mar. 1771, and priesthood at Nepi (Walsh, ‘A list of ecclesiastics that took the Oath of Allegiance’, p. 55.)

WARD, Peter. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1818 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1819 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.); a Ward was curate in St. Nicholas’s in 1824 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 162.)

WELDON, Thomas, S.J. Born in Drogheda 20 Dec. 1714. Entered the Society at Toulouse 12 Jul. 1732. Studied philosophy at Toulouse and taught humanities at Albi and Cahors. Completed his studies at Clermont 1742-6. Professor of philosophy at Aurillac until his recall to Ireland in 1750. *Operarius* at Dublin but after a year or so he joined the English province where he served on the mission in Lancashire, died 15 Feb. 1776 (Finnegan (ed.), ‘Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community’, p. 100.)

WHELAN, John. Ordained at Maynooth in 1823 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese from Maynooth in 1823 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

WHITE, John, S.J. Born in Dublin 1 Jul. 1724. Educated at the Irish College, Santiago de Compostella 1742-5 and at Salamanca 1745-6. Entered the Society at Villagarcia 23 Mar. 1746. Studied theology at the Royal College of Salamanca 1748-52. Ordained priest at Segovia 21 Sept. 1751, tertianship at Valladolid 1752-3. Sent back to Ireland because of ill-health 1753 and was at the Dublin residence until his death in Feb. 1755 (Finnegan (ed.), ‘Biographical index of the members of the Dublin Jesuit community’, p. 100.)

WHITE, John. Ordained deacon in Maynooth in 1820 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); P.P. of

Baldoyle 1838-50, died 1850 (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 330.)

WHYTE, James. Student at the University of Paris. M.A. 19 Jul. 1747, cleric (Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 109.); *Dublin Evening Post*, 16 Oct. 1781 tells of the death of Rev. James White of Randalstown, aged seventy-two.

WILDE, James Joseph. Resident at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, Jun.-Aug. 1786 after three years theology, deacon (Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792’, p. 109.); returned to Dublin in 1786 from the Paris Community (‘Dublin priests returned home from studies 1770-1798’, p. 489.); a Fr Wilde served as curate in St. Catherine’s sometime during 1783-1806 (Donnelly, *Short histories of Dublin parishes*, ix, p. 224.)

WOODS, Patrick. Ordained deacon at Maynooth in 1824 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.); returned to the diocese in 1825 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 385.)

WYNNE, Patrick. Ordained subdeacon at Maynooth in 1829 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 391.)

Y.

YOUNG, Henry. Returned to the diocese from Propaganda in 1815 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Priests adopted into Dublin; returned from studies, &c. 1788-1850’, p. 384.)

YOUNG, William. Ordained at Maynooth in 1822 (O’Riordan (ed.), ‘Dublin students ordained in Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1802-1864’, p. 390.); a W. Young was curate in Bray 1823-24 (O’Riordan, ‘List of curates in the Archdiocese of Dublin 1797-1824’, p. 165.); P.P. of Baldoyle 1831-38, resigned (O’Riordan, ‘Succession lists’ in *Rep. Nov.*, iii, no. 2, p. 330.)

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