

MAYNOOTH
A Select Bibliography
of Printed Sources

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INTRODUCTION

To mark the bicentenary of the foundation of St Patrick's College, Maynooth, there is presented here a select bibliography of printed material pertaining to aspects of the history of the college itself and also of Maynooth town and district.

I

Maynooth emerged as an important settlement by virtue of its association with the Anglo-Norman family of Fitzgerald in the late twelfth century. In 1176 Maurice Fitzgerald, founder of the Geraldine dynasty in Ireland, received confirmation of a grant of lands in the O'Byrne district of Uí Fáeláin, including the lordships of Maynooth and Naas, and Maynooth castle (the ruins of which stand adjacent to the entrance to the college) was subsequently constructed at the junction between two streams, the Lyreen and the Joan Slade.¹ His grandson, Maurice, second baron of Offaly, was instrumental in having Maynooth elevated in ecclesiastical status: in 1248, at Maurice's request, Archbishop Luke of Dublin erected Maynooth as prebend of St Patrick's cathedral, and the perpetual right of presentation was entrusted to Fitzgerald and his successors.²

¹*The Civil Survey, A.D. 1654-56*, ed. R. C. Simington (10 vols, I.M.C., Dublin, 1931-61), viii; *Kildare*, p. xviii; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland*, ed. with trans. and historical notes by A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), p. 143; Walter Fitzgerald, 'The ancient territories out of which the present County Kildare was formed and their septs' in *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, i (1891-5), p. 159; Marie Therese Flanagan, 'Henry II and the kingdom of Uí Fáeláin' in John Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland: studies presented to F. X. Martin* (Kilkenny, 1988), pp 229-39.

²*Calendar of Archbishop Alen's register, c. 1172-1534*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1949), p. 298; W. Monck Mason, *The history and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St Patrick near Dublin, from its foundation in 1190 to the year 1819* (Dublin, 1820), p. 60; George Blacker, *A record of the history of Maynooth*

By 1286 Maynooth hosted a weekly market, and in the 1330s its inhabitants included a merchant, a shoemaker, a crossbow-maker, a baker, a mason and a carpenter among others.³ The manorial settlement continued to develop, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century the castle had become the principal residence of the earls of Kildare: John, first earl, died in Maynooth in 1316.⁴ The Geraldine castle was one of the principal fortresses of the English Pale throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. During the period of the Kildare ascendancy, from about 1480 to 1534, Maynooth became the locus of effective political authority in the lordship of Ireland, thereby being elevated to a position of 'national' importance. The munificence of the eighth and ninth earls of Kildare is evident in their ecclesiastical patronage, the establishment of the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1518 being the largest project undertaken by the Fitzgeralds or their contemporaries. Proceedings for the establishment of this college commenced in 1518 when Gerald, the ninth earl, petitioned the archbishop of Dublin, William Rokeby, for licence to found and endow a college at Maynooth, for which purpose, he stated, his father had assigned certain lands in County Meath. On 6 October 1521 licence for the project was confirmed by the archbishop, and six days later privileges and ordinances pertaining to the college were confirmed by letters patent. In 1521 Gerald endowed the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary with more ample possessions than he had at first intended, and the building was located immediately contiguous to the castle. The personnel of the college included a provost, a vice-provost, five priests, two clerks, and three choristers who were charged with praying for the souls of Gerald and his antecedents and for all the faithful departed.⁵ It was at this time that Maynooth castle was in possession of one of the finest libraries of its day in Ireland, comprising English, Irish, Latin and French texts, and when the English army entered the castle following a week-long siege during the Kildare rebellion in March 1535, they found that 'great and rich was the spoil, such . . . beds . . . so many goodly hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such furniture . . . one of the richest earl[s] houses under the crown'.⁶

church, but principally of the prebendaries of Maynooth and the vicars of Laraghbryan (Dublin, 1867), pp 5-6; John Healy, 'The College of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Maynooth, County Kildare' in *I.E.R.*, 3rd ser., i (1880), pp 537-48; Duke of Leinster, 'Maynooth castle' in *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, i (1891-5), p. 223; M. T. MacSweeney, 'The parish of Maynooth, 1040 A.D.-1614 A.D.' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., lvi (July-Dec. 1940), pp 305-20, 412-48, 497-509.

³Con Costello, *Looking back: aspects of history, County Kildare* (Naas, 1988), p. 24.

⁴C. W. Fitzgerald, *The earls of Kildare and their ancestors from 1057 to 1773* (3rd ed., Dublin, 1858), p. 27.

⁵*Dignitas decani*, pp 83-91; *Red Bk Kildare*, pp 176-7; Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum* (2 vols, Dublin, 1873-6), ii, 282; Healy, 'College of the Blessed Virgin Mary'; Leinster, 'Maynooth castle', p. 224. M. V. Ronan, 'Anglo-Norman Dublin and diocese' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., xlix (Jan.-June 1937), pp 158-9; M. A. Lyons, 'Sidelights on the Kildare ascendancy: a survey of Geraldine involvement in the church, c. 1470-c. 1520' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xlviii (1994), pp 73-87.

⁶Quoted from Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* in Leinster, 'Maynooth castle',

Following the capture of the castle, acts attainting Kildare and his supporters and declaring the Fitzgerald estates forfeit to the crown were passed in the first session of the Reformation parliament in May 1536. The castle immediately became the residence of Lord Deputy Grey and his family. In 1553, however, the castle was restored to the Fitzgerald family when Gerald, eleventh earl, was reinvested with the earldom and the estates of his predecessors by Edward VI.⁷ The Fitzgerald family remained in residence in Maynooth until the outbreak of civil war in Ireland in the 1640s. On 7 January 1642 Catholic forces seized and pillaged the castle, and it was ultimately surrendered in 1647 to the forces of Owen Roe O'Neill, one of the leaders of the Catholic Confederation.⁸ In 1654 Maynooth had a chapel of ease, two small malhouses, two small bridges, one stone house, and one manor house which, although valued at £3,000 in 1640, had been burnt in the disturbances in the 1640s and of which only the walls were left standing; two small mills were also listed. All these pieces of property were part of the 2,292-acre estate of the earl of Kildare.⁹ In his account of County Kildare, written in 1682, Thomas Monk described Maynooth castle as 'an ancient pile, venerable in its ruins . . . which did partake of the hottest and felt the fiercest malice of a revengeful enemy in the last rebellion [1640s]'.¹⁰ After the destruction of their residence the earls of Kildare moved from Maynooth and resided at Kilkea in south County Kildare, in Dublin and in Caversham in Oxfordshire; and so in his account of Maynooth, written in 1692, the English traveller John Dunton recorded the existence of 'the remains of a very stately castle belonging to the earls of Kildare, and a tolerable village with one or two good inns where meat is well dressed and good liquors to be had'. Thus by the end of the seventeenth century Maynooth castle served as little more than a monument to the former splendour of the earls of Kildare.

In the early eighteenth century the Fitz Gerald family again adopted Maynooth as their seat: on assuming his title in 1707 Robert, nineteenth earl of Kildare, endeavoured to have the castle restored but found it to be beyond repair, and instead he took up residence at Carton, which lay outside Maynooth village. By the 1750s the village had grown to approximately 120 dwellings, most of which were cabins, and it had a charter school and two distilleries. The Fitz Gerald family were instrumental in effecting significant improvements in the town with the construction of substantial slated two-storey houses, a chapel, an inn and a bridge. In 1791, on the eve of the foundation of St Patrick's College, Maynooth was described by the French consul to Ireland as 'a small, new, pretty, smiling village'.¹¹ It was within this setting of a rural

⁷*Cal. pat. rolls. Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, pp 263-4.

⁸Leinster, 'Maynooth castle', pp 232-3.

⁹*Civil Survey*, viii: *Kildare*, p. 7.

¹⁰Thomas Monk, 'A descriptive account of the county of Kildare in 1682', abstracted in *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, vi (1909-11), p. 343 (one of a series of topographical papers written around 1682 for Sir William Petty with a view towards publication, which was prevented by the political disturbances that ensued thereafter); quoted in Leinster, 'Maynooth castle', p. 233.

village, presided over by the dukes of Leinster, that St Patrick's College was founded and formally opened on 1 October 1795; lectures commenced five days later with nearly forty students under the supervision of four of the first members of staff, namely Professors Aherne, Delort, Eustace and Clinch.

II

As part of his work entitled *Englands Staats- und Kirchenpolitik in Irland, 1795–1869* (Bonn, 1976) Karl Wöste presents a substantial bibliography of manuscript and printed sources relating to the history of Maynooth College during that period. The first section of Wöste's bibliography comprises a list of manuscript material (memorials, correspondence, petitions) dating for the most part from the first half of the nineteenth century, much of which is drawn from the Carton manuscript collection. Copies of correspondence of individuals, including Daniel Murray, president of the college (1812–13), accounts of college expenditure, reports of the parliamentary commissioners appointed to inquire into the college (1826–7 and 1854–5), accounts of visitors to the college and a list of the college's trustees are presented. Also included are minutes of evidence taken before select committees of the House of Lords (1820s and 1860s), returns of names, ages and numbers of students attending Maynooth College (31 August 1884), returns of students completing their education at Maynooth (1845–61), statutes of the college and census returns (1851 and 1861). Given the exhaustive nature of this listing of manuscript materials and official publications in Wöste's bibliography and in order to minimise duplication in this work, the reader is advised to consult these sections in particular of the former publication.

A second category of Wöste's bibliography is devoted to ecclesiastical and political works relating to the period 1795–1869. Also included are travellers' accounts, notably those of Francis B. Head, Henry D. Inglis, Alexis de Tocqueville and John O'Driscoll, as well as a number of biographies. A third section provides an extensive list of pamphlet material, much of which concerns the two politically contentious issues of the foundation of Maynooth College and the passage of the Maynooth Endowment Bill in 1845. The final section in Wöste's bibliography presents a range of more specific works concerning the political, social and ecclesiastical climate obtaining in nineteenth-century Ireland. Those publications listed focus on the establishment of seminaries on the Continent, clerical involvement in the political upsurge in 1848, the role of the clergy *vis-à-vis* the Great Famine of the 1840s and emigration, and lastly the establishment of a Catholic university.

Wöste's bibliography comprises a valuable listing of manuscript and published material which deals primarily with the political dimension to the foundation of Maynooth College and the national and international context of its establishment and early history. There is therefore an inevitable overlap between Wöste's bibliography and the present compilation of sources because of their shared concentration upon St Patrick's College. However, in contrast with Wöste's work and in recognition of the important relationship between the college and the town of Maynooth, this bibliography has as its main organising principle the referential illustration of the foundation

and historical development of Maynooth College down to the present, set within their *local* context. In pursuance of this brief, material has been selected pertaining to four key aspects of Maynooth's history: firstly, St Patrick's College, its foundation, administration and personnel; secondly, the Fitzgerald family and their associations with the district and the development of Maynooth town from the late twelfth to the seventeenth centuries; thirdly, Carton demesne and the dukes of Leinster; and finally, aspects of the history of the town and of its residents.

The material pertaining to Maynooth College under the heading 'Original sources' consists of items such as catechisms authorised by the Maynooth synod, accounts of the ceremonial occasion of the foundation of the college chapel in October 1875, and the correspondence of individuals, including the Rev. Eugene Conwell, a resident of the college in 1798, and John Wilson Croker, politician and essayist, which have been selected on the basis of their including significant information relating to the college. Most of the 'documents' listed (p. 453) contain material concerning the endowment of Maynooth with special indulgences and privileges by the papacy, along with correspondence between college personnel and the papacy from the 1880s to the late 1940s, all of which are published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. The controversial nature of the passage of the Maynooth Endowment Bill in 1845 is reflected in the pamphlet and newspaper material of the month of April of that year in particular; and as a very comprehensive list of pamphlet material is included in Wöste's bibliography, those items listed in this work are selected on the basis of their representing the opinions of both sides of the debate and are thereby intended to provide the reader with a flavour of the issues involved in that debate.

The subsection entitled 'Maynooth College' (pp 455–6) encompasses a wide range of material which reflects contemporary public opinion on the issue of the funding, administration and instruction of St Patrick's College in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Attacks mounted by propagandists such as 'Protestans Hibernicus' and Sir G. H. Smyth are presented alongside letters such as that published by the Rev. Peter Flood, second president of the college (1798–1803), in response to charges levied against Maynooth. The virulent works of Eugene F. O'Beirne (a former student of Maynooth who was expelled) published in the mid-1830s and 1840 comprise a significant if biased individual contribution to contemporary accounts of life in the college as is reflected in this listing of publications.

Official publications, including statutes, *calendaria*, student and ordination lists for the period 1795–1984, are recorded. There have been a number of editions of the statutes, the first dated 1800 and the revised edition having been printed in Dublin by Fitzpatrick in 1820. College *calendaria* were first issued in 1863 and have since been printed annually. These constitute a valuable source of information concerning the academic and domestic affairs of the college, providing a full list of the staff since 1795 in the appendixes. A fire in New House in 1940 destroyed the College Roll Book, and the value of the *calendaria* as sources for the domestic history of the college therefore increased, since the matriculation list was printed in the early

issues. More recent volumes provide a list of all students, clerical and lay, studying in the college. Another important source for the history of internal affairs are Patrick J. Hamell's two-volume lists of students and ordinations for the years 1795–1895 and 1895–1984. The index for the period 1795–1895 provides ordinations and prize lists (1795–1864), a matriculation register (1795–1895), Maynooth College *calendar* and a list of students ordained outside Maynooth. The list of students and ordinations for the years 1895–1984, in addition to the index of clerics listed by diocese and name, presents details of Maynooth students ordained overseas and a list of bishops from Maynooth (1795–1984) as well as other statistical and nominal data.

The published material relating to, and written by, clerical *alumni* of the college is of very varied quality and use to the historian. In general, this category of material comprises reminiscences, autobiographies and biographies such as George Crolley's life of his uncle, William Crolley, archbishop of Armagh, which includes a number of insights into life in the college in the early nineteenth century.¹² More recent works provide the reader with some valuable details concerning college personalities and the topography of the seminary, for example Neil Kevin's book entitled *I remember Maynooth* (Dublin, 1937) and G. D. Hilderbrand's account of his first evening in Maynooth. Another category of works produced by or relating to Maynooth-trained priests is that comprising novels and short stories. Since it is not within the brief of this bibliography to include such fictional material with tenuous relevance to Maynooth College, the small number of references to material relating to Maynooth-trained priests is deliberately very selective, and it should be recognised that, as such, it is somewhat unrepresentative of the greater body of material produced relating to clerics trained at Maynooth.¹³

Among publications listed in the category of secondary material of the bibliography are the principal periodicals of societies of, and associated with, the college. Of particular value is a series of articles on the history of the college published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, itself a college periodical. Authors including John Healy, J. F. Hogan, Maurice O'Connell and John Brady have published articles on the establishment of the Geraldine college in 1518 and that of the college in 1795. The sesquicentenary issue of July–December 1945 is of particular value, with J. F. O'Doherty's article on the history of the college during the period 1895–1945, being an extension to John Healy's centenary history, and this issue also features an article by Thomas Wall which chronicles the history of the journal. John Healy's *Maynooth College: its centenary history, 1795–1895* (Dublin, 1895), a tome of 774 pages, was written at the request of the bishops of Ireland to

¹²George Crolley, *The life of the Most Rev. Dr Crolley, archbishop of Armagh* (Dublin, 1851).

¹³Some of the most widely read works of this nature include P. A. Sheehan's novels *Luke Delmege* (London, 1905) and *A spoiled priest and other stories* (London & Dublin, 1905); Gerald O'Donovan, *Father Ralph* (London, 1913); Shane Leslie, *Doomsland* (London, 1923); and Richard Francis Malone, *The witcheens: a tale of Maynooth and London* (London, 1928).

mark the centenary of the college's foundation and is a standard source on the history of Maynooth. The study is divided into four distinct periods: 1795–1820, 1820–45, 1845–70 and 1871–95; and within each phase the history of the college is discussed at two levels, that of its domestic or internal affairs and that of its external relations. A particularly valuable collection of material is presented in the appendixes, and this includes a list of the officials of Maynooth from 1795 to 1895, matriculation lists (1795–9) and a list of portraits in Maynooth College. A companion volume entitled *A record of the centenary celebrations held in Maynooth College in June 1895* (Dublin, 1896) merely records the celebrations of the centenary year. Four years after the sesquicentenary of the college Denis Meehan published *Window on Maynooth* (Dublin, 1949), which surveys the history of Maynooth town and presents a topographical history of the college; this work, along with his second publication, *Maynooth again remembered* (Tralee, 1982), served to update Healy's publication. Two composite works entitled *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland* (Galway, 1979) and *Maynooth and Victorian Ireland* (Galway, 1983) by Jeremiah Newman, a former president of the college, are contributions to the recording of the college's history. These are now superseded by Patrick J. Corish's magisterial bicentenary history, *Maynooth College, 1795–1995* (Dublin, 1995).

In this listing of secondary publications, material relating to the origins of the college and the political climate of the time, biographical sketches of key personnel, Maynooth's involvement in missionary activity and publications of the Maynooth Union Summer School are presented. This section of the bibliography should also be consulted in conjunction with Wöste's work.

III

Maynooth is a little town built by the duke of Leinster, separated from Carton house and demesne by a beautiful avenue of a quarter of a mile. The place for our college immediately adjoins the town of Maynooth—about twenty acres highly improved—and has an excellent house, never inhabited, completely finished and large enough to accommodate about fifty or sixty subjects. Chamberlaine's concern is on the bank of the Grand Canal and about nine miles from Dublin and in the very centre of a beautiful, healthy and plentiful country.¹⁴

The above is the account of the proposed site of St Patrick's College written by Thomas Bray, archbishop of Cashel, on 26 July 1795. Bray's attribution of the construction of the town of Maynooth to the duke of Leinster is an oversimplification of the town's historic development, since Maynooth's origins predated the era of the dukes of Leinster and can be traced back to the twelfth century and to the era of the ancestors of the dukes, the Fitzgeralds, barons of Offaly and subsequently earls of Kildare.

In order to establish a local historical framework for the foundation of Maynooth College, it may be useful to present a select listing of published

¹⁴Quoted in Jeremiah Newman, *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland* (Galway, 1979), pp 30–31.

works relating to the Fitzgerald family and their associations with Maynooth, embracing connexions throughout County Kildare. In the section entitled 'Family and personal records' all publications containing genealogical and estate records of the Kildare branch of the family are presented. The sections listing general works relating to the Kildare Geraldines and national politics have been strictly confined to material relating directly to the earls and particularly during the period of their ascendancy.¹⁵

Apart from their involvement in national politics, four other specific areas concerning the Fitzgerald family have been selected for inclusion, these being publications concerning the family itself with reference to collateral branches at county level and those relating to Maynooth castle—its construction, the historic development of manorial settlement in the district, and its destruction. The establishment of Maynooth castle has been placed in context by the inclusion of publications concerning other Geraldine manors and estates throughout the county, and these provide comparative information on the development of other settlements around Geraldine fortresses. Material relating to the involvement of the Fitzgeralds in ecclesiastical affairs and their relations with clerics at county and national levels, as well as the sources for a study of the town of Maynooth, indicate that the town's origins were independent of either the dukes of Leinster or of the college and its national prominence, and cannot be exclusively attributed to its being host to the national seminary.

IV

According to Jeremiah Newman, local secular interests had favoured the choice of Maynooth as an appropriate site for the seminary. While visiting the intended site for St Patrick's College in 1795, Archbishop Bray and other bishops in his company spent almost two days in Maynooth, where they 'received many great civilities from the duchess of Leinster and from Lady Louisa Conolly of Castletown'.¹⁶ John Thomas Troy, archbishop of Dublin, acknowledged the assistance of these two women who had interested themselves in the matter. Bartholomew Crotty, seventh president of

¹⁵For a listing of general works regarding the Kildare ascendancy see the bibliographies of Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, ii: Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534* (Oxford, 1987); T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, iii: Early modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976); Steven Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: crown, community and the conflict of cultures, 1470–1603* (London, 1985); Aidan Clarke, Raymond Gillespie and James McGuire, *A new history of Ireland: bibliographical supplement, 1534–1691* (Dublin, 1991); Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-century Ireland: the incomplete conquest* (Dublin, 1994).

¹⁶Newman, *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland*, p. 31. It should, however, be noted that Maynooth was not the first choice of the Irish hierarchy in their selection of a site for the college, with several other locations such as Stillorgan House and demesne and the house and property of the late Judge Helen at Mespill-bank, near the Donnybrook road, having been given prior consideration (see John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press* (Maynooth, 1965), p. 296).

the college (1813–33), believed that Maynooth was chosen as the site for the college because it was considered 'more favourable to the morals and studies of the House' than the immediate neighbourhood of a great city. Moreover, Crotty stressed that the duke of Leinster was very anxious to have the college at Maynooth and gave every encouragement to its establishment on his estate. William Robert, second duke of Leinster, wrote to the trustees informing them that he was prepared to give them a lease of fifty-eight acres, at a rent of £72 (Irish) per annum, which at that time is thought to have been about one-third of the value of the property. The trustees accepted Leinster's proposal, and a resolution that the college be established on the site in question was adopted at an extraordinary meeting of the trustees held in Dublin on 28 July 1795.¹⁷

Given the involvement of the duke of Leinster in the establishment of the college, and bearing in mind the pivotal importance of the landlords of Carton demesne in the life of the local community to which the college was introduced, material relating to the dukes and Carton has been listed. In the section entitled 'Material relating to Carton, the more recent earls of Kildare, and the dukes of Leinster' memoirs, letters, memorials and addresses are listed. A list of published maps showing Carton demesne is also presented. The interest expressed by the duke of Leinster in the college has, in recent years, been reciprocated in the involvement of college personnel in the campaign to preserve Carton demesne. Newspaper articles are presented in the 'Original sources' section (relating mainly to the sale of Carton), and in the section entitled 'Maynooth and district' publications relative to Carton and the campaign for its preservation by Maynooth College staff, notably Patrick J. Duffy, are listed.

A selection of sources ranging from the *Books of survey and distribution*, recollections of Maynooth senior citizens and the *Maynooth Newsletter* to articles concerning the involvement of local individuals in national events, including the Easter Rising of 1916, are presented with the object of highlighting aspects of local history which were contemporaneous with, but independent of, the history of St Patrick's College.

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¹⁷John Healy, *Maynooth College: its centenary history, 1795–1895* (Dublin, 1895), pp 126–7.

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B. a. vi Published maps

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- A map of the demesne of Carrtown together with a map of the adjacent lands intended for a deer park ... surveyed in February 1744 by Charles Baylie and John Mooney. A hand-drawn map (4ft 9in by 4ft 6in) of the proposed demesne and park at Carton by Baylie and Mooney (reduced facs.). Title of references on back of map. 1 sheet. In *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, iv (1903–5), p. 12.
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C. b. Unpublished works, including dissertations

C. b. i Dissertations

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- Cavanagh, Daniel. A history of Maynooth seminary training, 1795–1870 (unpublished S.T.L. thesis, St Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1976).
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