



NUI MAYNOOTH
Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

**THE IRISH CATHOLIC EPISCOPAL CORPS, 1657 – 1829:
A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS**

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BY

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Abstract

This study explores, reconstructs and evaluates the social, political, educational and economic worlds of the Irish Catholic episcopal corps appointed between 1657 and 1829 by creating a prosopographical profile of this episcopal cohort. The central aim of this study is to reconstruct the profile of this episcopate to serve as a context to evaluate the 'achievements' of the four episcopal generations that emerged: 1657-1684; 1685-1766; 1767-1800 and 1801-1829. The first generation of Irish bishops were largely influenced by the complex political and religious situation of Ireland following the Cromwellian wars and Interregnum. This episcopal cohort sought greater engagement with the restored Stuart Court while at the same time solidified their links with continental agencies. With the accession of James II (1685), a new generation of bishops emerged characterised by their loyalty to the Stuart Court and, following his exile and the enactment of new penal legislation, their ability to endure political and economic marginalisation. Through the creation of a prosopographical database, this study has nuanced and reconstructed the historical profile of the Jacobite episcopal corps and has shown that the Irish episcopate under the penal regime was not only relatively well-organised but was well-engaged in reforming the Irish church, albeit with limited resources. By the mid-eighteenth century, the post-Jacobite generation (1767-1800) emerged and were characterised by their re-organisation of the Irish Church, most notably the establishment of a domestic seminary system and the setting up and manning of a national parochial system. Significantly, it was with the post-Jacobite generation of bishops that the Irish episcopal corps emerged as, arguably, the most independent episcopate in Europe. After the Act of Union (1801) a new generation of bishops emerged that was characterised by an episcopate largely drawn from a lower socio-economic background and who were appointed due to merit rather than family affiliation or ecclesiastical patronage.

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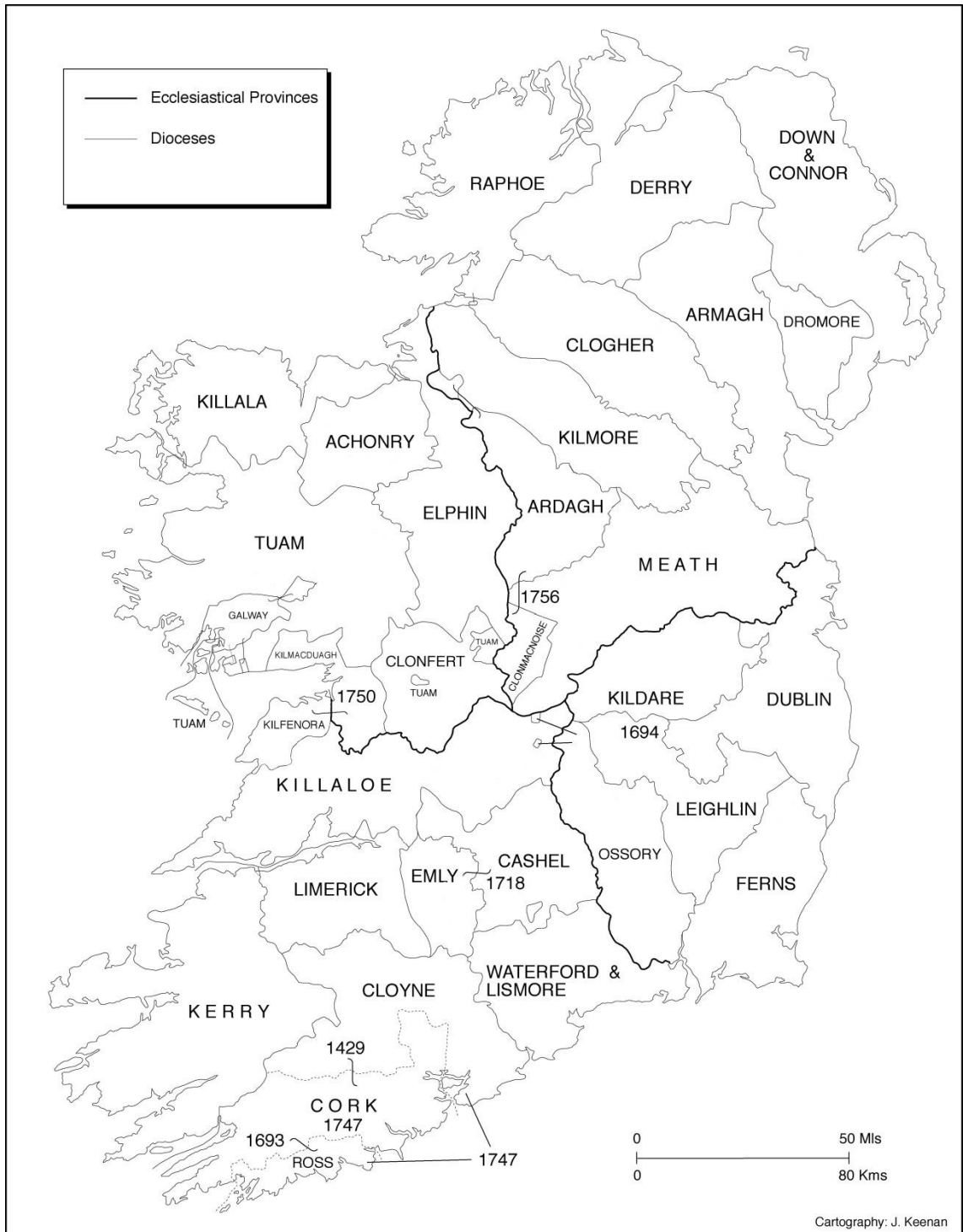
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Abbreviations

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|--------------------------------------|--|
| A.D.A. | Armagh Diocesan Archives, The Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Memorial Library and Archive, Armagh |
| A.D.N. | Archives départementales du Nord, Lille |
| Add. Mss. | Additional Manuscripts |
| A.N. | Archives nationales, Paris |
| A.P.F. | Archives of the Sacred Congregation ‘de Propaganda Fide’, Rome |
| <i>Archiv. Hib.</i> | <i>Archivium Hibernicum</i> (1912—) |
| B.L. | British Library, London |
| Bodl. | Bodleian Library, Oxford |
| Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ | William Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills in the Public Records Office, Dublin, 1683-1812’ in <i>Archiv. Hib.</i> , i (1912), pp 148-200; ii (1913), pp 220-41; iii (1914), pp 160-202; iv (1915), pp 66-95. |
| C.D.A. | Cloyne Diocesan Archives, Bishop’s House, Cobh |
| C.E.D.A. | Cashel and Emly Diocesan Archives, Bishop’s House, Thurles |
| CP | <i>Congregazioni Particolari</i> , Archives of the Sacred Congregation ‘de Propaganda Fide’, Rome |
| <i>Collect. Hib.</i> | <i>Collectanea Hibernica: sources for Irish history</i> (Dublin, 1958-2006) |
| C.R.D.A. | Cork and Ross Diocesan Archives, Bishop’s House, Cork |
| D.D.A. | Dublin Diocesan Archives, Holy Cross College, Dublin |
| <i>E.C.I.</i> | <i>Eighteenth-century Ireland: Journal of the eighteenth-century Ireland Society</i> (Dublin, 1986—) |

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| Fagan, <i>Ireland in the Stuart papers</i> | Patrick Fagan (ed.), <i>Ireland in the Stuart papers</i> (2 vols, Dublin, 1995) |
| FV | <i>Fondo di Vienna</i> , Archives of the Sacred Congregation ‘de Propaganda Fide’, Rome |
| <i>I.E.R.</i> | <i>Irish Ecclesiastical Record</i> (Dublin, 1st ser., 1864-76; 3rd ser., 1880-1896; 4th ser., 1897-12; 5th ser., 1913-68). |
| G.D.A. | Galway Diocesan Archives, Galway city |
| K.L.D.A. | Kildare and Leighlin Diocesan Archives, Delany Archives, Carlow College, Carlow |
| L.D.A. | Limerick Diocesan Archives, Limerick Diocesan Office, Limerick |
| <i>li.</i> | <i>livres</i> |
| NF | <i>Nunziatura di Fiandra</i> , Flanders Nunciature, Brussels |
| N.A.I. | National Archives of Ireland, Dublin |
| N.L.I. | National Library of Ireland, Dublin |
| O.D.A. | Ossory Diocesan Archives, St. Kieran’s College, Kilkenny |
| P.R.O.N.I. | Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast |
| SC Irlanda | <i>Scritture riferite nei Congressi d’Irlanda</i> , Archives of the Sacred Congregation ‘de Propaganda Fide’, Rome |
| SOCG | <i>Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali</i> , Archives of the Sacred Congregation ‘de Propaganda Fide’, Rome |
| <i>Spicilegium Ossoriense</i> | Patrick Francis Moran, <i>Spicilegium Ossoriense: being a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish Church, from the Reformation to the year 1800</i> (3 vols, Dublin, 1874-8) |
| W.L.D.A. | Waterford and Lismore Diocesan Archives, Bishop’s House, Waterford |

Diocesan map of Ireland



Introduction

The history of the Irish Catholic Church in the early modern period might be broadly characterised as one of submergence and re-emergence. It can be argued that the story of the Irish Catholic episcopal corps, appointed between 1657 and 1829, mirrors this grand process, expressing over time and space the extraordinary variation and variety that general experience encapsulates. Submerged, so to speak, by the penal legislation at the end of the seventeenth century, the re-emergence of the Irish Catholic Church from a weakened political/economic state occurred gradually through a complex series of processes that have yet to be satisfactorily analysed. A crucial element in the re-emergence of Irish Catholicism was the Irish Catholic episcopate. Up to now, this factor has not received adequate attention. The central aim of this study is to bring the role of the bishops into focus and to assess its relative importance in the Irish Catholic experience for the period between the Cromwellian invasion and Catholic Emancipation. The means employed to examine this episcopal cohort will be primarily prosopographical. This involves, in the first instance, the exploration, reconstruction and evaluation of the social, political, educational and economic worlds of the Irish bishops in the late seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This reconstruction will serve as a context for the evaluation of the relative importance of the ‘achievement’ of these episcopal generations: the establishment of an abroad and then a domestic seminary system; the setting up and manning of a national parochial system; the obtaining of political emancipation for Irish Catholics.

There was already interest in the Irish episcopal corps as a collective group in the seventeenth century when Catholic and Protestant church historians tried to ‘...establish [their] own exclusive historical legitimacy.’¹ These polemical writers were largely concerned with drawing on early forms of church governance to legitimise their particular religious tradition. Drawing on the work of Francis Godwin, *A catalogue of the bishops of England* (1601), James Ware published a succession list of the Church of Ireland archbishops of Cashel and Tuam titled *Archiepiscoporum Cassiliensium et Tuamensium* (1626). This publication was expanded to encompass the entire Church of Ireland episcopal corps when he published his *De praesulibus Hiberniae* (1665).²

¹ Alan Ford, ‘The shaping of Protestant history’ in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 127-57, at p. 128.

² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Although Ware's aim was merely to provide a 'catalogue of the names and preferments of all the bishops', his omission of the post-Reformation Catholic bishops 'presumed the rightful inheritance of the Protestant episcopal line and disowned the post-Reformation Catholic episcopate...'³ A Catholic contemporary of Ware who also traced episcopal succession was the noted Catholic priest and controversialist, John Lynch.⁴ Lynch's foray into writing about the history of the Irish Catholic episcopal corps was his biography of Francis Kirwan, bishop of Killala (1645-1661) titled, *Pii antistitis icon* (1669).⁵ Lynch later extended his research to the rest of the episcopate in his unpublished manuscript *De praesulibus Hiberniae*.⁶

The next major phase in the historiography of the Irish episcopate came in the nineteenth century when members of both the Established Church and Catholic Church revisited the works of the polemical writers of the seventeenth century. In many respects, the nineteenth-century polemicists had the same motivation for creating succession lists as their seventeenth-century predecessors, namely providing a historic legitimisation of their faith tradition: 'a valid and canonical succession of bishops of a Church, has always been considered an important guide in tracing the succession of a Church.'⁷ For many of these writers, the episcopal corps of greatest interest was that of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation eras.⁸ At the same time members of the Catholic clerical elite began the process of developing and consolidating their work in ecclesiastical journals in order to provide a forum for a version of ecclesiastical history that was often apologetical in character. The most significant journal in this context was

³ Ford, 'The shaping of Protestant history', p. 153.

⁴ Among Lynch's more controversial tracts were *Cambrensis eversus* (1662) and *Alithinologia* (1664) written under the pseudonym Gratianus Lucius. *Cambrensis eversus* was trans. from Latin to English and republished in three volumes by Matthew Kelly (Gratianus Lucius, *Cambrensis eversus*, trans. and ed. Matthew Kelly (3 vols, Dublin, 1851-4).

⁵ John Lynch, *Pii antistitis icon: or, the life of Francis Kirwan, bishop of Killala*, ed. Irish Manuscript Commission (Dublin, 1951).

⁶ It appears that he collaborated on this work with Père de Sainte-Marthe, superior general of the Oratorians (1672-1696), who authored *Gallia Christiana* (1656) (René D'Ambrières and Éamon Ó Ciosáin, 'John Lynch of Galway (c.1599-1677): his career, exile and writing' in *J.G.A.H.S.*, lv (2003), pp 50-63, at pp 58-60).

⁷ Catholic Layman, 'On the succession of Irish bishops' in *The Catholic Layman*, iii, no. 32 (August 1854), p. 94.

⁸ William Maziere Brady, *The Irish reformation, or, the alleged conversion of the Irish bishops at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, disproved* (5th edn, London, 1867); Alfred Theophilus Lee, *The Irish succession: the recent statements of Mr. Froude and Dr. Brady, respecting the Irish succession in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth* (Dublin, 1867); Patrick Francis Moran, *The episcopal succession in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth* (Dublin, 1866); Edward Adderley Stopford, *The unity of the Anglican church, and the succession of Irish bishops: an answer to W. M. Brady* (Dublin, 1867).

the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1864-1968).⁹ Not surprisingly, many of the first articles written for this journal dealt with episcopal succession. Emanating from this scholarly output were three important works that greatly shaped the historiography of the Irish episcopal corps: the multi-volume works of William Maziere Brady,¹⁰ Laurence Renehan¹¹ and Oliver Burke.¹² Brady's episcopal succession list became the authoritative succession list of the Irish episcopate, thanks in large part to his use of archives across continental Europe. Although not as comprehensive as Brady with regards to episcopal succession, Renehan and Burke's manuscripts provided invaluable primary source material and biographical information on individual Irish bishops.

Aside from their scholarship related to episcopal succession lists, this cohort of Catholic scholars were also influential in shaping the historiography of the Irish Catholic episcopal corps under the penal regime. Writing from a background steeped in Catholic nationalism, these scholars drew on the plight of Irish Catholics by depicting a 'sternly hierarchical church...[which] promoted and popularised the image of a church emerging triumphantly from an era of "persecution" that it was to their advantage to cultivate.'¹³ One such author was Patrick Francis Cardinal Moran who believed that by publishing the records of those who 'suffered for their faith', their 'patience and humility edify us, and teach us to be submissive and obedient in the time of trial and affliction; their courage and constancy show us how firmly we ought to be attached to our faith...'¹⁴ Two of Moran's most significant works relating to Irish bishops were *Memoirs of the Most. Rev. Oliver Plunkett* (1861)¹⁵ and *The Catholics of Ireland under the penal laws in the eighteenth century* (1899).¹⁶ This Catholic nationalist historiography continued with other writers of the early twentieth century like William P. Burke's *Irish priests in the penal times* (1914)¹⁷ and Reginald Walsh's series of

⁹ A journal of local interest that produced an episcopal succession list of the diocese of Ossory was *Transaction of the Ossory Archaeological Society* (3 vols, 1874-83).

¹⁰ William Maziere Brady, *The episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A. D. 1400 to 1875* (3 vols, Rome, 1876-7).

¹¹ Laurence F. Renehan, *Collections of Irish church history from the MSS of the late Laurence F. Renehan*, ed. Daniel McCarthy (2 vols, Dublin, 1861, 1874).

¹² Oliver Burke, *The history of the Catholic archbishops of Tuam from the foundation of the see to the death of the Most Rev. John MacHale, D.D., A.D. 1881* (Dublin, 1882).

¹³ James Kelly, 'The historiography of the penal laws' in John Bergin, Eoin Magennis, Lesa Ní Mhughhaile and Patrick Walsh (eds), *New perspectives on the penal laws* (Dublin, 2011), pp 27-52, at p. 39.

¹⁴ Patrick Francis Moran, *Historical sketch of the persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the rule of Cromwell and the Puritans* (Dublin, 1862), xvii-xix.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunkett, archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland, who suffered death for the Catholic faith in the year 1681* (Dublin, 1861).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *The Catholics of Ireland under the penal laws in the eighteenth century* (London, 1899).

¹⁷ William P. Burke, *Irish priests in the penal times, 1660-1760* (Waterford, 1914).

articles in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* titled ‘Glimpses of the penal times’ (1906-11).¹⁸ Although these works served a specific religious and political agenda, they continue to provide invaluable primary source information as many of the sources they used were lost in the shelling of the Four Courts (1922). Finally, it would be remiss of one not to mention the establishment of the Irish Catholic Historical Society and its organ *Archivium Hibernicum* (1913-Present). Since its foundation, *Archivium Hibernicum* has provided Irish historians with access to important primary sources relating to Irish Catholicism and has usually succeeded in avoiding the apologetical emphasis of other journals of this vintage.

Another significant strand in the historiography of the Irish episcopate developed by this scholarly cohort was that represented by diocesan histories.¹⁹ Not surprising, many of these histories had either a volume or chapter devoted to the bishops in question. Like the previous sources mentioned, these volumes not only provided invaluable primary source material, but also important information specific to the local churches. The style and methodology of these early diocesan histories was replicated by early twentieth century diocesan historians.²⁰ During the latter decades of the twentieth century and the first years of the twenty-first century diocesan histories underwent a resurgence when historians significantly expanded their primary source material to encompass archival material on the Continent, including sources originating from the archives of Propaganda Fide. Four diocesan histories of particular importance for the timeframe of this study were written by Evelyn Bolster,²¹ Ignatius Murphy,²² Liam Swords²³ and Patrick Fagan.²⁴

¹⁸ Reginald Walsh, ‘Glimpses of the penal laws’ in *I.E.R.*, 4th ser.: xx (1906), pp 259-72, 331-49; xxii (1907), pp 66-89, 244-68; xxv (1909), pp 393-407, 503-12, 609-25; xxvii (1910), pp 606-18; xxviii (1910), pp 374-91; xxix (1911), pp 128-45; xxx (1911), pp 145-63, 369-87, 509-25, 570-89.

¹⁹ Diocesan histories emanating from this group were: Anthony Cogan, *The diocese of Meath, ancient and modern* (3 vols, Dublin, 1862-70); James O’Lavery, *An historical account of the dioceses of Down and Connor, ancient and modern* (5 vols, Dublin, 1878-95); Michael Comerford, *Collections relating to the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin* (3 vols, Dublin, 1883-6); Jerome Fahey, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Kilmacduagh* (Dublin, 1893); William Carrigan, *The history of the diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905).

²⁰ This second cohort of diocesan histories were: Philip O’Connell, *The diocese of Kilmore, its history and antiquities* (Dublin, 1937); John Begley, *The diocese of Limerick from 1691 to the present time* (Dublin, 1938); James J. MacNamee, *History of the diocese of Ardagh* (Dublin, 1954).

²¹ Evelyn Bolster, *A history of the diocese of Cork: from the penal era to the Famine* (Cork, 1989).

²² Ignatius Murphy, *The diocese of Killaloe in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1991); *ibid.*, *The diocese of Killaloe, 1800-1850* (Dublin, 1992).

²³ Liam Swords, *A hidden church: the diocese of Achonry 1689-1818* (Dublin, 1997).

²⁴ Patrick Fagan, *The diocese of Meath in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 2001).

The third major phase in the historiography of the Irish episcopate took place over the second half of the twentieth century. Leading the way in this new wave of scholarship were Maureen Wall²⁵ and Patrick Corish²⁶ who ‘eschewed the emotionalism of traditional narratives in favour of the astringent, evidentially driven reconstructions that were typical of the revisionists approach now encouraged within the academy.’²⁷ Paralleling this scholarship was the emergence of *Collectanea Hibernica* (1958-2006), a journal published by the Irish Franciscans. Two authors who frequently published in *Collectanea Hibernica* were Cathaldus Giblin OFM and Benignus Millett OFM. Their contributions to Catholic historiography in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was invaluable, especially their catalogues of the collections found in the Vatican Archives, namely *Nunziatura di Fiandra*,²⁸ *Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda*,²⁹ and *Fondo di Vienna*.³⁰

Returning to the Irish episcopal corps, the most significant historian to emerge from this cohort of late twentieth-century historians was Hugh Fenning OP. His earlier works largely focused on individual members of the Irish episcopal corps who were members of the Irish Dominicans.³¹ Although his scholarly interest lay predominantly with Dominican historiography, he made important contributions to the understanding of how the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic episcopal corps was organised. A book of his that stands out, for both its use of sources and its interpretive style is *The undoing of the friars of Ireland* (1972).³² Here, for the first time the development of the Irish episcopal

²⁵ Maureen Wall, ‘The rise of the Catholic middle class in eighteenth-century Ireland’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xi, no. 42 (1958), pp 91-115; *ibid.*, *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century: collected essays of Maureen Wall*, ed. Gerard O’Brien (Dublin, 1989).

²⁶ Patrick Corish (ed.), *A history of Irish Catholicism* (7 vols, Dublin, 1968-72); *ibid.*, *The catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 1981); *ibid.*, *The Irish Catholic experience: a historical survey* (Dublin, 1985).

²⁷ Kelly, ‘The historiography of the penal laws’, p. 46.

²⁸ For the catalogues edited by Giblin of the *Nunziatura di Fiandra* see *Collect. Hib.*, no. 1 (1958), pp 7-136; no. 3 (1960), pp 7-136; no. 4 (1961), pp 7-130; no. 5 (1962), pp 7-125; no. 9 (1966), pp 7-70; no. 10 (1967), pp 72-138; no. 11 (1968), pp 53-90; no. 12 (1969), pp 62-101; no. 13 (1970), pp 61-99; no. 14 (1971), pp 36-81 and no. 15 (1972), pp 7-55.

²⁹ For the catalogues edited by Millett of the *Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda* see *Collect. Hib.*, nos 6-7 (1963-4), pp 18-211; no. 17 (1974-5), pp 19-70; nos 18-9 (1976-7), pp 40-71 and nos 21-2 (1979-80), pp 7-81.

³⁰ For the catalogues edited by Millett of the *Fondo di Vienna* see *Collect. Hib.*, no. 24 (1982), pp 45-80; no. 25 (1983), pp 30-62; no. 26 (1984), pp 20-45; no. 29 (1988), pp 34-58; no. 30 (1988), pp 26-54; no. 33 (1991), pp 54-92; no. 38 (1996), pp 59-81; nos 39-40 (1998), pp 96-105; no. 41 (1999), pp 10-35 and no. 43 (2001), pp 13-33.

³¹ Hugh Fenning, ‘Michael MacDonogh, O.P., bishop of Kilmore, 1728-46’ in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cvi (1966), pp 138-53; *ibid.*, ‘Laurence Richardson, O.P., bishop of Kilmore, 1747-53’ in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cix (1968), pp 137-53 and *ibid.*, ‘Ambrose MacDermott, O.P., bishop of Elphin, 1707-17’ in *Archivum Fratrum Praedictorum*, xl (1970), pp 231-75.

³² Hugh Fenning, *The undoing of the friars of Ireland: a study of the novitiate question in the eighteenth century* (Leuven, 1972).

corps in the eighteenth century was contextualised by the reform movements that took place on the Continent.³³ His pioneering scholarship laid the foundation for a new generation of Irish historians and accompanied them in their endeavours.

Leading the way in this most recent wave of historians have been Eamon O’Flaherty, C. D. A. Leighton, Thomas Bartlett and Dáire Keogh. An important article which relied extensively on the catalogues presented by Giblin was O’Flaherty’s ‘Clerical indiscipline and ecclesiastical authority in Ireland, 1690-1750’ (1992).³⁴ O’Flaherty made the case that the roots of the ‘Catholic revival’ of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be found in the early eighteenth-century church.³⁵ Moreover, O’Flaherty’s assertion was expanded upon further by Leighton,³⁶ Bartlett³⁷ and Keogh³⁸ who explored the political maturation of the Irish episcopate at the end of the eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth century. In many ways, these historians challenged and nuanced the claims made by historians a few decades before them, particularly Emmet Larkin’s provocative assertion that ‘the great mass of the Irish people became practicing Catholics’ after the Famine, an assertion he labelled the ‘devotional revolution’ of Irish Catholicism.³⁹

Recent historiography has continued to revise and finesse the historical image of the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic bishop. Éamonn Ó Ciardha⁴⁰ and Patrick Fagan⁴¹ have shown that Irish bishops occupied an important role within the exiled Stuart Courts survival strategy. Ian McBride has challenged revisionist historians of the eighteenth-

³³ Another important work by Fenning that expanded upon *The undoing of the friars of Ireland was The Irish Dominican province, 1698-1797* (Dublin, 1990).

³⁴ Eamon O’Flaherty, ‘Clerical indiscipline and ecclesiastical authority in Ireland, 1690-1750’ in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 26 (1992), pp 7-29.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29. Another article that O’Flaherty wrote that is significant is ‘Ecclesiastical politics and the dismantling of the penal laws in Ireland, 1774-1782’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxvi (1988), pp 33-50.

³⁶ C. D. A. Leighton, *Catholicism in a Protestant kingdom: a study of the Irish ancien regime* (Dublin, 1994).

³⁷ Thomas Bartlett, *The rise and fall of the Irish nation, 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992).

³⁸ Dáire Keogh, *The French disease: the Catholic Church and Irish radicalism, 1790-1800* (Dublin, 1993).

³⁹ Emmet Larkin, ‘The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850-75’ in *The American Historical Review*, lxxvii, no. 3 (June 1972), pp 625-652. The last book Larkin wrote before his death appears to indicate that he was re-evaluating his ‘devotional revolution’ theory or, at the very least, laying the foundation to re-assert its merits (Emmet Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850* (Dublin, 2006)).

⁴⁰ Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause, 1685-1766* (Dublin, 2002).

⁴¹ Patrick Fagan (ed.), *Ireland in the Stuart papers* (2 vols, Dublin, 1995); *ibid.*, *An Irish bishop in penal times: the chequered career of Sylvester Lloyd, OFM, 1680-1747* (Dublin, 1993).

century like Louis Cullen⁴² and S. J. Connolly⁴³ by arguing that their ‘optimistic’ assessments of the penal laws do not adequately take into account ‘Catholic “insolence” and the resolve of Protestants to overawe their enemies – a struggle experience predominantly at the local level.’⁴⁴ Moreover, Liam Chambers has shown that the Irish bishops were actively engaged in the reform efforts at the Irish College (Paris) during the middle decades of the eighteenth century and just prior to the French Revolution.⁴⁵ This engagement by Irish bishops with continental communities is of fundamental importance. It was through these networks that they were educated, received episcopal preferment and were able to overcome the hardships imposed by the penal laws. Recent publications edited by Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons as part of the *Irish in Europe Project* have challenged Irish historians to explore in a coordinated effort ‘the complex networks of patronage and contact, which linked the remotest parts of Ireland with the centres of European culture and politics.’⁴⁶ In many ways this prosopographical study of the Irish episcopal corps is the result of this collaborative approach as this study uses many important secondary sources that are the fruits of this collaborative approach.

What is noticeably absent from this historiographical overview is a comprehensive profile of the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic bishop. There have been two important works that have examined the Irish episcopal corps in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries respectively: Donal Cregan’s ‘The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation episcopate, 1618-60’ (1979)⁴⁷ and John Whyte’s ‘The appointment of Catholic bishops in nineteenth-century Ireland’ (1962).⁴⁸ These significant exceptions aside, the historiography of Irish bishops has largely been thematic and/or focused on specific events or individuals. From a thematic perspective, the historical image of the eighteenth-century episcopal cohort has largely been shaped

⁴² Louis Cullen ‘Catholics under the penal laws’ in *E.C.I.*, i (1986), pp 23-36.

⁴³ S. J. Connolly, *Religion, law, and power: the making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992).

⁴⁴ Ian McBride, *Eighteenth century Ireland: The isles of slaves* (Dublin, 2009), pp 216-7.

⁴⁵ Liam Chambers, ‘Rivalry and reform in the Irish College Paris, 1676-1775’ in Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 103-29; *ibid.*, ‘Revolutionary and refractory? The Irish colleges in Paris and the French Revolution’ in *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, ii, no. 1 (2008), pp 29-50.

⁴⁶ Thomas O’Connor (ed.), ‘Ireland and Europe, 1580-1815: some historiographical remarks’ in *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp 9-26, at p. 26.

⁴⁷ Donal Cregan, ‘The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation episcopate, 1618-60’ in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish history: presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979), pp 85-117.

⁴⁸ John Whyte, ‘The appointment of Catholic bishops in nineteenth-century Ireland’ in *The Catholic Historical Review*, xlviii, no. 1 (April 1962), pp 12-32.

by other historiographical strands, namely Irish Catholics under the penal laws. Although recent historical scholarship has focused on re-evaluating the impact the penal laws had on Irish Catholicism, especially members of the lower clergy,⁴⁹ no comprehensive study has been done on members of the upper clergy who spearheaded this re-organisation effort. This present study addresses this lacuna through the creation of a prosopographical profile of the Irish Catholic episcopal corps appointed between 1657 and 1829.

Before addressing the scope of this study, it is important to outline the methodological approach used in this study. As is well known, prosopography aims to facilitate the deployment of ‘scattered’, incomplete and sometimes inconsistent data to draw reliable conclusions. In his ground-breaking article, ‘Prosopography’ (1971), Lawrence Stone defined prosopography as a ‘...inquiry into common characteristics of a group of historical actors by means of a collective study of their lives.’⁵⁰ Taking Stone’s definition a step further, K. S. B. Keats-Rohan defines prosopography as ‘...the prosopographical method, which arranges and discusses persons according to their names and aims to establish the social context of groups, such as their ethnic and regional origin, family connections and careers.’⁵¹ Put more succinctly, prosopography is ‘the systematic description of the lives of all individuals in the target group by means of a questionnaire – and to denote the processing and interpretation of these data.’⁵² By processing and interpreting data related to ‘external’ descriptors of the target group or ‘population’, prosopography moves beyond the realm of collective biography. Whereas collective biography is primarily concerned with individuals or groups of individuals, prosopography is solely ‘interested in individuals in so far as they relate to groups of connected persons sharing one or more characteristic.’⁵³

With this methodological framework as a starting point, the present author moved on to determine a prosopographical model that might be used as a template to carry out this particular piece of research. Historically, there are two historical divisions within academic prosopography: elite prosopography and mass prosopography. Elite prosopography largely focuses on the social and economic backgrounds of a distinct

⁴⁹ S. J. Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1745* (2nd edn, Dublin, 2001) and Emmet Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland*.

⁵⁰ Lawrence Stone, ‘Prosopography’ in *Daedalus*, c (1971), pp 46-79.

⁵¹ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ‘Chameleon or chimera? Understanding prosopography’ in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography approaches and applications: a handbook* (Oxford, 2007), pp 4-5.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

segment of the population, for instance, they might examine members of the clergy or a royal court. On the other hand, mass prosopography focuses on a larger segment of the population where biographical information is not readily available, resulting in the need for statistical analysis to infer trends from the given era being studied.⁵⁴ Contrasting these two approaches further, elite prosopography focuses on case studies to ascertain common themes or associations within the specific group being studied whereas mass prosopography provides a statistical analysis of the data collected. Although the target group of this study were members of the Irish Catholic elite, thus representing a small, well-defined ‘population’, this study had to rely on statistical analysis to infer trends in the data. As such, there are a number of places in this study where sample sizes are small and outliers can distort the data presented. However, in these instances, this study has drawn caveats and conclusions where appropriate and has isolated trends that are not the result of random coincidences.

It has been argued that one of the inherent problems with many recent ‘prosopographical studies’ is their failure to include an analytical component. Although this present study contains an analytical component, the overriding aim has been to keep the focus on prosopography. The central aim of this study is to use the prosopographical data collected to chart patterns over time and space. As a result, this can overlook continuities that existed within the Irish Church, or indeed, Irish society. This study does not examine, in any great detail, the changing political, economic, intellectual or theological movements, both native and foreign, that so influenced the life and times of the bishops under scrutiny. At the same time it does attempt to reference them where necessary. Moreover, this present study follows a version of the prosopographical model adopted by Joseph Bergin in his two studies of the French episcopate during the *ancien régime*.⁵⁵ Although the French bishops Bergin studied were in so many ways different to their Irish contemporaries, the methodological approach he used to examine how the French episcopacy evolved from one generation to the next, served as a template for the present evaluation of the evolution of the Irish Catholic episcopal corps.

Initially it was the intention of the present author to limit the scope of this study to the eighteenth-century episcopate, particularly those bishops nominated by the Stuart

⁵⁴ Stone, ‘Prosopography’, pp 47-8.

⁵⁵ Joseph Bergin, *The making of the French episcopate, 1589-1661* (London, 1996) and *ibid.*, *Crown, church and episcopate under Louis XIV* (London, 2004).

Court. As research progressed, it became apparent that this timeframe had to be extended to take into account meaningfully the changing patterns in Irish episcopal appointments and the changing role of the bishop in his diocese and in relation to the government. In the context of Irish history, 1660 would have been a natural starting point with the Stuart restoration. However, Propaganda Fide's 're-engagement' with the Irish Church, in the direct sense of providing bishops, actually began in the waning years of the Interregnum when two bishops and fourteen vicars apostolic were appointed (1657). This ultimately served as the starting place for this study. Likewise, the end-date for this study could easily have been the Act of Union (1801). But here too, the peculiarities of Irish episcopal appointments, particularly from the point of view of external factors, made it necessary to extend this study to Catholic Emancipation (1829). This was necessary to explain the rise of the role of the clergy in episcopal appointments and the changing role of Catholic laity, as merchants and farmers replaced gentry. It was in the summer of 1829 that Propaganda Fide promulgated new regulations governing how Irish bishops were appointed, recognising and copperfastening changes that had actually been in train since the 1750s.⁵⁶ The expansion of the scope of this research permitted the emergence from the data of four phases in the development of the Irish Catholic episcopate. As will be seen, first phase or generation of bishops were those appointed between 1657 and 1684. The second, those nominated by the Stuart Court between 1685 and 1766. The third, the post-Jacobite generation, were appointed between 1767 and 1800. The final generation, those appointed in the first decades of the nineteenth century, marked a further change. In particular the emerging nineteenth-century cohort differed from their predecessors in their social, educational and economic backgrounds, as the more middling sort of Catholic family saw its sons don the mitre. Due to the limits imposed by time and the scope of the present project, this prosopographical study has only been able to highlight these changes. It did not attempt to evaluate their consequences on subsequent generations of bishops, such an evaluation must await another occasion.

Having determined a general timeframe for this prosopographical study, it was important to determine which senior Irish ecclesiastics were to be considered in this study. For instance, would this study solely focus on coadjutor bishops, bishops and archbishops, or would it also include vicars apostolic and those bishops who turned down episcopal appointments. Ultimately the criteria used to determine the target of the

⁵⁶ Whyte, 'The appointment of Catholic bishops in nineteenth-century Ireland', p. 17.

research focused on those senior ecclesiastics who were given charge of a diocese by papal brief, whether they accepted that provision or not. Re-constructing a comprehensive list of these senior Irish ecclesiastics was greatly aided by the multi-volume work by Patritius Gauchat, Remigius Ritzler and Pirminus Sefrin titled *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi* (1935-68).⁵⁷ As a source, this multi-volume work provides important information regarding dates of provision and, at least for those bishops nominated by the Stuart Court, dates of royal nomination. Less reliable are the dates of episcopal consecration and death. Another important source was an article published in volume nine of *A new history of Ireland* written by Benignus Millett and C. J. Woods titled ‘Roman Catholic bishops from 1534’ (1989).⁵⁸ Millett and Woods succession list relied on *Hierarchia catholica* but also utilised the vast collection of secondary source material unique to the Irish episcopal corps. Millett and Woods presented papal provision, consecration and death dates prior to September 1752 in both old style and new style form.⁵⁹ This study has chosen to replicate this format except for dates related to education, which are presented in new style only.

At the heart of prosopographical research is the deployment of ‘scattered’, incomplete and sometimes inconsistent data to draw reliable conclusions.⁶⁰ Having developed a comprehensive list of the senior Irish ecclesiastics who would be part of this prosopographical study, it was imperative to develop a prosopographical database that could gather as much information as possible on the most basic prosopographical components chosen. To this end, it was important to create a database that not only stored the data in an accessible manner, but allowed that data to be easily queried and manipulated so as to provide results in the form of charts and graphs. Thus, this

⁵⁷ Patritius Gauchat (ed.), *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi volumen quartum, 1592-1667* (Münster, 1935); Remigius Ritzler and Pirminus Sefrin (eds): *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, volumen quantum: 1667-1730* (Padua, 1754); *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, volumen sextum: 1730-1799* (Padua, 1958); *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, volumen septimum, 1800-1846* (Padua, 1968).

⁵⁸ Benignus Millett and C. J. Woods, ‘Roman Catholic bishops from 1534’ in T. W. Moody, F. X. Byrne and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland: maps, genealogies, list of companion to Irish history, part II* (9 vols, Oxford, 1989), ix, 333-91. This author is currently collaborating with C. J. Woods to revise the list of Roman Catholic bishops from 1534.

⁵⁹ The Gregorian calendar was introduced in March 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) through the papal bull *Inter Gravissimas*. Significantly, this calendar change meant dropping ten days and changing the start of the year from 25 March to 1 January. A majority of Catholic countries followed suite but many Protestant countries did not, resulting in a ten day difference between the Julian calendar (old style) and the Gregorian calendar (new style). In the eighteenth century the difference between calendar dates increased to eleven days.

⁶⁰ An important source that was consulted to determine approaches and applications for prosopographical research was K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography approaches and applications: a handbook* (Oxford, 2007).

database had to serve not only as a repository of biographical data, but also to function as a set of analytical tools. After much consideration, it was determined that the application that best suited this study was Microsoft Excel as it was better suited to produce XML charts and graphs. After determining the programme to store the data, it was important to create specific headings, or questionnaires, for information collected like 'surname', 'date of birth', 'date of provision' or 'date of death'. Where there were discrepancies between two sources, a new field was added: 'alternate surname 1', 'alternate surname 2' etc.⁶¹ It is important to stress that the prosopographical questionnaire used in this study was largely dictated by the available primary and secondary source material on the target group, with the ultimate determinant being the researcher. As such, this study largely examined 'external' markers of the target group like place of origin, place of education and age profile. While the emphasis of this study was placed on 'external' markers, 'internal' markers, like the target groups theological or political beliefs, were only minimally explored; usually in an evidentiary nature resulting from further analysis of 'external' markers. Moreover, when creating a questionnaire it was important to maintain flexibility and fluidity so that these headings could adapt as the research became further developed. For instance, as episcopal wills became increasingly numerous it was decided to add relevant headings: 'date of will', 'executor of will' and 'date of probate'.⁶² Although these headings are 'external' markers, further examination of episcopal wills yielded important 'internal' markers like the changing relationship of Irish bishops to their diocese.

The initial task of this project centred on compiling biographical details using the available secondary sources. Many of these sources have already been detailed in diocesan histories, ecclesiastical and local/regional journals. Sources that were of particular importance were printed student lists and ordinations registers from the Continent as they detailed the pre-episcopal activities of senior Irish ecclesiastics. Historians began compiling student lists of Irish colleges at the turn of the twentieth century.⁶³ However, new scholarship in this area has largely been shaped by the works

⁶¹ It is important to note that each piece of data entered into the database had a corresponding citation denoting the primary and secondary source that piece of data came from.

⁶² The number of names found in Irish episcopal wills exceeds 900 individuals and a separate database had to be created to be able to process that information separately.

⁶³ Notable examples are D. J. O'Dogherty, 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca' in *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), pp 1-36; iii (1914), pp 87-112; T. J. Walsh, 'Some records of the Irish College at Bordeaux' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xv (1950), pp 92-141 and John J. Silke, 'The Irish College, Seville' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxiv (1961), pp 103-47.

of Laurence Brockliss and Patrick Ferté.⁶⁴ Their joint publications on the Irish clerical students who studied in France, not only provided important biographical information, but they also developed the historical context to help understand the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century educational patterns of French clerical students. Brockliss and Ferté laid the foundation for future researchers of the Irish college network on the Continent, in particular, Patricia O Connell,⁶⁵ Jeroen Nilis⁶⁶ and most recently Matteo Binasco and Vera Orschel.⁶⁷ Where there are lacunae in student records, ordination records often provide some indication of where students were educated and/or when they were in a particular location. Notable historians who have undertaken this important task are: Brendan Jennings (Malines),⁶⁸ Hugh Fenning (Rome and Lisbon)⁶⁹ and Matthäus Höslér (Prague).⁷⁰

Determining which archival sources to focus on was largely determined by the amount of information found in secondary and printed primary sources. Printed primary sources were heavily used, particularly the aforementioned catalogues from the Vatican Archives and Stuart papers. Moreover, primary source material was more plentiful in diocesan archives after 1750, especially the diocesan archives in Dublin. Archives for the dioceses of Cloyne, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Armagh and Galway were useful for primary sources after the 1780s. Thus, the major lacunae in primary source material were largely confined to the last decade of the seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century. To overcome this problem the Carte manuscripts, which contained the papers of David Nairne, secretary of state to James II at the Bodleian Library (Oxford) were consulted along with the papers of Cardinal Albertoni-Altieri, protector

⁶⁴ L. W. B. Brockliss and Patrick Ferté, 'Irish clerics in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth century: a statistical study' in *R.I.A.*, lxxxviiC, no. 9 (1987), pp 527-72; *ibid.*, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792' in *Archiv. Hib.*, lviii (2004), pp 7-166.

⁶⁵ Patricia O Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares 1649-1785* (Dublin, 1997); *ibid.*, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834* (Dublin, 2001); *ibid.*, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella, 1605-1769* (Dublin, 2007). O Connell also wrote an article evaluating student clerical patterns on the Iberian Peninsula ('The early-modern Irish college network in Iberia, 1590-1800' in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp 49-64).

⁶⁶ Jeroen Nilis, *Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797: a prosopography* (Leuven, 2010).

⁶⁷ Matteo Binasco and Vera Orschel, 'Prosopography of Irish students admitted to the Irish College, Rome, 1628-1798 [with index]' in *Archiv. Hib.*, lxvi (2013), pp 16-62.

⁶⁸ Brendan Jennings, 'Irish names in the Malines ordination registers, 1602-1794' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., lxxv (1951), pp 149-62; lxxvi (1951), pp 44-8, 128-40, 222-33, 314-18, 399-408, 483-87; lxxvii (1952), pp 202-07, 366-69.

⁶⁹ Hugh Fenning, 'Irishmen ordained at Lisbon, 1660-1739' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 34-5 (1992-3), pp 59-76; *ibid.*, 'Irishmen ordained at Lisbon, 1740-1850' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 36-7 (1994-5), pp 140-58; *ibid.*, 'Irishmen ordained at Rome, 1698-1759' in *Archiv. Hib.*, 1 (1996), pp 29-49; *ibid.*, 'Irishmen ordained at Rome, 1760-1800' in *Archiv. Hib.*, li (1997), pp 16-37; *ibid.*, 'Irishmen ordained at Rome, 1572-1697' in *Archiv. Hib.*, lix (2005), pp 1-36.

⁷⁰ Matthäus Höslér, 'Irishmen ordained at Prague, 1629-1786' in *Collect. Hib.*, xxxiii (1991), pp 7-53.

of Ireland (1692-1711) and Cardinal Antonio Gualterio, protector of England and Ireland (1711-29) at the British Library (London). Continental archives consulted were the Archives nationales (Paris) and the Archives départementales du Nord (Lille). Due to constraints of time, work in the French archives was largely exploratory in nature but it did yield important and very useful results.

An important objective of this prosopographical study was to present the data from the database in a comprehensive, yet clear manner. To this end, it was determined that a biographical register should be added to accompany the study, detailing the key data-fields found in the prosopographical database. Eventually the aim is to make this data available through an online format as part of a broader digital humanities project. In the meantime, the presentation of the data found in this prosopographical study is modelled after the presentation found in the *Dictionary of Irish biography* (2009).

The central aim of this research was to create a prosopographical profile of the Irish episcopal corps appointed between 1657 and 1829. As such, chapter one describes how clerics became bishops, through the examination of the evolution of the process by which senior Irish ecclesiastics received episcopal appointments. This chapter first evaluates the historical *modus operandi* for appointing Irish bishops from the time of the English Reformation to the end of the Interregnum when Rome re-engaged with the Irish Church. This chapter then examines the re-establishment of the Irish episcopal corps in the political climate of post-Restoration Ireland, a time which saw the emergence of the Stuart Court as a leading player in Irish ecclesiastical politics. With James II's accession to the throne in 1685, the Stuart Court actively sought greater influence over the Irish episcopate and successfully obtained and exercised the royal prerogative to nominate. This chapter goes on to evaluate how the Stuart Court was able to maintain this prerogative following the exile of James II and how his heir, the Pretender, James III used this royal prerogative to underline the legitimacy of his claim to the throne. After the exiled Stuart Court lost its nominating powers, with the death of James III (1766), influence over episcopal nominations drifted to the bishops themselves. By evaluating the different influences on nomination this chapter charts the development of an episcopate that, from the middle of the eighteenth century, arguably was the most independent episcopal cohort in all of Europe. Finally, this chapter briefly looks at what might be called the 'rise of the lower clergy' as they too gradually assumed a greater role in determining who their bishops were. It is argued that this

process resulted in the reforms to the nominating process of Irish bishops instituted by Propaganda Fide in 1829.

Chapter two evaluates the social and geographic background of the Irish episcopal corps. This chapter initially focuses on the post-Restoration bishops by evaluating the impact external influences had over episcopal appointments and how these influences were received by members of the lower clergy and Catholic laity. In particular, this section assesses the importance of ‘ethnic’ distinctions, which were often utilised at the time to promote specific political agendas. When the Stuart Court obtained the right to nominate Irish bishops in the latter part of the seventeenth century, loyalty to the Stuart Court became the single most important criterion in determining the suitability of an Irish episcopal candidate. By comparing the Jacobite episcopate (1685-1766) to the post-Jacobite episcopate (1767-1800), this chapter demonstrates that the exiled Stuart Court actively used loyalty as a determining factor in nominating Irish Catholic bishops. The eighteenth-century episcopal corps has often been characterised as nepotistic, owing to the number of family-centred episcopal dynasties that characterised this century. This chapter explores those dynasties and how they functioned. It also describes how the changing dynamics within the Irish Catholic community brought about their demise. It is on this point that the chapter evaluates the ‘rise of the lower clergy’ and their influence over episcopal nominations in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Chapter three evaluates the educational formation of the Irish episcopal corps. This chapter first provides a brief historical overview of the Irish college network on the Continent. It then evaluates why it became necessary to appoint as senior Irish ecclesiastics only those clerics trained on the Continent, a shift that was completed by 1669. The third part of the chapter evaluates patterns of episcopal formation focusing on the networks utilised by Irish bishops and the degree programmes they undertook. The final section of this chapter looks at the shifting education profile of Irish bishops in the second half of the eighteenth century. To adequately evaluate this shift, a brief overview is provided detailing the establishment of the Irish seminary network. An assessment of what impact this had on their educational background is presented.

Chapter four creates a profile of the Irish episcopal corps by evaluating their collective ‘*curriculum vitae*’ and age profile at the time of their appointment and subsequent patterns in their episcopal tenure. Structurally this chapter deviates from the

structure utilised in the previous chapters. It isolates and charts patterns within the areas covered by the preceding three chapters. Moreover, this chapter relies extensively on the data found in the prosopographical database and is the most analytical of the six chapters. It begins by evaluating the pre-episcopal activities engaged in by Irish bishops and assesses the level of experience the bishops had prior to their appointment. The second part of the chapter evaluates the age profile of the Irish episcopal corps and how this profile changed as the process of nominating Irish bishops altered. The final section evaluates patterns in episcopal tenure within a purely statistical framework. Like the previous sections, this section isolates patterns over a prolonged period of time in order to assess their historical significance.

Chapter five looks at sources of episcopal income focusing on patronage networks both in Ireland and on the Continent. This chapter evaluates what sources of income were available to members of the post-Restoration episcopate and how Irish bishops in the eighteenth century were able to palliate their economic marginalisation consequent on the operation of the penal regime. This chapter shows that patronage networks were not organised in a haphazard way but were well thought through and coordinated. Another important part of this chapter focuses on analysing emoluments bishops received for their pastoral work and evaluating how their income changed over the course of the eighteenth century, eventually stabilising by the nineteenth century.

The final chapter, chapter six, takes an in-depth look at a prosopographical source so important as to justify separate treatment. This source is the many surviving episcopal wills and the invaluable information they yield, particularly on distribution of episcopal wealth. The chapter assesses how the content of episcopal wills evolved as the relationship between bishops and their dioceses changed. It first provides a general overview of episcopal wills as a historical source and then charts the changing financial situation of the Irish Catholic episcopal corps based on the wealth they left in their estates. The final section evaluates patterns in wealth distribution by assessing who the main beneficiaries of episcopal wills were.

Chapter one: Changing patterns in episcopal nomination, 1657-1829

The complex process of nominating senior Irish ecclesiastics to episcopal sees was one that evolved from the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century and was influenced by both internal and external political and social variables. To date, the process of nominating senior Irish ecclesiastics has not been thoroughly examined. Instead, research has focused on matters of chronology and dating.¹ In particular, the recruitment of Irish bishops and their social, economic and ideological composition have not been well researched for the period between 1657 and 1829. This chapter looks at the process by which senior Irish ecclesiastics were nominated and describes the historical *modus operandi* for nominating senior Irish ecclesiastics. It also involves understanding how existing and future bishops exercised influence over nominations and the level of influence exercised by external individuals and entities. Evaluating shifting patterns of influence also involves assessing the changing church/state dynamics of early modern Ireland, particularly the complex legal standing of Irish Catholics under the Stuarts and Hanoverians. The aim of this chapter is to describe and assess the various influences that overlapped to shape the Irish episcopal corps. Analysis will pay particular attention to the sometimes conflicting influences of Propaganda Fide, the exiled Stuart Court (1685-1766), leading Irish ecclesiastics and, of course, the Catholic laity, mostly in its elite incarnation.

Historical *modus operandi* for appointing Irish bishops

The historical *modus operandi* for nominating Irish bishops underwent significant changes in the sixteenth century. On his establishment of the Church of Ireland, Henry VIII (1509-47) asked Irish bishops to surrender their papal bulls in exchange for a royal grant, which empowered them to continue as bishops of their dioceses. For those bishops who did not surrender their papal bulls, Henrician policy was initially tolerant

¹ Historical works that have focused on episcopal nominations from a purely chronological framework are: William Maziere Brady, *The episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A. D. 1400 to 1875* (3 vols, London, 1876-7); Patritius Gauchat (ed.), *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi volumen quartum, 1592-1667* (Münster, 1935); Remigius Ritzler and Pirminus Sefrin (eds): *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, volumen quantum: 1667-1730* (Padua, 1754); *ibid.*, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, volumen sextum: 1730-1799* (Padua, 1958); *ibid.*, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, volumen septimum, 1800-1846* (Padua, 1968); E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, *Handbook of British chronology* (3rd edn, London, 1986), pp 409-45; Benignus Millett and C. J. Woods, 'Roman Catholic bishops from 1534' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Byrne and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland: maps, genealogies, list of companion to Irish history, part II* (9 vols, Oxford, 1989), ix, 333-91.

and non-interfering. When bishoprics became vacant, Henry appointed new bishops, but these new bishops were not recognised by Rome. As a result, two episcopal corps emerged in Ireland: a royal reformed episcopacy appointed by the crown and a papal episcopal corps, approved by Rome.² The first phase of the Protestant reform in the Irish church was limited, especially outside of the Pale. With the accession of Mary I (1553-1558), royal nomination was re-established with papal approval. Marian reform of the Irish episcopal corps was initially remedial as it centred on the purging of married clergy from its ranks; this was undertaken by royal commission in April 1554, and re-established the right of nomination for the Tudor Court.³ Following the short reign of Mary, Elizabeth I (1558-1603) came to the throne and changed the direction of church policy. Facing the real prospect of losing influence over the Irish Church, Rome appointed David Wolfe SJ (1528-c.1578) apostolic commissioner to Ireland with the task of nominating Irish bishops loyal to Rome. Wolfe sent six bishops to Rome to pledge their personal loyalty to Pope Pius IV (1559-1565)⁴ and during the remaining decades of the sixteenth century there was considerable engagement by Rome in Irish Church politics, later under a Spanish impetus. However, on the ground, ecclesiastical governance was largely shaped by the political realities current in Ireland. Although Elizabethan reform made very slow progress, penal legislation against Irish Catholics and divisions among opponents to the reform significantly hampered later attempts to apply what would come to be called 'Tridentine' reforms in Ireland, including those measures regarding the episcopate, clerical education and diocesan organisation.⁵

Even though the situation for early seventeenth-century Irish Catholics was not easy, the reorganisation of the Irish Catholic episcopate had already begun under the guidance of Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh (1601-1625).⁶ Lombard's reorganisation

² G. A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The royal supremacy and ecclesiastical revolution, 1534-47' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland: early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (9 vols, Oxford, 1993), iii, 39-68, at p. 62.

³ Henry A. Jefferies, 'Primate George Dowdall and the Marian Restoration' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, xvii, no. 2 (1998), pp 1-18, at p. 10.

⁴ Three of these bishops later attended the last session of the Council of Trent.

⁵ Colm Lennon, *An Irish prisoner of conscience in the Tudor era: Richard Creagh, archbishop of Armagh* (Dublin, 2000). At the end of the nineteenth century there was considerable debate within ecclesiastical circles over which church, the Church of Ireland or the Catholic Church, had claim to Patrician succession. In a rebuttal to claims made by members of the Church of Ireland, William Maziere Brady provided a succinct succession list of Irish Catholic bishops at the end of the sixteenth century in *The Irish reformation, or, the alleged conversion of the Irish bishops at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, disproved* (5th edn, London, 1867).

⁶ Archbishop Lombard was born in Waterford and studied philosophy in Le Faucon College. He then became Provost of Cambrai in 1598 until he became agent to Hugh O'Neill, second earl of Tyrone.

efforts were complicated by his tense relationship with Hugh O'Neill, second earl of Tyrone.⁷ O'Neill and Lombard initially shared a common viewpoint of Irish affairs, namely the conversion or replacement of James I/IV (1603-1625) as king of Ireland and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion. However, by 1607 Lombard had begun to change his viewpoint of Irish affairs. Lombard was obliged to accept the fact of a Protestant Stuart succession and believed that bishops should be as inoffensive as possible to government and should in that context begin the implementation of the reforms of the Council of Trent.⁸ O'Neill, on the other hand, was determined to secure the nominations of senior Irish ecclesiastics that were sympathetic to his cause and who were determined to mobilise the Irish Catholics against the Stuart monarchs.⁹ It was Lombard's viewpoint that prevailed as they corresponded with papal diplomacy. The papacy under Paul V (1605-1621), Urban VIII (1623-1644) and Innocent X (1644-1655) was hesitant about supporting opposition to established authority, whatever its religion, and grudgingly attempted to reconcile itself to the fact that Europe was henceforth permanently divided religiously.¹⁰ This position would be copper-fastened at Westphalia (1648) though the Papacy continued to live in hope of a Catholic restoration, however unlikely that was in fact.

The nomination of Irish bishops in the seventeenth century was a complex process. Normal nominating channels mandated that a preliminary investigation into the qualifications of episcopal candidates were to be processed through the Congregation of the Consistory or through the Datary.¹¹ Where episcopal candidates were deemed acceptable, the candidate's name was submitted to a secret consistory and at the same consistory the candidate received papal approval with the issuance of a papal bull. However, given the political instability of Ireland in the seventeenth century, and the

Lombard was consecrated archbishop of Armagh in 1601 and lived his entire episcopacy in Rome until his death in 1625.

⁷ Hugh O'Neill, second earl of Tyrone was of the Gaelic O'Neill's of Ulster who unsuccessfully campaigned against Queen Elizabeth I from 1595-1603. In 1607, O'Neill and other Gaelic chieftains from Ulster left Ireland for Spain to seek assistance in their fight against the English. Ultimately this resulted in his banishment from Ireland for the remainder of his life.

⁸ J. Silke, 'The Irish Peter Lombard' in *Studies*, lxiv, no. 254 (Summer 1975), pp 143-55.

⁹ According to Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* (Dublin, 2008), p. 110, the opposition between O'Neill and Lombard came to a head with the appointment of Florence Conry OFM to Tuam (1609). Lombard resisted the nomination of clerics like Conry because he was 'hell-bent on starting a war and is believed to be in Spain for that purpose' (ibid.).

¹⁰ Silke, 'The Irish Peter Lombard', p. 150.

¹¹ Cathaldus Giblin (ed.), 'The "Process Datariae" and the appointment of Irish bishops in the seventeenth century' in Franciscan Fathers (ed.), *Father Lake Wadding: commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), pp 508-616, at pp 508-19.

fact that it was under Protestant jurisdiction, it was decided that the nominating authority of Irish bishops should reside with the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* rather than the Congregation of the Consistory or Datary.¹² Propaganda Fide had been created in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV (1621-1623) to promote the Catholic Church in non-Catholic jurisdictions. The cardinals who comprised Propaganda Fide were tasked with recommending episcopal candidates to the pope and addressing other ecclesiastical matters like clerical disputes or heresy. In 1633 Propaganda Fide set out to reorganise the Irish church and laid down the responsibilities of the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, a member of Propaganda Fide tasked with overseeing Irish ecclesiastical matters.¹³ Acting as an important intermediary between Ireland and Rome was the nuncio at Brussels. The principal task of the nuncio was to forward correspondences from Ireland to the Cardinal Secretary of State, and the Cardinal Protector. As the nuncio inevitably assumed a significant role in the filtration of information to and from Ireland, the nuncio at Brussels held significant sway over ecclesiastical matters in Ireland.¹⁴

The Irish episcopate made significant additions to its ranks and its infrastructure during the first four decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁵ However, the Rebellion of 1641, the subsequent establishment of the Confederate Association and the arrival of Giovanni Baptist Rinuccini (1592-1653) as papal nuncio all conspired to compromise earlier gains. With the accession of Charles I (1625-1649) to the English throne, England had become increasingly unsettled and eventually descended into civil war. In October 1641, some Ulster Irish rebelled, precipitating a more general heave against the Dublin administration, while remaining ostensibly loyal to the king.¹⁶ The Irish Rebellion issued in the establishment of the Confederate Association which convened in its first General Assembly on 24 October 1642. It decided that a Supreme Council,

¹² Millett and Woods, 'Roman Catholic bishops from 1534', 333-6.

¹³ Michael Olden (ed.), 'Episcopal comments on the "Decreta pro Recto Regimine Ecclesiarum Hiberniae", 1635-6' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xvii (1964), pp 1-12, at p. 2.

¹⁴ Nuncios were papal ambassadors who were entrusted with the supervision of ecclesiastical regions. The nuncio at Brussels was entrusted to the Low Countries, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark and Norway. From 1634-1725 clerics were given the title of internuncio as they were not bishops or archbishops. From 1725-1795 bishops or archbishops were reintroduced at Brussels and given the title of nuncio (Cathaldus Giblin, 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection "Nunziatura di Fiandra," Vatican archives: part 1, vols 1-50' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 1 (1958), pp 7-136, at pp 10-21).

¹⁵ For a social and cultural prosopography of the early seventeenth-century bishops see Donal Cregan, 'The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation episcopate, 1618-60' in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish History* (Dublin, 1979), pp 85-117.

¹⁶ For a concise history of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, see Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Dublin, 1994); Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649: a constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 1998).

responsible to the General Assembly, would govern the country. Furthermore, the Confederate Association established diplomatic channels with Catholic rulers and appealed to Urban VIII to appoint a papal representative and to proceed to the nomination of Irish sees on the recommendations of the bishops and the Supreme Council.¹⁷

This initial aim by the Confederate Association to acquire direct representation in Rome took two years to achieve. It was not until December 1644 that Innocent X appointed Rinuccini to be Papal Nuncio to the Confederate Association. At the request of Innocent X, Rinuccini travelled to Ireland to assess the situation and to set up a papal embassy.¹⁸ However, Rinuccini and the Supreme Council differed drastically on how senior ecclesiastics should be nominated. Agent for the Supreme Council at Rome, Luke Wadding OFM (1588-1657) claimed that the nomination of Irish bishops rested with the Supreme Council and the four metropolitans.¹⁹ Wadding further stated that all future papal appointments needed to be approved by the Supreme Council before taking effect. On the other hand, Rinuccini made it clear that the authority to appoint bishops resided with Rome alone. In a letter to Rome dated 31 December 1645, Rinuccini re-asserted Rome's supremacy in appointing bishops to Ireland: '...the Supreme Council sent me the enclosed recommendations of persons for all the vacant churches in this kingdom; I have altered the word into *recommendation* although presented to me under that of *election*...' ²⁰ The Rinuccini mission came to an end in 1649 when he left Ireland following the Second Ormond Peace Treaty signed on 17 January 1649 between Ormond and the Confederation.²¹ The period directly after the signing of the Treaty ushered in social and political tumult with the Cromwellian conquest and plantation.

¹⁷ Michael J. Hynes, *The mission of Rinuccini: Nuncio extraordinary to Ireland, 1645-1649* (Dublin, 1932), p. 10. The General Assembly was comprised of eleven spiritual and fourteen temporal Peers and 226 Commoners. The Supreme Council was comprised of twenty-four members, of which twelve had to reside permanently in Kilkenny (ibid., p. 9).

¹⁸ Annie Hutton, *The embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, in the years 1645-1649* (Dublin, 1873), li-iv.

¹⁹ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70*, p. 265; Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Lost in Rinuccini's shadow: the Irish clergy, 1645-9' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdom in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 176-91, at pp 182-3. For the entire transcription of Wadding's letter see FLK, MS D 13 cited in Brendan Jennings (ed.), 'Ecclesiastical appointments in Ireland, Aug. 1643-Dec. 1649' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 2 (1959), pp 18-65, at pp 20-1.

²⁰ Hutton, *The embassy in Ireland*, p. 105.

²¹ The Second Ormond Peace Treaty sharply divided the Irish episcopal corps. One of the leading proponents of the Treaty was Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns (1645-1678). For more information on the role French had in the Second Ormond Peace Treaty, see Patrick J. Corish, 'Bishop Nicholas French and the Second Ormond Peace, 1648-9' in *Irish Historical Studies*, vi, no. 22 (Sept. 1948), pp 83-100.

Cromwell's invasion brought an exodus of Irish clergy to the Continent leaving the country with hardly a single bishop.²²

Re-establishing a politically conflicted episcopate, 1657-1684

Due to the collapse of the Confederate Association the reforms of the Irish episcopal corps initiated by Rinuccini fell into abeyance and this remained the situation throughout the Interregnum. Upon the election of Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667), papal attitude towards the Stuart Court moved in a decidedly different direction as Rome became more amicable to the exiled Stuart Court and initiated a policy of engagement with the Irish Church.²³ With the appointment of Edmund O'Reilly (1657-1669) to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh on 6/16 April 1657 the process of filling dioceses in Ireland was reengaged, albeit cautiously.²⁴ Along with the O'Reilly appointment, Alexander VII transferred Anthony MacGeoghegan, bishop of Clonmacnoise (1647-1657) to the diocese of Meath (1657-1664).²⁵ With these two appointments one notes a further change in the curial practice of appointing Irish bishops. The bishops-elect were issued a papal brief rather than a papal bull. This was necessitated by the need for newly appointed bishops to evade detection by government operatives. Papal briefs were significantly shorter than papal bulls and could easily be folded to avoid detection.²⁶

In addition to O'Reilly and MacGeoghegan a further fourteen senior Irish ecclesiastics were appointed vicars apostolic on the condition that they returned to Ireland within four months. Those who failed to do so were deprived of their office.²⁷ These appointments marked a turning point in Propaganda Fide's engagement with the

²² Ten Irish bishops died during the Cromwellian upheaval and by 1653 there was only one Irish bishop who remained in Ireland, Eugene MacSweeney, bishop of Kilmore (1628-1669) (Cregan, 'Counter-Reformation episcopate', p. 86).

²³ See M. R. F. Williams, 'Between king, faith and reason: Father Peter Talbot (SJ) and Catholic royalist thought in exile' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxvii, no. 528 (2012), pp 1063-99, at pp 1076-7.

²⁴ See Appendix I for a complete succession list of bishops and vicars apostolic appointed from 1657-1684.

²⁵ When Alexander VII reengaged with the Irish church in 1657 there were twelve Irish bishops: Patrick Plunkett, bishop of Ardagh (1647-1669); Anthony MacGeoghegan, bishop of Clonmacnoise; Oliver Darcy OP, bishop of Dromore (1647-1664); Eugene MacSweeney, bishop of Kilmore (1629-1669); John O'Cullenan, bishop of Raphoe (1625-1657/58); Robert Barry, bishop of Cork and Cloyne (1647-1662); Andrew Lynch, bishop of Kilfenora (1647-1681); Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns (1647-1678); Edmund Dempsey OP, bishop of Leighlin (1642-1658); John Burke, archbishop of Tuam (1647-1667); Walter Lynch, bishop of Clonfert (1647-1663) and Francis Kirwan, bishop of Killala (1645-1661).

²⁶ Millett and Woods, 'Roman Catholic bishops from 1534', 335.

²⁷ Atti, vol. 25, ff 66-67 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of Irish material in vols 12 and 13 (ff 1-200) of "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 24 (1982), pp 45-80, at p. 63 (n33).

Irish church but they proved insignificant as many of the senior Irish ecclesiastics appointed in 1657 did not return to Ireland. Propaganda Fide's preference for appointing vicars apostolic to Irish sees was not a new invention in the Irish context. When Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) was elected, he effected a change in papal relations with Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), cautiously opting for the appointment of vicars apostolic instead of bishops so as not to provoke government opposition.²⁸ In the general context of seventeenth-century Ireland, and given the unsettled situation in England, Roman officials wanted to ensure that Irish dioceses maintained at least basic administration without alarming the government. However, this policy of 'appeasement', along with competing interest amongst members of the lower clergy, resulted in many jurisdictional disputes between Irish clerics in the 1660s.²⁹

Following the restoration of Charles II (1660), competing political and ecclesiastical agendas served to accentuate the deep divisions that existed within Irish Catholicism notably those between seculars/regulars and old English/Gaelic factions.³⁰ Central to exacerbating these deep-seeded divisions was the attempt by the Franciscan Peter Walsh to promote the 'Remonstrance' of December 1661.³¹ Opposition to Walsh's 'Remonstrance' was immediate and increased over time when it became clear that subscribing to it was irrelevant for the restoration of Catholics to their former estates.³² The Irish situation was further complicated by the decrees presented at the Dublin synod (1666) where a petition of loyalty to the king was drafted and signed by senior Irish ecclesiastics. This petition was deemed less objectionable to those clerics loyal to Rome than Walsh's 'Remonstrance'. However, in its own right, this petition drew condemnation for its apparent promotion of Gallican principles:

...consequently, we confess our selves bound in Conscience, to be obedient to Your Majesty in all Civil and Temporal affairs, as any Subject ought to be to his Prince,

²⁸ Patrick J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience: a historical survey* (Dublin, 1985), p. 100.

²⁹ For a concise account regarding the legal disputes over ecclesiastical governance see Benignus Millett, 'Rival vicars: disputed jurisdiction in Limerick, 1654-1671' in Etienne Rynne (ed.), *North Munster Studies* (Limerick, 1967), pp 279-307.

³⁰ For a detailed account of Stuart policies in post-Restoration Ireland see Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his kingdoms 1660-1685* (London, 2006), pp 86-104; Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Hampshire, 2008).

³¹ Peter Walsh's 'Remonstrance' will be addressed further in chapter two when the questions of ethnic divisions and loyalty are addressed. For further reading on the Peter Walsh 'Remonstrance' (1661) and subsequent debate within the Irish church over its orthodoxy see Anne Creighton, 'The Remonstrance of December 1661 and Catholic politics in Restoration Ireland' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiv, no. 133 (May 2004), pp 16-41; Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651-1665* (Rome, 1964), pp 418-63 and James Brennan, 'A Gallican interlude in Ireland' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxiv (1957), pp 219-37, at pp 283-309.

³² Creighton, 'The Remonstrance of December 1661', p. 34.

and as the Laws of God and Nature require at our hands. . . . And to the end this our sincere Protestation may more clearly appear, We further declare, That it is not our Doctrine, that Subjects may be discharged, absolved, or freed from Obligation of performing their duty of true Obedience and Allegiance to their Prince...³³

When the petition was presented to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, James Butler, first duke of Ormonde (1610-1688) by three members of the Irish hierarchy,³⁴ affixed to the petition was a document titled ‘Certain Propositions of the *Roman Catholick Clergy* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, conformable to the Doctrine of *Sorbon*, and several *Parliaments* of *France* in the year 1663’.³⁵ These three propositions were pointedly Gallican as they declared that: the Pope did not have authority over Charles II in temporal affairs, that Charles II had absolute authority in civil/temporal affairs and that no power could dispense Irish Catholics from their obedience to Charles II.³⁶

The controversy surrounding the ‘Remonstrance’ (1661) gave sufficient cause for Propaganda Fide to question the wisdom of expanding the Irish episcopate. Thus, Rome postponed appointments to Irish dioceses.³⁷ However, a consequence to Propaganda Fide’s ‘policy of appeasement’ was the exposure of significant leadership issues in the Irish church as illustrated by the Dublin synod (1666). Nevertheless, exiled bishops ratcheted up their pressure on Propaganda Fide to take a more active role in the Irish situation. A leading figure who urged greater episcopal oversight in Ireland was Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns (1645-1678).³⁸ In a pamphlet titled: *In Nomine Sanctissimae Trinitatis Vera Descriptio Moderni Status Catholicorum In Regno Hiberniae* (1667), French believed that the ‘...lack of an episcopal presence combined with the apparent indifference of the Roman curia arising toward the remonstrant controversy, had given Irish Catholics the impression that the papacy was in connivance with the English court.’³⁹ For French, the restoration of the episcopal corps was

³³ Peter Walsh, *The history and vindication of the loyal formulary or Irish remonstrance* (Dublin, 1674), pp 683-4.

³⁴ The three members of the Irish hierarchy who presented the petition drafted at the Dublin synod (1666) and further supplemented three of the Sorbonne propositions were: Edmund O’Reilly, archbishop of Dublin, Andrew Lynch, bishop of Kilfenora and Nicholas Redmond, vicar general of Ferns and secretary of the Dublin synod (1666).

³⁵ Walsh, *Irish remonstrance*, p. 685.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Millett, ‘Rival vicars’, p. 306.

³⁸ For an account of Nicholas French’s episcopal career and political forays, see Jason McHugh, ‘“Soldier for Christ”: the political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French, Catholic bishop of Ferns, (1603-78)’ (2 vols, Ph.D. thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2005).

³⁹ Jason McHugh, ‘Catholic clerical responses to the Restoration: the case of Nicholas French’ in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Hampshire, 2008), pp 99-121, at pp 117-8. For further political maneuvering by the Irish episcopal corps see McHugh, ‘The political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French’, ii, 369-83.

essential to discouraging further attempts by certain sections of the Irish Church to compromise on the importance of allegiance to the papacy.⁴⁰

French's assessment of the Irish situation was shared by many within the Catholic hierarchy, both in Ireland and on the Continent. The Internuncio in Brussels, Giacomo Rospigliosi⁴¹ devised a plan whereby an apostolic delegate was to be sent to Ireland with the aim of providing an assessment of the Irish situation. Rospigliosi's choice as apostolic delegate was James Taaffe, an Irish Franciscan who was closely associated with the house of Stuart.⁴² Taaffe came from a well-respected Old English family that included his brother, Theobald Taaffe, who was an ardent royalist and who had followed Charles II into exile. After the restoration of Charles II, Theobald Taaffe was made the earl of Carlingford and had his family lands restored. James Taaffe was not solely reliant on his brother's network as he had served as confessor and chaplain to Henrietta Maria, the queen mother of England. The central aim of Taaffe's mission was to visit the Irish church and ascertain which senior Irish ecclesiastics were worthy of episcopal promotions: '...it is most important to be assured of the true zeal of the clergy there and of their complete detachment from the opinions of Peter Walsh before advancing them to bishoprics...'⁴³

Taaffe agreed to the terms of the mission but his power was limited for fear that if he exercised official authority from Rome he might draw attention to himself or stoke government hostility to the bishops resident in Ireland. Thus, Taaffe was sent to Ireland under the auspices of serving the queen mother as her chaplain. His Irish mission, however, proved a political debacle for Rospigliosi, whose efforts to limit Taaffe's authority and direct his activities proved ineffective. Once Taaffe arrived to Ireland he caused considerable controversy by overstepping his authority, to the extent of forging a papal brief, which he claimed elevated him to the role of papal commissioner and apostolic visitor. Using these alleged powers, Taaffe assigned delegates to visit each

⁴⁰ McHugh, 'Catholic clerical responses to the Restoration', p. 121.

⁴¹ Giacomo Rospigliosi was born in Pistoia (1628) and created cardinal priest in the consistory of 12 December 1667 by his uncle, Pope Clement IX (1667-1669). He died 2 February 1684 (Salvador Miranda, 'The cardinals of the Roman Catholic church' (www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1667-ii.htm#Rospigliosi) (14 February 2013).

⁴² For an account of James Taaffe's life see Benignus Millett, 'The papal mission to Ireland of James Taaffe in 1668' in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, iv (1966), pp 219-46; Terry Clavin, 'Taaffe, James (1623/4-1681)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish biography* (Cambridge, 2009) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8435>) (14 February 2013).

⁴³ NF, vol. 52, ff 178-182 cited in Cathaldus Giblin, 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection of "Nunziatura di Fiandra", Vatican Archives, part 2, vols 51-80' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 3 (1960), pp 7-136, at p. 25.

diocese and excommunicated clerics who disagreed with him. To solidify his influence even further he attempted to cut the lines of communication between Irish clerics and Catholic officials on the Continent by threatening excommunication of those who authored letters of complaint to Roman officials.⁴⁴ Taaffe's presence in Ireland put Irish Catholicism in a delicate situation and he was recalled to Rome under threat of excommunication.⁴⁵

Walsh's 'Remonstrance' (1661), the Dublin synod (1666) and James Taaffe's failed mission to Ireland came in time to act as arguments for expanding the Irish episcopal corps. The bishops, it was hoped, would help bring the 'sovereignty question' to a close⁴⁶ and extend papal influence in Irish affairs. An important stage in establishing a protocol for nominating senior ecclesiastics came with the appointment of the four Irish metropolitan archbishops in 1669: Oliver Plunkett, archbishop of Armagh (1669-1681); Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin (1669-1680); William Burgat, archbishop of Cashel (1669-1674) and James Lynch, archbishop of Tuam (1669-1713). Even though the political situation remained unstable for Irish Catholics in Ireland, the 1670s was a critical decade for episcopal expansion. Between 1669 and 1680 there were eighteen episcopal appointments to Irish dioceses, an expansion not seen since the 1640s when there had been nineteen episcopal appointments.⁴⁷ With this rapid expansion and continued papal intrigue with the Stuart Court, some administrative difficulties were solved but the stage was set for new rivalries to develop within Irish ecclesiastical politics.

Episcopal expansion during the 1670s saw the establishment of criteria for choosing worthy episcopal appointees and the adoption of a process of appointment that was both efficient and responsive. On the first point, the two leading figures who assisted in establishing the criteria for identifying episcopal appointees were O'Reilly of Armagh

⁴⁴ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 322-325, cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 1 (1625-68) of the collection "Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 6-7 (1963-4), pp18-211, at p. 102.

⁴⁵ Taaffe was eventually granted a full pardon by Clement X on 3 July 1671 (SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 27-28, cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 3 (1672-5) of the "Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives: part 1, ff 1-200' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 18-9 (1976-7), pp 40-71, at p. 45).

⁴⁶ Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth century Ireland: the war of religions* (Dublin, 1988), p. 233. Paramount to the sovereignty question was the 'Remonstrance' put forward by Peter Walsh which sharply divided Irish Catholics. Opposition to Walsh's 'Remonstrance' became a common criterion in ascertaining whether one was a suitable candidate to fill an episcopal vacancy.

⁴⁷ Cregan, 'Counter-Reformation episcopate', p. 87. It should be noted that the eighteen episcopal appointments do not include those senior Irish ecclesiastics who received appointments as vicars apostolic. There were a further nine vicars apostolic appointed between 1669 and 1680.

and William Burgat, *agens cleri* for the provinces of Tuam and Cashel.⁴⁸ In a report to Propaganda Fide titled *Brevis relation de praesente in Hibernia fidei et Ecclesiae statu* (1668), Burgat urged episcopal expansion with the following caveats:

...it is not expedient to have many bishops; each province should have some, in proportion to its size and population; in the remaining dioceses it is fitting that vicars apostolic be placed in charge. ...Since bishops do not enjoy definite revenues but are dependent on the generosity of the Catholics, it is important that in the dioceses to which they are appointed they may have many friends or their relatives to support them. ...[Furthermore,] Irish clerics from one province should not be appointed bishops in another province on account of the prevailing Irish usage and of the diversity of customs in the said provinces...⁴⁹

Burgat went on to address the appointment of candidates based on political aspirations: '[t]hose who are canvassing for their own promotion with the aid of the intervention and the recommendations of prominent people must be excluded altogether on account of the risks involved.'⁵⁰ Burgat's mention of candidates 'canvassing for their own promotion' was ironic given that he had spent five years in Rome essentially 'canvassing for a promotion'. Intervention and recommendations from prominent individuals, both from within Ireland and on the Continent, were significant determinants in attaining an episcopal promotion in the 1670s. In a few cases, intervention meant that the normal channels were bypassed, as was the case with the appointment of Patrick Duffy OFM to the diocese of Clogher (1671-1675). Duffy was appointed to Clogher by Pope Clement X (1670-1676) 'without consulting Propaganda, in answer to the request by the viceroy of Naples'.⁵¹ In other cases, applied pressure by foreign courts secured the appointment of their favoured candidates. For instance, Mark Forestal OSA, bishop of Kildare (1676-1683), attained his episcopal promotion due to pressure applied by the Imperial Court at Vienna.

Although there was significant external influence over episcopal appointments, Irish bishops themselves continued to play a significant role in establishing the vetting process for potential episcopal candidates and determining the pace for episcopal expansion. However, a 'flash-point' that developed centred on the question of 'primatial' authority. Unquestionably the two appointments that significantly shaped the

⁴⁸ For Burgat's letters to act as *agens cleri* see Brendan Jennings (ed.), 'Miscellaneous documents III, 1602-1715' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xv (1950), pp 1-73, at pp 38-42.

⁴⁹ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 242-247 cited in Millett, 'Volume 1 (1625-68)', p. 74.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 2, ff 702-703 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 2 (1669-71) of the "Scrittura nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives: part 2, ff 402-803' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 17 (1974-5), pp 19-70, at p. 55.

debate over ‘primatial’ influence were those of Talbot of Dublin and Plunkett of Armagh. Talbot had a strong affiliation with the court of Charles II⁵² and Plunkett had a distinctively Roman *curriculum vitae*. From the onset of their episcopates, these two leading archbishops jockeyed for political influence and in a real sense personified two different versions of what the Irish episcopate ought to be, versions that proved durable. Although the appointment of bishops was not explicitly the issue at the heart of their dispute concerning primatial right, it was a significant component as with the title ‘primate of all Ireland’ came significant political and ecclesiastical influence.

The debate of primatial rights between Talbot and Plunkett first came to the forefront of ecclesiastical politics with the National Synod held in Dublin (1670). Upon completing the address of loyalty to Charles II, Talbot had openly questioned the primatial rights of Plunkett on two points: the order with which the bishops should sign their name and the choice of person to present the address of loyalty to the lord lieutenant, John Berkeley (1670-1672). The first point was quickly rectified but the second point proved more contentious when Talbot claimed to have received authority from the king ‘to superintend the clergy in matters of this kind’.⁵³ Plunkett rejected Talbot’s assertion on the basis that he could not provide evidence he had been entrusted with such authority. Thus, Sir Nicholas Plunkett was asked to present the address of loyalty to the lord lieutenant.⁵⁴ With Plunkett gaining the upper hand on this issue the two archbishops continued to attempt, both publicly and privately, to usurp the other’s authority. By 1672 Rome had instructed both prelates not to discuss this issue in public but instead use ecclesiastical channels to air their grievances. These instructions came late as Plunkett published his *Jus Primatiale* (1672) shortly after Rome’s request. In *Jus Primatiale* Plunkett argued he was Primate over all Ireland as demonstrated by his papal bull: *Te Primatem Regni Hibernia Constituimus, & ad Ecclesiam totius Regni Primatiale promovemus*.⁵⁵ In essence, if Talbot had any claim to primatial rights those

⁵² For more on Talbot’s close affiliation with the court of Charles II see Williams, ‘Between king, faith and reason’, pp 1063-93.

⁵³ Tomás Ó Fiaich, ‘The primacy in the Irish Church’ in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, xxi, no. 1 (2006), pp 1-23, at pp 11-12.

⁵⁴ Although he could not produce evidence to Plunkett, circumstantial evidence indicates that he most likely was entrusted by the king to carry out such responsibilities (Ó Fiaich, p. 12; Patrick Francis Moran, *Memoirs of the Ven. Oliver Plunkett* (2nd edn, Dublin, 1895), pp 138-9).

⁵⁵ Oliver Plunkett, *Jus Primatiale: or, the ancient right and prehemency of the See of Armagh above all other archbishoprics in the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1672), p. 7.

rights should have been listed in his papal bull. Instead, Plunkett argued that his papal bull clearly lists his rights in his faculties, which did not feature in Talbot's bull.⁵⁶

After a brief thaw in the debate over primatial rights the issue was again a source of division when Plunkett overturned a judgement of a matrimonial case originally decided by Talbot.⁵⁷ Their relationship was further complicated when Talbot was forced into exile on the Continent by the government in March 1674. Once in exile, Talbot received reports that Plunkett had provided government with unflattering testimony regarding his conduct as archbishop. Ultimately Talbot's time away from Ireland gave him the opportunity to re-engage with Plunkett over primatial authority through the publication of *Primatus Dubliniensis* (1674). Talbot's main argument in *Primatus Dubliniensis* was that there were many papal bulls that contradicted Armagh's claim to primatial authority. Central to Talbot's argument was the papal bull issued to Patrick O'Scanlan, archbishop of Armagh (1261-1270) by Pope Urban IV (1261-1264). Talbot claimed this papal bull was fictitious on the grounds that it falsely stated: 'But indeed the Primacy of all Ireland, which thy predecessors even to these times are known to have held without disturbances...' ⁵⁸ After demonstrating that Armagh's claim to primatial authority was based on grounds of mere antiquity and were nothing more than honorific,⁵⁹ he moved to demonstrate that primatial authority should reside with the archbishop appointed to the capital.⁶⁰ There was never an official reply to Talbot's *Primatus Dubliniensis* by Plunkett, although it was claimed by Hugh MacMahon, archbishop of Armagh (1715-1737) that he drafted a reply prior to his arrest. MacMahon revisited the primatial debate at the beginning of the eighteenth century with his *Jus primatiale Armacanum* (1728).

Returning to the motives of both Plunkett and Talbot in this debate, when viewed in the context of influence, both politically and ecclesiastically, Talbot appeared threatened by Plunkett, particularly his close association with the Stuart Court which Talbot believed was his proper domain that he ought to dominate. A mere three days prior to

⁵⁶ Plunkett, *Jus Primatiale*, p. 48.

⁵⁷ After Talbot brought the matrimonial case to a conclusion, the 'injured' party appealed to Plunkett who then assembled a tribunal in Dublin to hear the merits of the case. Plunkett reversed Talbot's decision on the grounds that there was a diriment impediment which declared the marriage invalid. Later Plunkett was forced to acknowledge his error in overturning Talbot when it was brought to his attention that Talbot had given a dispensation to this impediment (Moran, *Memoirs of Oliver Plunkett*, pp 264-5).

⁵⁸ Peter Talbot, *Primatus Dubliniensis or the primacy of the see of Dublin*, trans. by W. E. Kenny (Dublin, 1947), pp 14-5.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 33-9.

⁶⁰ Talbot used the archbishop of Paris, Peter de Maria's *De Primatibus* (1669) as the foundational basis for this part of his argument (*ibid.*, pp 14-21).

the National Synod where Plunkett and Talbot had their first dispute over primatial authority, Plunkett wrote to his Roman agent requesting that Frederico Baldeschi, secretary of Propaganda Fide⁶¹ rein in Talbot, ‘Talbot, I fear, is a lost soul. Please ask Monsignor Baldeschi to write a strong letter to Archbishop Talbot not leave his diocese, and send me a letter to deliver to him—otherwise he will do harm to others as well as himself.’⁶² With Plunkett notably cordial with Berkeley, Talbot’s conduct at the National Synod was no doubt an attempt to supersede Plunkett in the hierarchical pecking order. Plunkett did not allay Talbot’s fears with his continuous attempts to rein in Talbot and question his authority to approach government officials, ‘the Primate told him he had good grounds to believe there was no such matter and yet he had a reputation of meddling too much in affair of state and yet he was commanded by the pope to let him know, and he did absolutely forbid him or anyone of their clergyman to meddle in state affairs...’⁶³

Plunkett’s claim to primatial authority appears to have been accepted by Propaganda Fide as he became the leading bishop in Ireland when it came to vetting and determining the pace at which the Irish episcopal corps expanded. For Plunkett, expansion raised economic and political issues. In a letter dated 23 December 1673, he provided economic reasons why more bishops in Ireland would be problematic, ‘...I believe, result in the appointment of fewer bishops in this country in the future...is based on the poverty of the dioceses...’⁶⁴ He went on to state that if the bishops were forced to leave the country Rome would have to support them, ‘...[i]n my humble opinion a metropolitan with just one suffragan would be enough in each province, all the more because if afterwards they are compelled by some edict to leave the country the sacred congregation will have to support them.’⁶⁵ In another letter dated 10 September 1675, Plunkett tackled the political implications of nominating more bishops:

Rigorous decrees were passed in the last parliament against our bishops. The archbishop of Tuam was banished, the archbishop of Dublin fled before the edicts

⁶¹ Frederico Baldeschi was elected titular archbishop of Cisera (1665) and secretary to Propaganda Fide (1668). He was made cardinal *in pectore* in the consistory of 12 June 1673. His elevation was published on 17 December 1674 and he served as prefect of the S.C. of the Tridentine Council (1675-1691). He died 4 October 1691 (Salvador Miranda, ‘The cardinals of the Roman Catholic church’ (<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1673-ii.htm#Baldeschi>) (14 February 2013).

⁶² CP, vol. 12, f. 269 cited in John Hanly (ed.), *The letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett, 1625-1681* (Dublin, 1979), pp 92-3.

⁶³ Letter dated 14 May 1770 by Oliver Plunkett (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 45, f. 381).

⁶⁴ SOCG vol. 447, ff 311-312 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, pp 393-4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

were issued, and the bishop of Killaloe left recently. If the government here should learn that the new bishops are being appointed it would be irritated and provoked into issuing even more rigorous edicts.⁶⁶

Plunkett's fears concerning government opposition proved to be accurate.

In 1676 Talbot asked Charles II for permission to return to Ireland after being exiled in Paris. Permission was granted but shortly after arriving to Ireland, new persecution ensued and Talbot was arrested. After his arrest the government issued '...an edict banishing all the archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, and all the regulars, commanding them to leave the kingdom before the 20th of November...' ⁶⁷ Plunkett was arrested on 6 December 1679 while on a visit to Dublin to be at the side of his cousin Patrick Plunkett O. Cist., bishop of Meath (1647-1679). After his arrest, Plunkett was moved to Newgate prison at London where he went on trial accused of plotting to bring French soldiers to Ireland and for levying a tax on his clergy to support a rebellion. The first trial ended without a verdict and Plunkett was tried again where he was convicted and put to death on 1/11 July 1681.⁶⁸

Plunkett's arrest, trial and subsequent death exposed a significant and underlying conundrum that faced the Irish church: divided loyalties amongst the clergy, particularly those dividing Gaelic Irish and Old English clergy.⁶⁹ Following the death of Plunkett, Armagh descended into factionalism as three vicars were appointed. Given the unsettled political situation for Irish Catholics, the Franciscan Patrick Tyrrell, bishop of Clogher (1676-1689) attempted to fill the vacuum created by Plunkett's death by proposing Forestal of Kildare as Plunkett's replacement. The Internuncio at Brussels asked that Propaganda Fide appoint an archbishop, but if one could not be appointed for fear of inflaming the situation for Irish Catholics, he wanted a vicar apostolic.⁷⁰ Rome agreed with the latter suggestion and appointed Edward Drumgoole vicar apostolic of Armagh. Drumgoole had been a vicar general of Plunkett's but his Old English lineage greatly offended the two Gaelic Irish factions led by Manus O'Quinn, elected vicar capitular by the diocesan clergy and Henry Hughes, another vicar general of the diocese.

⁶⁶ CP vol. 19, f. 108 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, pp 456-7.

⁶⁷ SC Irlanda, vol. 4, ff 297-298 cited in *ibid.*, p. 528; Patrick Francis Moran, *Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland* (Dublin, 1861), p. 274.

⁶⁸ See Moran, *Oliver Plunkett*, pp 281-379 for a concise history of Oliver Plunkett's arrest, trial and death.

⁶⁹ Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'Who succeeded Blessed Oliver Plunkett?' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxiii (1956), pp 246-72, at p. 249.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

Accusations and an outright refusal to accept Drumgoole's appointment paralysed ecclesiastical government in the province.

The events that transpired after the death of Plunkett of Armagh highlighted the stabilising effect that the Irish episcopal corps could have on the Irish Church. Throughout the 1660s calls for Propaganda Fide to expand the Irish episcopal corps were largely ignored until the failed visitation of James Taaffe exposed the need for strong episcopal leadership in Ireland. The episcopate that emerged in the 1670s was filled by bishops who, at times, had competing political agendas regarding the size and composition of its members. At the heart of these competing agendas was political loyalty. Plunkett represented a faction within the Irish episcopal corps that was steadfastly loyal to Rome and the authority Rome exercised over Irish ecclesiastical affairs. On the other hand, Talbot represented a growing number of senior Irish ecclesiastics whose primary political loyalty resided elsewhere, namely with the Stuart Court. With the demise of Talbot and Plunkett, their jockeying for political influence continued with the next generation of Irish bishops. As persecution of Irish Catholics had subsided by 1683, Propaganda Fide moved to have an archbishop appointed to Armagh. Their choice was a Dominican who was considered 'pleasing to the duke of York, or the future King James II'.⁷¹

Royal nomination restored, 1685-1766

For the remaining years of his life, Charles II manoeuvred to secure the succession to the English throne for his brother, James Stuart. The main hindrance to James' accession was his Catholic religion. However, as he was childless, the resistance to him inheriting the throne was largely limited to the Whig Party in Parliament.⁷² Consequently, on the death of Charles II in 1685, James Stuart succeeded Charles II and was crowned James II (1685-1701). Measures to relieve Catholics were gradually introduced and James was careful not to alienate what Protestant support he had in England. In Ireland, tangible signs of toleration came when Dominic Maguire, the newly appointed archbishop of Armagh (1683-1707), returned from London in March

⁷¹ Ó Fiaich, 'Who succeeded Blessed Oliver Plunkett?', pp 270-1; Hugh Fenning, 'Dominic Maguire, O.P. archbishop of Armagh: 1684-1707' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, xviii, no. 1 (1999-2000), pp 30-48.

⁷² See J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland* (Dublin, 2000) for a concise history of Ireland from the time of James Stuart's reign in 1685 to the Treaty of Limerick (1691). See also D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742: politics, politicians and parties* (Suffolk, 2004), pp 14-30 and S. J. Connolly, *Divided kingdom, Ireland 1603-1800* (Oxford, 2008), pp 173-82. Tony Claydon has argued that party politics during the reign of James 'marked a hiatus in clear party debate, but included a profound shift in one group's [Tories] constitutional position' (Tony Claydon, *Europe and the making of England 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 243).

1686. Tied to granting concessions to Irish Catholics was James' desire to yield greater control over the Irish church through what has been called his policy of re-Catholicisation.⁷³

Part and parcel to this initiative was reclaiming the right of royal nomination of Irish bishops not 'officially' enjoyed by an English monarch since the reign of Mary I. In order to achieve this aim James had to engage with the complex ecclesiastical politics of the papal court in Rome and the various agencies of ecclesiastical authority there. In the context of European Catholicism, ecclesiastical politics in the 1680s centred on the debate between papal authority and royal authority. Originally this protracted debate over competing ideologies centred on the *régale* controversy between Pope Innocent XI (1676-89) and Louis XIV (1643-1715) of France.⁷⁴ As both sides became further entrenched, the debate broadened to encompass a wide-ranging critique of royal absolutism and the debate over royal and papal authority extended to other parts of Catholic Europe. James II decidedly sided with Louis XIV and actively sought advisors who were Francophile sympathisers.⁷⁵

Turning to the question of bishops, James' had to consolidate his Catholic base, which meant that he had to have bishops appointed that supported his agenda. As we will see later in this study, James' Catholic agenda in Ireland was closely tied to his desire to provide relief to Catholics, which was most evident in the gradual repeal of the penal restrictions placed on Catholic clergy and bishops, the appointment of Catholics to important political positions and the setting aside pensions for Catholic bishops.⁷⁶ A strong supporter of both James II and Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell, was Bishop

⁷³ For a detailed account of James' policy in Ireland see James Maguire, 'James II and Ireland, 1685-1690' in W. A. Maguire (ed.), *Kings in conflict: the revolutionary war in Ireland and its aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990), pp 45-57; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742*, pp 14-30; Connolly, *Divided Kingdom, Ireland 1603-1800*, pp 173-82.

⁷⁴ The *régale* was the name given to the revenue incurred when a diocese became vacant. In those dioceses located in northern and central France the *régale* went to the monarchy. By royal decree in 1673 and 1675, Louis XIV extended this practice to fifty-nine dioceses located in southern France. In protest, two bishops refused to register their oath of fidelity, which essentially made their dioceses vacant; rendering their diocese to the *régale*. After successfully appealing to Innocent XI against Louis XIV, the *régale* controversy extended to a much broader debate over royal and papal authority. For a concise account of the *régale* controversy see Joseph Bergin, *Crown, church and episcopate under Louis XIV* (London, 2004), pp 232-60.

⁷⁵ Steve Pincus, 'The European Catholic context of the Revolution of 1688-89: Gallicanism, Innocent XI, and Catholic opposition' in Allan I. Macinnes and Arthur H. Williamson (eds), *Shaping the Stuart world 1603-1714: the Atlantic connection* (Leiden, 2006), pp 79-114, at p. 81. For a much deeper depiction of James' Catholic ideology see Pincus, *1688: the first modern revolution* (London, 2009), pp 118-42.

⁷⁶ James' ability to provide Irish bishops with an annual pension was made possible by his decision not to appoint bishops to the Established Church.

Tyrrell of Clogher. Tyrrell organised the Irish clergy to unite behind Tyrconnell to facilitate his appointment as lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1685 when the Irish clergy wrote a letter to James asking, ‘Do make it our humble Suit to your Majesty, that you will be pleased to lodge your Authority over us in his Hands, to the Terror of the Factious, and Encouragement of your faithful Subjects here.’⁷⁷ Following Tyrconnell’s appointment as lord lieutenant (1687), the re-Catholicisation programme for Ireland was accelerated.⁷⁸ Central to this programme was securing the royal nomination of Irish bishops. To achieve this aim James petitioned, and was granted by Pope Innocent XI (1676-1689), the privilege of *nominatio regis Angliae*.⁷⁹ The first episcopal nomination submitted by James was that of Gregory Fallon on 9/19 March 1687 to the diocese of Clonmacnoise.⁸⁰ The only other episcopal nominations he made prior to his exile was the translation of John O’Molony (1671-1702), bishop of Killaloe to the vacant see of Limerick and Tyrrell of Clogher to the vacant see of Meath.⁸¹

The first three bishops to receive royal nomination are interesting as they illustrate an internal struggle emerging within the Irish episcopal corps. Fallon was initially proposed for a bishopric in the 1660s, but for unknown reasons was overlooked. In reports submitted to Propaganda Fide his impressive academic career at the University of Bologna was highlighted along with his fidelity to Rome. Likewise, O’Molony was referred to by French contemporaries as ‘an out and out Roman’; again illustrating his strong fidelity to Rome. As with the other two bishops, Tyrrell’s close affiliation to Archbishop Plunkett in the 1670s and his strong opposition to Peter Walsh were also indicative of his Roman credentials. What becomes clear is how these three bishops had impeccable Roman credentials and by nominating them James knew he could at least palliate the Gallican stigma so often attached to his court.

⁷⁷ William King (ed.), *The state of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James’s government* (Dublin, 1730), p. 43.

⁷⁸ For more on the viceroyalty of Richard Talbot see John Miller, ‘The earl of Tyrconnell and James II’s Irish policy, 1685-1688’ in *Historical Journal*, xx (1977), pp 802-23; James McGuire, ‘Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell (1630-91) and the Catholic counter-revolution’ in Ciarán Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the game: losers in Irish history* (Dublin, 1989), pp 72-83.

⁷⁹ Two articles commonly cited by Irish historians in relation to the Stuart Court’s right of episcopal nominations are: W. H. Grattan Flood, ‘Stuart nomination to Irish sees (1686-1766)’ in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xii (April 1917), pp 117-23 and Cathaldus Giblin, ‘The Stuart nomination of Irish bishops, 1687-1765’ in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cv (1966), pp 35-47.

⁸⁰ See Appendix II for a complete succession list of bishops and vicars apostolic appointed between 1685 and 1766.

⁸¹ Both nominations were placed by James to Rome on 8 June 1688 (Giblin, ‘Stuart nomination of Irish bishops’, p. 36).

Shortly after James secured the right to nominate Irish bishops, Propaganda Fide received reports that his ecclesiastical policy was becoming noticeably Gallican. John Brenan, archbishop of Cashel (1677-1693) wrote to Propaganda Fide complaining that clerics returning from France promoted increased royal oversight over ecclesiastical matters. In particular, he claimed that Richard Piers, a chaplain to James II at Dublin, was behind a scheme whereby the Stuart Court would create a *Dataria* to confer ecclesiastical benefices. Brenan highlighted a recent example when Piers was provided to the deanery of the cathedral of Waterford by Royal decree. As administrator of the diocese of Waterford, Brenan thwarted these attempts on the grounds that a Waterford priest named Philip Hackett was already in receipt of the deanery by Papal Bull. Moreover, O'Molony of Limerick wrote to Tyrrell warning him against promotion of ambitious ecclesiastics:

There are two very ambitious and pressing Persons for Bishopricks: and, I believe, importuning the King much upon that, both of this Place; one Darcy in Conaught, and one Pierce in Munster; I pray if you find any such thing, give it a stop for a while, *donet maturescant, nondum enim sunt maturi ad messem, prasertim cum alii longe maturiores in utraque Provincia expectent, Hac sibi soli.*⁸²

O'Molony's critique that Piers was immature and that there were better qualified episcopal candidates was just the beginning of his critique of Jacobite nominees.

Following the exile of James II, his primary goal was to keep the Jacobite cause active, an objective that could only be realised if he was accepted by Catholic Europe as the *de jure* king of England, Scotland and Ireland. In his quest, James actively utilised the instrument of nomination of Irish bishops as one opportunity to lobby the pope for support. In a letter written on 18 February 1692, a significant number of the Irish bishops wrote to Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700):

*Hinc itaque Beatissime Pater spe ducimur certa fore ut S^{tas} Vra pro sua singulari vereque Apostolica Charitate, Regis nostri defensionem hoc difficili tempore suscipiat eique auxilia ferat opportuna quibus sua Regna ab iniquissima valeat usurpatione vindicare. Hoc Sedis Apostolicae honor, hoc Regiae causae justitia, utilitas aeterna salus, nimium quantum persuadent. Quin etiam ex hoc, ad S^{tis} Vrae parta jam apud Deum promerita, accessio fiet perennis gloriae maximae.*⁸³

The apparent unity among the bishops around *Regis nostri defensionem* was, however, short-lived. Divisions arose after James nominated Peter Creagh, bishop of Cork and

⁸² King, *The state of Protestants*, p. 87.

⁸³ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, ii, 304-07. The bishops who signed the letter were those of: Armagh, Tuam, Elphin, Limerick, Cork and Cloyne and Clonmacnoise.

Cloyne (1676-1693) to Dublin on 23 October/2 November 1692.⁸⁴ Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri,⁸⁵ Protector of Ireland, brought the question of James' right of royal nomination to the consistory held on 6 January 1693. During the discussion it was decided by the cardinals that '...the fortunes of the king had no bearing on the privilege of nomination enjoyed by him.'⁸⁶ Thus, James' nomination of Creagh to Dublin was accepted and Creagh was provided on 27 February/9 March 1693.⁸⁷

Although Creagh's translation was a passive acquiescence to James' right to nominate bishops to Ireland, the Stuart Court knew that they had to obtain a papal rescript to legitimise the king's nomination claim. Using the Cardinal of Norfolk, Philip Thomas Howard OP (1675-1695)⁸⁸ as an intermediary, the exiled Stuart Court began an active programme to secure the nomination powers granted to James by previous popes. Through subsequent engagements with Innocent XII, James was granted a rescript dated 22 September 1693 granting him his right of episcopal nominations in Ireland:

*Adeo propensam erga majestatem tuam ob eximia merita quae apud Catholicam religionem tibi comparasti, gerimus voluntatem, ut pro exporato habere possis jucundas majorem in modum eventuras nobis omnes quae se offerent occasiones praedictam voluntatem praeclaris documentis testatem faciendi. Quamobrem expediendis Bullis episcoporum quos ad regendas ecclesias Hiberniae nominabimus peculiarem rationem habere non omitemus petitionis majestatis tuae, cui interim prospera cuncta faustaque a Deo impense precamur...*⁸⁹

Given that Innocent XII allowed James to retain his right to nominate Irish bishops for his *eximia merita apud catholicam religionem*, the *modus operandi* for filling an episcopal appointment presumed that the nomination by the Stuart Court, *de vita et moribus* depended on the ecclesiastic receiving the royal nomination accepting the

⁸⁴ The Franciscan Sylvester Sleyne was nominated to Cork and Cloyne the following day 24 October/3 November 1692.

⁸⁵ Cardinal Altieri was created cardinal *in pectore* on 14 January 1664 and was elevated on 15 March 1666. He served as prefect of Propaganda Fide and camerlingo from 1671 to 1698. Altieri died on 29 June 1698 (Salvador Miranda, 'The cardinals of the Roman Catholic church' (<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1664.htm#Paluzzi>) (20 February 2013).

⁸⁶ Giblin, 'Stuart nomination of Irish bishops', p. 36.

⁸⁷ In a letter from the Cardinal of Norfolk he urged the Stuart Court not to press for further concessions from the pope as precedence alone established by previous popes was enough to justify his claim. By '...asking [for] a confirmatory Bulle, wee might putt it in danger...' (Cardinal Norfolk, 25 August 1693 (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 209, ff 66-7)).

⁸⁸ Cardinal Howard was the son of Henry Frederick Howard, third earl of Arundel and Surrey. After the restoration of Charles II he played an active role in negotiating Charles' marriage to Princess Caterina de Berganza. He was named chaplain and grand almoner to the queen (1665). Howard was elevated to the College of Cardinals on 27 May 1672 and died on 17 June 1694 (Salvador Miranda, 'The cardinals of the Roman Catholic church' (<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1675.htm#Howard>) (20 February 2013).

⁸⁹ Laurence F. Renahan, *Collections of Irish church history from the MSS of the late Laurence F. Renahan*, ed. Daniel McCarthy (2 vols, Dublin, 1861, 1874), i, 298.

promotion.⁹⁰ Cardinal Howard further elaborated that he expected to be the chief person in Rome processing the royal nominations and guiding the nomination through Propaganda Fide:

...some Irish Bishops here would however have persuaded Monsr. Caprara⁹¹ and de Bru to get them dispatched in popes hands, putting the cart before the horse, however I sent word to both, my reason why that ought not be done, being they might bring many inconveniences, and that it expected they should first have acquainted me before proceeding farther in those affairs...⁹²

Unfortunately for the Stuart Court, Cardinal Howard died on 17 June 1694 depriving the exiled Court of an important ally in Rome.

Nonetheless, having received the papal rescript, James II made ten further nominations to dioceses in Ireland. However, opposition grew among the exiled Irish ecclesiastical community with O'Molony of Limerick serving as the primary antagonist to James' claim. It is important to bear in mind that O'Molony's opposition was consistent with his strong affinity for Rome, a position that had largely contributed to his episcopal promotion to Killaloe (1671) and translation to Limerick (1689).⁹³ In his quest to derail James' nominations, O'Molony drafted an eight point critique of any plan to expand the Irish episcopal corps and proceeded to disparage James' episcopal nominees. He cited financial and political reasons and critiqued three episcopal nominees made by the Stuart Court: Ambrose Madden nominated to the diocese of Killala and holding the diocese of Kilmacduagh as administrator; James Stritch nominated to the diocese of Emly; Edward Comerford nominated to the diocese of Cashel.⁹⁴

In an attempt to counter O'Molony's opposition to James' nominations, an unknown author attempted to expose contradictions in his arguments. Under point number eight

⁹⁰ Cardinal Norfolk, Castel Condolfo, 17 November 1693 (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 209, ff 84-7). The latter point was particularly highlighted as rumours circulated in Rome that James Dempsey, nominated by the Stuart court to Kildare on 4 August 1693, '...did absolutely refuse the Bishoprick unto wch his Majesty named him...' (ibid.).

⁹¹ Alessandro Caprara was born on 27 September 1726 in Bologna. He served as auditor of the Sacred Roman Rota, datary of the Sacred Roman Rota. He was created cardinal on 17 May 1706 and named protector of the English kingdom later that year, a position he held until his death on 9 June 1711 (Miranda, 'Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church' (<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1706.htm#Caprara>) (25 February 2013).

⁹² Cardinal Norfolk, Castel Condolfo, 17 November 1693 (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 209, ff 84-7).

⁹³ Patrick Boyle, 'John O'Molony, bishop of Killaloe (1672-89) and of Limerick (1689-1702)' in *I.E.R.*, 4th ser., xxxii (1912), pp 574-89.

⁹⁴ Exceptions made at Rome against the nomination of the Bishops of Ireland (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 208, ff 238-40).

this author explicitly addressed the perceived motives of O'Molony, which seemed more political than doctrinal:

...it is verily believed but that he was not named either for y^e See of Dublin or Cashell or his kinsman named for y^e Bprick of Killaloe but he shou'd considere that he did not thinke there was any difficulty in this matter when he was made Bp of Limericke at his majestys nomination... And forget that lately he himself importuned his majesty to name his kinsman Mr Molony vicar of Limericke for y^e Bprick of Killaloe w^{ch} y^e King refused for no other reason but that he found he was not qualifeyed for that dignity.⁹⁵

For his critics, O'Molony's objections to James' nominations were due to him not being promoted to Dublin. The author of the reply further questioned O'Molony's assertion that vicars apostolic should be appointed instead of bishops. He argued that the absence of bishops encouraged 'perpetual warrings and dispute.' Using post-Reformation England as his example, the author claimed that the appointment of vicars apostolic, rather than bishops, brought about the decline of Catholicism in England: '...there were no other Bps there [England] but such as were made in partibus...w^{ch} peradventure was y^e occassion that y^e Catholicke religion decayed soe much in England as y^e number of Bps made from time to time preserved it in Ireland.'⁹⁶

Although nine of James' ten nominees were eventually provided to Irish dioceses by Innocent XII, the nominations were only slowly executed and long delays ensued. In the case of the first post-exile nominees of James II, Creagh and Sleyne, there were short delays between the time they received their nomination from James to the time they received their provision by Innocent XII, 127 days and 161 days respectively. However, for the nine subsequent nominees the delay averaged 816 days. It appears that James Stritch, nominated by James to the diocese of Emly, was rejected by Innocent XII although he was nominated by Propaganda Fide on 20/30 August 1695.⁹⁷

Delaying James' nominations, which, in effect, questioned his claim to nominate Irish bishops, was part of a larger discussion taking place at Rome regarding continued support for the exiled Stuart Court. Aspects of these discussions are reflected in the correspondences of James Drummond, who acted as agent for the Stuart Court at Rome. Drummond's difficulties at Rome illustrate the difficulties the Stuart Court faced in

⁹⁵ For the entire replication see Appendix V: *An answer to the severall branches of the Bp of Limerickes replication to an answer made by the King to some objections offered in the Court of Rome y^e promotion of Bps in Iraeland* (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 208, ff 249-50).

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Millett and Woods, 'Roman Catholic bishops from 1534', 361.

their lobbying efforts. Of particular concern was the close relationship the Stuart Court enjoyed with Louis XIV:⁹⁸

I find that artifice and juggle has so misrepresented the state of the affaire of the usurpation, that, as if men had resolved either to appear such fools as to be imposed upon by meer open villainy, or such possessed wicked persons as to own to support all the monstrous injustices done to his Majesty and the persecution brought upon his Cath: subjects they will appear persuaded that to humble France any means was not only lawfull, but a necessary duty.⁹⁹

In subsequent letters, Drummond discussed the problems of navigating Roman bureaucracy and the strength of William of Orange's support in Rome:

There was a [sic] epitaph in the Church of the Madonna del Populo here of the Spanish minister who had lived long at Rome wch said; here lyes Irigo Henriques, who practices the Roman Court forty years, who understood it well, who observed it narrowly, & who remarked its methods in affairs attentively & yet believed. I wish you were here but 3 months to see how ecclesiastical matters are treated on how sufferers for religion are contempered & the Majesty wch such suffering bring on ridiculed & laught at & in reality how little religion is in this place where at a distance people would believe that everyone were showing who should be most forward to serve God in the best manner., but I think he reasoned well who said the religion must be one that subsists amidst such faction, particularly, tricks and scandals. Would you believe that the P: of O: has 50 for one that our Master has of wel wishers as Rome? & yet so it is.¹⁰⁰

Roman bureaucratic antipathy towards the Stuart Court and the Stuarts' inability to match the lobbying efforts of Williamite supporters at Rome appeared to have a significant impact on the viability of the Stuart cause.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) and the Act of Banishment (1698), Jacobite standing in Rome declined further. This is aptly reflected by two of the final three appointments made by Rome during the reign of James II. Bernard Donogher was appointed to Ardagh and Aeneas O'Leyne to Kerry (Ardfert) as vicars apostolic, which was a move that harkened back to the precarious political situation following the protectorate of Cromwell when Rome appointed vicars apostolic so as not to provoke government wrath. James II died on 16 September 1701 leaving his thirteen year old son to carry on the Jacobite legacy. The last nominations by James II were

⁹⁸ The 1680s/90s marked a significant decline in Franco-papal relations that centred on the Gallican Articles (1682) and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Although Innocent XII was able to broker a compromise with Louis XIV in 1693, it appears from Drummond's letter that the Stuart Court's close association with the French Court further complicated their efforts at Rome. For a further account of the Franco-papal relationship in the 1680s/90s see Bergin, *Crown, church and episcopate under Louis XIV*, pp 232-60.

⁹⁹ Perth to Nairne, Rome, 10 May 1695 (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 208, ff 298-301).

¹⁰⁰ Perth to Nairne, Rome, 13 September 1695 (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 208, ff 347-8).

issued on 23 January 1694 when he nominated Richard Piers (1696-1739) to Waterford and Lismore and William Daton (1696-1712) to Ossory.

Taking over for his father at thirteen, James III was governed by his mother, Mary of Modena, until he reached his majority. As the Irish Church was still reeling from the enactment of new penal legislation, a conscious effort was made to continue filling vacancies, albeit cautiously. In a letter date 6 March 1704, Mary wrote to Archbishop Lynch of Tuam:

As for what relates to the filling up of the vacancy upon the death of the Bishop of Elphin, I am of your opinion that nothing should be done in it at present, whilst the Parliament of Ireland is sitting, nor till the ferment be over of the persecution now raised against the Catholics in that country. When it shall be seasonable to proceed in that matter, I will not fail to take your advice concerning the person most proper for that charge...¹⁰¹

From this letter it is apparent that Mary had taken charge of episcopal nominations and she had every intention of continuing to exercise her husband's privilege in their son's name. By 1707, the nominations made by Mary were not being processed and James III, who had reached his majority, wrote to Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651-1737)¹⁰² expressing his disappointment:

...three years ago, being then under the guardianship of the Queen, at the desire and request of his Holiness himself I named Dr. Ambrose Madin for the bishopric of Kilmacduagh, Dr. Denis Moriarty for that of Ardfert and Aghadoe, and Father Thaddeus O'Rourke, a Franciscan, for that of Killala...[I]t troubles me a little that his Holiness has hitherto returned me no answer on that subject.¹⁰³

Thaddeus O'Rourke was provided to Killala in 1703 and re-provided in 1707¹⁰⁴ and Ambrose Madden was provided on the same day as O'Rourke to Kilmacduagh.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Tuam, 6 March 1704 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, Entry book 1, p. 21) cited in Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (ed.), *Calendar of the Stuart papers belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle* (7 vols, London, 1902), i, 193.

¹⁰² Imperiali was created cardinal deacon on 13 February 1690 and held many position in Rome. James III wrote to Imperiali because he was the protector of Ireland in the Sacred College of Cardinals. He died 15 January 1737 in Rome. His nephew, Cardinal Giuseppe Spinelli, was internuncio in Flanders from 1721-1725 and later prefect of the Propaganda Fide from 1756-1763 (Royal Commission (ed.), *Stuart papers*, i, xxxviii; Miranda, 'Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church' (<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm>) (25 January 2011)).

¹⁰³ James III to Cardinal Imperiali, 7 February 1707 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, Entry book 1, p. 45) cited in Royal Commission (ed.), *Stuart papers*, i, 210.

¹⁰⁴ O'Rourke's nomination was aided by his strong ties to the Hapsburg family and his appointed was supported by Leopold I (1658-1705).

¹⁰⁵ Madden was parish priest of Loughrea and never took possession of Kilmacduagh. Instead, he asked Propaganda Fide to be translated to Clonfert.

Denis Moriarty excited strong opposition from the Munster bishops which stalled his nomination until he was re-nominated and provided to Kerry in 1720.¹⁰⁶

Although the appointments of O'Rourke and Madden appeared to affirm James III's right to nominate Irish bishops, subsequent papal appointments appeared to question his privilege. Three of the seven senior Irish ecclesiastics receiving episcopal promotions in 1707 do not appear to have been nominated by James III: Hugh MacMahon, bishop of Clogher (1707-1715); James Fagan, bishop of Meath¹⁰⁷ and Edmund Byrne, archbishop of Dublin (1707-1723).¹⁰⁸ Adding to the confusion was the fact that many of James' nominations made between 1709 and 1713 were strongly opposed, or, if his nominations were successful, James' name was omitted from the Roman documentation of nomination. For instance, James was not listed in the briefs of Christopher Butler, archbishop of Cashel (1711-1757) nor in that translating Ambrose Madden from Kilmacduagh to the diocese of Clonfert, even though it is known that James had actually nominated both.¹⁰⁹ Complicating matters further, documents prepared by Cardinal Altieri in the 1690s, which had questioned James II right to nominate Irish bishops, were now re-examined and discussed.¹¹⁰

These doubts came to a head with the 1713 episcopal appointments to Meath, Tuam and Ossory. In the case of Francis Burke, archbishop of Tuam (1713-1723), his appointment was supported by James Lynch of Tuam, the Internuncio at Brussels and O'Rourke of Killala.¹¹¹ The archbishop of Dublin, Edmund Byrne, submitted two names to Propaganda Fide worthy of episcopal promotion for the diocese of Ossory: Bernard Dunne and Malachy Dulany.¹¹² The clergy of Ossory submitted for

¹⁰⁶ For further material regarding the failed nomination of Denis Moriarty see Cathaldus Giblin (ed.), 'The nomination of Denis Moriarty for the see of Ardfert, 1697-1707' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxix (1970), pp 115-32.

¹⁰⁷ James Fagan was Roman agent for the Irish bishops prior to his appointment as bishop of Meath. His status after his appointment to Meath is uncertain. In Roman documents drafted for discussion at Propaganda Fide, the diocese of Meath was listed as *vaca* with a note indicating it was 'provided to Sg. Fagan' (CP, vol. 34A, ff 429; 544-4 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5513).

¹⁰⁸ Giblin claims that all seven were nominated by James III but in subsequent letters it is clear that he did not nominate these three bishops (Giblin, 'Stuart nomination of Irish bishops', p. 41).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42. James was the nominator of Butler for the Cashel vacancy (James III to Cardinal Imperiali, 20 September 1711 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, Entry book 1, p. 82) cited in Royal Commission (ed.), *Stuart papers*, i, 241).

¹¹⁰ CP, vol. 34A, f. 407 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5513).

¹¹¹ CP, vol. 34B, ff 7-12 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5514). Burke was one of two proposed candidates made by Lynch to be appointed his coadjutor with right of succession. The other candidate was his nephew, Dominic Lynch, who died prior to 1713. This left Burke the next logical candidate (CP, vol. 34A, ff 495-7 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5513)).

¹¹² CP, vol. 34B, ff 7-12 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5514).

consideration the name of Patrick Shee, the vicar general of Ossory.¹¹³ Propaganda Fide chose Dulany for the diocese of Ossory (1713-1731), an appointment that was scrutinised by the clergy of Ossory and some Irish bishops.¹¹⁴ The appointment of Luke Fagan to Meath was due, at least in part, to the intervention of his brother, James Fagan. Fagan had died a mere five days before Luke Fagan was provided bishop of Meath. Noticeably absent from these three episcopal appointments was the influence of the Stuart Court. In a pointed letter to James' chaplain, Thadée Connell, Richard Piers of Waterford and Lismore reacted strongly to the 1713 appointments. He urged the Stuart Court to strengthen its presence at Rome before religion in Ireland was entirely ruined. Paramount for Piers was the necessity of appointing an agent at Rome who had the ability to lobby effectively on behalf of the Stuart Court.¹¹⁵

The significance of James securing the right to nominate Irish bishops is underscored by the political realities the exiled Stuart Court faced. It was increasingly clear that Louis XIV was more concerned about peace with Britain than the well-being of James. With James' refusal to convert, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) cemented this political reality for James as France 'officially' recognised the Hanoverian succession and further promised not to provide support to the exiled Stuart Court. Behind the scenes the Stuart Court continued to negotiate with the Tories in the hope of brokering a deal whereby James would be restored to the throne following the death of Queen Anne (1702-1714). Given the fragility of Anne's health, these negotiations were of prime importance as it was commonly understood that any hopes of a peaceful restoration rested on brokering a deal prior to her death.¹¹⁶

For the exiled Stuart Court, maintaining a legitimate status hinged on the support of Catholic Europe, in particular of the papacy. Less than a month before Anne died, James wrote a strongly worded letter to both Cardinal Imperiali and Pope Clement XI (1700-1721) demanding answers and solutions over the nomination process:

I therefore demand of him by some authentic Act to recognise and declare precisely, either that I have the right of nomination to all bishoprics in Ireland and that he

¹¹³ Postulation of Patrick O'Shee for bishop of Ossory (B.L., London, Add. Mss. 20311, f. 160).

¹¹⁴ CP, vol. 34B, f. 73 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5514). This postulation was drafted a year after Dulany's appointment and was signed by: Butler of Cashel; Fagan of Meath; Donough MacCarthy, bishop of Cork; Eustace Browne, bishop of Killaloe and John Verdon, bishop of Ferns.

¹¹⁵ Richard Pierce to Connell, chaplain of James III, 25 March 1714 (B.L., London Add. Mss. 20310, ff 82-3).

¹¹⁶ Edward Corp (ed.), *A court in exile: the Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge, 2004), pp 280-99.

confirms it to me, or, if he does not believe I have it, that he grants it to me, and that he promises to maintain me in the possession of the said right for ever...¹¹⁷

He further stated it was imperative that his name be on all papal briefs stating he had nominated the candidate to their respective diocese. At issue with putting James' name on papal briefs was the perceived threat officials in Rome felt it might pose for bishops travelling to Ireland. James dismissed this by claiming '...the name of the Pope is more hateful to them than mine, and much more capable of arousing a persecution...'¹¹⁸ The response from Rome came in the form of a compromise. After a nomination was provided by the pope, one brief was delivered to the newly appointed bishop without any reference to James and another brief was sent to James with his name mentioned as the nominating authority.¹¹⁹

Once James III received assurances from Rome that he enjoyed the right of nominating bishops, a stable *modus operandi* was established. This developed over time as James' entourage changed and the political realities in Ireland altered. After receiving news from Rome that he possessed the right of nomination, James wrote to the Internuncio at Brussels explaining how he viewed his nominating role:

...to nominate only upon authentic demands sent to me by the bishops, clergy and the leading Catholics on the spot, to give in general the preference to ecclesiastics who are actually working in the mission...to choose the most worthy as far as I can, and finally not to multiply bishops needlessly during the times we are in, and to comply as far as I can in every nomination with the unanimous feeling of the principal bishops and clergy of Ireland, and always come to an understanding with Cardinal Imperiali, the Protector of that kingdom.¹²⁰

It is inferred that James planned to collaborate with groups of individuals who each had their own vested interests regarding who was to be nominated to vacant dioceses. Moreover, the question was further complicated by the fact that many bishops resided on the Continent and it was not until 1750 that every diocese was filled.¹²¹ Another

¹¹⁷ James III to Cardinal Imperiali, 12 July 1714 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, Entry book 1, p. 129) cited in Royal Commission (ed.), *Stuart papers*, i, 330.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 331.

¹¹⁹ James III to Col. Daniel O'Brien, Paris, 17 October 1736 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 190/109, MFR 807, French) cited in Patrick Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 247-48. James stated that 'I enjoy the privilege of nominating bishops the same as other kings, except that I am not named in the Bulls, and, to remedy that, his Holiness writes me a brief...' (*ibid.*).

¹²⁰ James III to the internuncio at Brussels, 12 August 1716 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, Entry book 1, p. 179) cited in Royal Commission (ed.), *Stuart papers*, ii, 339-40.

¹²¹ The argument on whether or not a diocese should be filled was primarily argued on economic grounds, an issue that will be raised in later chapters.

important inference from James' letter to the Internuncio was that the ultimate decision resided with James who jealously protected his right of nomination.¹²²

James' collaborative approach was most tried in 1728/29 when he oversaw a contentious dispute over the vacancy in Dublin. Politically, James knew the importance of nominating candidates who were loyal to the Jacobite cause and who did not set off alarm bells for the Irish government. It was for precisely these political reasons that James nominated James Murphy, the bishop of Kildare (1715-1724), for Dublin. Murphy's appointment proved to be a short-term solution as within a year of being appointed he asked Propaganda Fide for a coadjutor bishop. However, by asking Propaganda Fide to appoint a successor without first asking the Stuart Court did not go unnoticed by rival candidates. The agent for Bernard Dunne, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1724-1733) complained to the Stuart Court '...of the indiscretion of the newly created Archbishop of Dublin and his adherents in addressing to the pope for a Coadjutor without consulting the Sovereign [James III] who has the nomination entirely in him.'¹²³

Before the coadjutor question for Dublin was decided Murphy had died.¹²⁴ In a letter to his close advisor, Fr. John Ingleton,¹²⁵ James stated that Dublin should be given to someone who already was a bishop and who was a secular.¹²⁶ In subsequent letters, five candidates emerged as the likeliest to be supported by the people of Dublin: Archbishop Butler of Cashel; Bishop Dunne of Kildare and Leighlin; Fr. Joseph Walsh, chancellor of the cathedral of Dublin; Fr. Richard Murphy, canon of cathedral and Fr. Matthew Kelly, canon of cathedral.¹²⁷ Butler was the logical favourite but quickly let it be known that he had no interest of leaving his family estate by announcing he '...utterly

¹²² It is important to note that the nomination of Irish bishops proceeded differently than the senior English ecclesiastics. Paul Monod noted that, '[a]lthough James II and his son enjoyed the right to make episcopal nominations, their choices sometimes disappointed them – Bishop Stonor, for example, was an enthusiastic backer of submission' (Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 137).

¹²³ Abbé James Dunne to John Hay, Fontainebleau, 22 October 1725 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 87/9, MFR 759) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 62-4.

¹²⁴ According to Hugh Fenning, Murphy died in December 1728 ('The archbishops of Dublin, 1693-1786' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 175-214, p. 185).

¹²⁵ Fr. John Ingleton was a tutor to James when he was younger and became a trusted advisor to him on ecclesiastical appointments until his death in 1739 (Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 18 (n8)).

¹²⁶ James III, Bologna to Fr. John Ingleton, Paris, 27 January 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 124/98, MFR 775) cited in *ibid.*, 140.

¹²⁷ Fr. John Ingleton, Paris to James III, 28 March 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 126/65, MFR, 776) cited in *ibid.*, 142. The latter three 'acceptable' candidates were never seriously considered as they were not bishops.

renounceth to all thoughts of the vacant post...'¹²⁸ Dunne had strong support in 1724 when he was passed over in favour of Murphy, but support for Dunne eroded when regulars strongly opposed his nomination and claimed his 1725 pastoral letter to his diocese was Gallican. In Dunne's attempt to counter this charge he pleaded his case to Rome which resulted in James getting the wrong impression of his motives:

I am persuaded the Doctor [Bernard Dunne] had no share in this affair, and I hope I shall not want occasions of showing him the just regard I have for his merit, but I can't but be much offended that any subject of mine should apply for foreign courts on such matters; and if such practices should be renewed, they will only serve to put an obstacle to the advancement of persons in whose favour I might be otherwise disposed.¹²⁹

Ingleton followed up this letter informing James that Dunne was not lobbying Rome to gain the appointment, but had written to Rome to contradict the Gallican charges levelled against him.¹³⁰

Dunne was relentless in his bid to attain the Dublin nomination, but his zeal further widened the rift between the regulars and seculars. The regular/secular divide in Ireland went back centuries and was a constant source of problems for the Irish Church. Following the banishment of the Irish episcopal corps and regulars at the end of the seventeenth century, the seculars were left largely to their own devices in Ireland. Once the regulars started returning to Ireland in the early eighteenth century many seculars became unhappy with having to share limited resources, which resulted in intense competition between them.¹³¹ These tensions proved resilient. With the papal election of the Dominican, Benedict XIII (1724-1730), the regulars renewed their appeals to have more regulars appointed to bishoprics to ensure that their interests were not disadvantaged.¹³² Their efforts appeared to pay off as during Benedict's reign the average number of days it took for regulars nominated by the Stuart Court to be appointed was 17.5 days. On the other hand, seculars nominated by the Stuart Court

¹²⁸ Fr. John Ingleton, Paris to James III, 4 April 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 126/119, MFR, 776) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 144.

¹²⁹ James III, Rome to Fr. John Ingleton, Paris, 29 March 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 126/71, MFR 776) cited in *ibid.*

¹³⁰ Fr. John Ingleton, Paris to James III, 16 May 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 128/26, MFR 776) cited in *ibid.*, 147-8. Hugh Fenning states that the regulars found '...no less than thirty-seven suspect propositions' (*The Irish Dominican Province, 1698-1797* (Dublin, 1990), p. 128).

¹³¹ For a concise history of the rift in the 1720s between the regulars and seculars see *ibid.*, pp 126-32.

¹³² According to two letters by Ambrose O'Callaghan OFM in February and March (1725) to John Hay, James' secretary of State, a regular was travelling to Rome to discuss how the system of nominating bishops was unfavorable to regulars (Fr. Ambrose O'Callaghan, Dublin to John Hay, 22 February 1725 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 80/73, MFR 756); Fr. Ambrose O'Callaghan, Dublin to John Hay, 6 March 1725 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 80/119, MFR 756) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart Papers*, i, 50-2).

averaged 124 days from nomination to appointment. This noticeable difference was not lost on James who manoeuvred to gratify the pope. This point is illustrated by his ‘desire’ to nominate a Dominican to the diocese of Achonry ‘...[b]ut I would have you enquire if one Fr. Daily, who was four years ago here might be sufficiently qualified to fill that see, or if any other Dominican friar would be more proper, for I am desirous to name one of that order as soon as conveniently may be.’¹³³ Dominic Daly OP (1725-1735) was subsequently nominated to Achonry and Stephen MacEgan OP was nominated to Clonmacnoise (1725-1756).

Returning to the vacancy in Dublin, the regulars recommended that MacEgan be translated from Clonmacnoise to Dublin, no doubt hoping that papal influence would sway James.¹³⁴ James was adamant that he would not be drawn into the dispute between the two factions: ‘I am heartily sorry there should be so much division between the secular and regular clergy in Ireland, but it does not give me the least uneasiness that everybody should not approve everything I do. That must always happen to persons in my station...’¹³⁵ At an impasse between the regulars who supported MacEgan and the seculars who supported Dunne, James had to search for a compromise candidate. The lone secular candidate to emerge was Luke Fagan, the elderly bishop of Meath. Prior to the vacancy in Dublin, Fagan had written to James asking to be relieved of his appointment to Meath as the diocese was too large and he was too old.¹³⁶ By having Fagan translated to Dublin, James adapted his previous plan of sending MacEgan to Ferns.¹³⁷ Instead, MacEgan was translated to the neighbouring diocese of Meath and retained Clonmacnoise as administrator owing to its inability to financially support a bishop.¹³⁸

¹³³ James III, Rome to Fr. John Ingleton, Extract, 17 July 1725 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 84/58, MFR 757) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 54.

¹³⁴ According to Michael MacDonagh OP, bishop of Kilmore (1728-1746), the pope favoured MacEgan, ‘...for he [Benedict XIII] would rather promote him [MacEgan] to Dublin than anybody else for he is poor, and he consecrated him Bishop’ (Michael MacDonogh, bishop of Kilmore, to James Edgar, 7 May 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 127/134, MFR 776) cited in *ibid.*, 147). For a detailed biography of MacDonagh’s life see Hugh Fenning, ‘Michael MacDonogh, O.P., bishop of Kilmore, 1728-46’ in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cv (1966), pp 138-53.

¹³⁵ James III, Rome to Fr. John Ingleton, 7 March 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 125/128, MFR 775) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 141.

¹³⁶ Luke Fagan, bishop of Meath, Dublin to James III, 1 February 1727 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 102/106, MFR, 766) cited in *ibid.*, 92-3.

¹³⁷ James III, Bologna to Father John Ingleton, Paris 27 January 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 124/98, MFR 775) cited in *ibid.*, 140.

¹³⁸ The initial plan was to keep Clonmacnoise vacant after MacEgan was translated to Ferns, but once these plans changed it was decided that MacEgan could keep the diocese as administrator (Cardinal Imperiali, Rome to James III, 27 November 1728 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 122/37, MFR 774, Italian) cited in *ibid.*, 130).

The remaining diocese needing attention at this time was the diocese of Ferns. James saw this as an opportunity to reward a strong Jacobite supporter, the Franciscan, Ambrose O’Callaghan (1729-1744). O’Callaghan’s nomination to Ferns was important for a number of reasons: he was a candidate who was known to James but not to Rome, and his nomination was an attempt to bridge the rift between seculars and regulars. O’Callaghan had spent time as guardian of the Franciscan houses at Capranica and St. Isidore’s prior to his return to Ireland where he was named guardian of the Dublin convent. In 1723 he was asked by the Irish bishops to lobby Emperor Charles VI (1711-1740) at Vienna against the 1723 Popery Bill.¹³⁹ After his mission to Vienna, O’Callaghan turned his attention to obtaining a mitre. With the failing health of Murphy in Dublin, O’Callaghan informed James he was interested in that diocese if it became vacant.¹⁴⁰ Once Dublin became vacant, he re-doubled his efforts and had attestations drawn up in his favour and sent to James. However, these efforts were seen as premature and O’Callaghan was asked to wait until another vacancy presented itself.¹⁴¹ The wait was short and O’Callaghan was nominated to the neighbouring diocese of Ferns, which came as a surprise to Rome who did not even know that O’Callaghan was a possible candidate ‘...in view of what he had already laid down, that the church of Ferns could not be intended for Fr. O’Callaghan, of whom no one had previously spoken to him, as was said above.’¹⁴² James responded some years after nominating O’Callaghan that he nominated him because he was close friends with Dunne and his nomination might defuse the situation between the regulars and seculars.¹⁴³

Aside from the delicate issue of nominating members from either the regular or secular ranks, family origin also proved significant in James’ nomination criteria. In a letter to Colonel Daniel O’Brien¹⁴⁴ in 1744, James explained that ‘[i]n Ireland merit alone does not suffice and it is to be desired that the persons nominated should be at

¹³⁹ Fr. Ambrose O’Callaghan OFM, Liège, to John Hay, 11 August 1725 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 85/37, MFR 158) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 57.

¹⁴⁰ Fr. Ambrose O’Callaghan OFM, Paris, to James Edgar, 9 December 1728 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 122/78, MFR 774) cited in *ibid.*, 131-2.

¹⁴¹ James Edgar to Fr. Ambrose O’Callaghan, 30 March 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart Papers, 126/81, MFR, 776) cited in *ibid.*, 143.

¹⁴² Cardinal Imperiali to James III, 19 September 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 130/161, MFR, 778, Italian) cited in *ibid.*, 152.

¹⁴³ James III to Col. Daniel O’Brien, Paris, 3 January 1731 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 141/124, MFR 783) cited in *ibid.*, 163.

¹⁴⁴ Colonel Daniel O’Brien was born in Perpignan France in 1683 where he eventually served in the French army. At the Stuart Court he served as James’ official ambassador at Paris from 1745-1747 and his secretary of state at Rome from 1747-1758. O’Brien died in 1759 with the title earl of Lismore (Richard Hayes, ‘Biographical dictionary of Irishmen in France’ in *Studies*, xxxiv, no. 133 (March 1945), pp 106-18, at pp 112-13).

least from the same province [as the vacant diocese] and that the majority of the diocese should be well disposed towards them.’¹⁴⁵ Thus, a candidate must first have ‘...a few Irish gentlemen of consideration and credit’ submit attestations and then if the candidate is viable a Declaration of Noblesse would be drawn up.¹⁴⁶ Once a Declaration of Noblesse was drawn up, the candidate was reviewed and the name submitted to church officials to ascertain whether or not they were suitable. Once a response was given by leading church officials, James consulted his closest advisors to determine the suitability of those candidates attested.

The issue of suitability was a common problem for James as both the local nobility and local church officials did not always agree on candidates. In 1746, Thaddeus MacCarthy, bishop of Cork (1727-1747), was near death and asked James to nominate a coadjutor to assist him. Attestations from the local Catholic nobility in Cork came to James supporting Fr. John O’Brien, vicar general of Cloyne. When James solicited the advice of MacCarthy’s metropolitan, Archbishop Butler proposed ‘...[a] man of birth, great probity and merit by name James Butler who has been a long time his V.G. and a careful pastor in his districts.’¹⁴⁷ Butler’s recommendation of his distant cousin to be the bishop of Cork was not acceptable to the local nobility in Cork resulting in strong resistance to Butler’s nomination. Under pressure, James responded that he could not nominate a coadjutor to Cork against the wishes of that diocese.¹⁴⁸ With it becoming increasingly likely that O’Brien was to be nominated to Cork, the supporters of Butler’s nomination set out to derail O’Brien’s nomination by claiming that he should not be bishop as he was not of Irish nobility. In a letter dated 3/14 July 1747, a group of gentlemen from Cork wrote a letter to James attesting to O’Brien’s nobility and said any statements otherwise were ‘inventions’:

...we likewise declare and attest that we have known them [O’Brien’s family] to have always preserved the sentiments and good principles of their loyal ancestors, from whom they have never degenerated by following any vile or mechanical profession, but have always lived in a decent and credible manner in the farming

¹⁴⁵ James III to Col. Daniel O’Brien, Paris, 1 January 1744 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 255/3, MFR 834, French) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, ii, 10.

¹⁴⁶ James Edgar to Fr. John Cruise, Rome, 2 January 1744 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 255/14, MFR 834) cited in *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Christopher Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, to James III, 16 December 1746 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 279/119, MFR 845) cited in *ibid.*, 52.

¹⁴⁸ James III, Rome to Col. Daniel O’Brien, Paris, 3 February 1747 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart Papers, 281/44, MFR 846, French) cited in *ibid.*, 55.

way, as all other Roman Catholic Gentlemen in this Kingdom are generally obliged to do ever since the Cromwellian and Revolution and forfeitures of Irish Estates.¹⁴⁹

The end result of this exchange was drastic, and no doubt heavily influenced by Rome. The dioceses of Cloyne and Ross were separated from Cork and united under the leadership of John O'Brien (1747-1769).¹⁵⁰ James Butler was appointed three years later in 1750 to serve as coadjutor to his cousin, the archbishop of Cashel. With the compromise in place, the candidate who succeeded MacCarthy in Cork was his vicar general, Richard Walsh (1747-1763).

The Stuart right of nomination waned during the papacies of Benedict XIV (1740-1758) and Clement XIII (1758-1769).¹⁵¹ An important turning point in the nomination process of Irish bishops was the reforms of 1750/51. Initially, the reform initiatives begun by Benedict XIV early in the 1740s took a back seat as the war of the Austrian Succession occupied the pope's time and energy.¹⁵² By 1749 the Irish bishops, eager to deal with abuses within the Irish church, appointed John Murphy, a priest from Dublin to act as their agent in Rome.¹⁵³ A leading figure within the Irish episcopate who took an important role in reforming the Irish church was one Michael O'Reilly, bishop of Derry (1739-1749) and later archbishop of Armagh (1749-1758). Called the 'Charles Borromeo' of the Irish church by Hugh Fenning, O'Reilly openly questioned the authority of James III in the nomination of Irish bishops. His particular concern was with the frequent nominations of 'unsuitable candidates' to Irish dioceses and the influence regulars had over the nomination of Irish bishops.¹⁵⁴ A case in point was the appointment of John Brullaughan to the diocese of Derry. Brullaughan was opposed by O'Reilly on the grounds that he was violent, a drunk and had a concubine. As such, O'Reilly refused to consecrate Brullaughan, a measure which sharply divided the clergy of the diocese. At an impasse, Propaganda Fide set out to reform the way Irish bishops

¹⁴⁹ Attestation of the nobility of Fr. John O'Brien by the Gentlemen of County Cork, 3 July 1747 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart Papers, 285/43, MFR 847) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, ii, 69-70.

¹⁵⁰ Cork diocesan historian, Evelyn Bolster, stated it would be '...a futile exercise in face of the lack of official documentation as to the reasons for this redrawing of diocesan frontiers and consequent jurisdictional changes' (*A history of the diocese of Cork: from the penal era to the famine* (Cork, 1989), p. 70).

¹⁵¹ There is evidence that members of the Catholic clergy, particularly clerics from Dublin, began to publically question loyalty to the exiled Stuart Court in the 1720s. See Patrick Fagan, *Dublin's turbulent priest: Cornelius Nary (1658-1738)* (Dublin, 1991), pp 113-42.

¹⁵² Hugh Fenning, *The Irish Dominican Province*, p. 221.

¹⁵³ See Hugh Fenning, *The undoing of the friars of Ireland: a study of the novitiate question in the eighteenth-century* (Leuven, 1972), pp 154-210 for the reforms proposed by members of the Irish hierarchy and Fr. John Murphy.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

were nominated, chiefly by ensuring that there were more candidates to choose from. Nominations of candidates were to be submitted to the nuncio at Brussels who would then draft a detailed biographical register of each candidate. The nuncio also assessed each candidate by ranking the top three candidates and submitted those names, along with the other candidates, to the cardinal protector of Ireland.¹⁵⁵ When no candidate was chosen, the original names were retained and reconsidered when other episcopal vacancies came about.¹⁵⁶

This perceived encroachment on James' right to nominate Irish bishops aroused little resistance. James accepted the new arrangement as he knew that he continued to have influence at Propaganda Fide with the elevation of his youngest son, Henry Benedict Stuart (1725-1807) to the College of Cardinals in 1747.¹⁵⁷ However, given the erratic and scandalous behaviour of James' heir, Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788), Henry's elevation was met with strong resistance. The bishop of Soissons stated, 'Henry's cardinalate was, in effect, a resignation of Stuart pretensions to the throne of England.'¹⁵⁸ In the short-term, James' move to have Henry made a cardinal proved harmful to the Jacobite cause. In the long-term, however, Henry had a seat at Propaganda Fide and could exercise influence there related to ecclesiastical matters, effectively keeping the Jacobite cause alive. Notwithstanding that, by the end of the 1750s, Catholic loyalty in Ireland increasingly shifted from the Jacobite cause to the ruling Hanoverian dynasty.¹⁵⁹

This shift in Catholic loyalty can be seen in a few interrelated events that sharply divided the Irish episcopal corps. Reforms efforts in the 1730s and 40s were not only undertaken in the province of Armagh, but were also supported in Dublin by the so

¹⁵⁵ When the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin became vacant in 1751, the top three candidates favoured by the papal nuncio were: James Keeffe, vicar capitular of Leighlin (first), William Keating from the chapter of Leighlin (second) and Malachy Brophy (third) (CP, vol. 133, f. 159 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5519)). James O'Keeffe was subsequently appointed bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1752-1787).

¹⁵⁶ Fenning, *The undoing of the friars of Ireland*, pp 195-6.

¹⁵⁷ For a concise history of the decline of the Stuart family and the internal turmoil that existed during the remaining years of James III's life see Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart: a tragedy in many acts* (London, 1988), pp 467-91. Henry Benedict Stuart was known as the Cardinal Duke of York and was created cardinal deacon on 3 July 1747. He was ordained on 1 September 1748 and was vice chancellor of the Holy Roman Church from 1788 until his death on 13 July 1807. When his brother Charles Edward died he was proclaimed Henry IX, king *de jure* of Great Britain, Ireland and France (Salvador Miranda, 'Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church' (<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm>) (25 January 2011).

¹⁵⁸ McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, p. 332.

¹⁵⁹ S. J. Connolly, *Religion, law, and power: the making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1995), p. 314.

called *zelanti di Dublino*. The *zelanti* of Dublin were led by John Linegar, archbishop of Dublin (1734-1757) and his vicars general, John Clinch and Patrick Fitzsimons, later archbishop of Dublin (1763-1769).¹⁶⁰ Hugh Fenning has argued that the *zelanti* of Armagh and Dublin wanted to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Irish Parliament, in order to facilitate a reformation of the Irish church.¹⁶¹ However, the extent to which they were willing to go in effecting this *modus vivendi* was of course influenced by lingering but real support for the exiled Stuart Court.

Following the reforms of 1750/51, James III experienced a serious setback in his right to nominate Irish bishops when his nomination of Augustine Cheevers OSA, bishop of Ardagh (1751-1756) to Dublin was rejected.¹⁶² Another candidate who was seemingly passed over was James O’Keeffe, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1752-1787).¹⁶³ Instead, through the support of Archbishop O’Reilly,¹⁶⁴ Richard Lincoln was named coadjutor bishop. Perhaps being passed over for Dublin influenced the subsequent actions of both Cheevers and O’Keeffe who both contributed to the failed Trimblestown Pastoral (1757).¹⁶⁵ This pastoral had its origin in bills proposed in the Irish Parliament to register Catholic priests. As part of their registration by government it was proposed that members of the Catholic clergy would take an oath of loyalty to the house of Hanover. On 1 September 1757 Lord Trimblestown convened a meeting at Trimblestown Castle attended by seven Irish bishops who drafted a pastoral that was not only supportive of government but rejected papal deposing and dispensing powers.¹⁶⁶ O’Reilly circulated the draft of the pastoral to the other archbishops anticipating that it would be accepted, a move that proved to be a miscalculation. Reaction was strong and swift with members of the regular clergy leading the

¹⁶⁰ For further information on the *zelanti di Dublino* see Fenning, *The undoing of the friars of Ireland*, pp 135-40, 154-87.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹⁶² SC Irlanda, vol. 10, ff 499-507 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5373). Another leading candidate was Daniel Heffernan, a curé in the diocese of Chartres. Heffernan was recommended by the bishop of Chartres, James III and Cardinal Fleury (M. J. Curran, ‘The Archbishop Linegar—Lincoln succession’ in *Reportorium Novum*, ii, no. 1 (1958), pp 211-12).

¹⁶³ Bishop O’Keeffe of Kildare to Propaganda Fide, 22 January 1756 (D.D.A., AB1 116/2/17).

¹⁶⁴ O’Reilly instructed his Roman agent to engage with members of Propaganda Fide to acquaint them with the situation in Dublin. As a result, support coalesced around Lincoln’s candidacy (Curran, ‘The Archbishop Linegar—Lincoln succession’, p. 212).

¹⁶⁵ For the most comprehensive account of the Trimblestown Pastoral see Patrick Fagan, *Divided loyalties: the question of an oath for Irish Catholics in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1997), pp 87-124.

¹⁶⁶ The Irish bishops who gathered at Trimblestown Castle were: Michael O’Reilly of Armagh, Daniel O’Reilly of Clogher (1747-1778), Augustine Cheevers OSA of Ardagh, John MacColgan of Derry (1752-1765) and Andrew Campbell of Kilmore (1753-1769). In absentia Bishop MacColgan signed for Bishop Nathaniel O’Donnell of Raphoe (1755-1758). O’Keeffe was the only bishop to sign the pastoral not from the province of Armagh. For a complete copy of the pastoral see Fagan, *Divided loyalties*, pp 120-3.

opposition. For his part, O'Reilly had to respond to the opposition in a contrite manner and died in April 1758.

This brief evaluation of the Trimblestown Pastoral highlights a few interesting points. Chiefly, it signals that loyalty to the Stuart Court was waning among bishops appointed after the 1750/51 reforms. All of the bishops involved in drafting the Pastoral, aside from Archbishop O'Reilly and Bishop Daniel O'Reilly of Clogher, were appointed after these reforms. Moreover, when Propaganda Fide reviewed the episcopal nominees for Kildare and Leighlin (1751/52) and Derry (1751/52), the Stuart Court was noticeably absent from the discussion.¹⁶⁷ Following the Trimblestown debacle, the Stuart Court continued to enjoy some influence at Propaganda Fide as James III was able to secure the nomination of the Dominican, Thomas Burke, to the diocese of Ossory. Burke was arguably the most vocal in his opposition to the pastoral and famously called Bishop Cheevers 'a Judas among the regulars'. According to James Doyle, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1819-1834), in his testimony before the Select Committee on the state of Ireland (1825), Burke was:

...recommended to the see of Ossory by the late Pretender, and that it was in consequence of that recommendation, that he was appointed; at least I have known this from authority; but since that appointment, there has not one taken place in Ireland, to my knowledge, (and it is a matter I enquired into very diligently, for some years past,) [sic.] which did not originate in Ireland.¹⁶⁸

Although officially the Stuart Court enjoyed the right of nomination until the death of James III, Doyle's assertion that Burke was the last 'official' nominee of the Stuart Court has some merit.

Near the end of his life, the campaign to have Charles Edward recognised as the successor of James III by the pope intensified. Although he was estranged from his brother, the Cardinal-Duke of York played mediator for his family's cause between the newly elected pope, Clement XIII (1758-1769), and his brother. The attempts at reconciling his brother to the Church failed as Clement XIII refused to acknowledge Charles Edward's royal title, Charles III. Matters were complicated when James III died on 1 January 1766 before his son secured royal privileges from the pope.¹⁶⁹ In a second

¹⁶⁷ Both MacColgan and O'Keeffe were elected vicars capitular by the diocesan clergy of their respective dioceses and both were strongly supported by the nuncio at Brussels (CP, vol. 133, ff 150, 156, 159 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5519).

¹⁶⁸ *Report from the select committee on the state of Ireland* (House of Commons Papers, 1825 (129), p. 221).

¹⁶⁹ The last bishop nominated by James III was Philip MacDevitt (1766-1797) to Derry on 21 December 1765.

bid to secure papal recognition, Charles Edward went to Rome within a month after his father's death but to no avail. The final attempt to gain papal recognition followed the death of Clement XIII. The election of Clement XIV (1769-1774) to the papacy brought renewed hopes for the Stuarts as he had once served as chaplain to James. However, after gaining a papal audience, Clement XIV laid out for Charles his reasons for denying him royal recognition. Of the reasons listed, the most important was that the current political situation in Europe had to be considered and it would not be advantageous to Catholics in Ireland and England if he was granted such recognition.¹⁷⁰

Episcopal control of nomination, 1767-1800

With the house of Stuart losing its right to nominate Irish bishops, the process for appointing Irish bishops underwent a significant simplification. The Stuart nomination ultimately tied episcopal candidates to the Jacobite cause. In marked contrast, during the period following the Stuart nominating period, the influence of Irish bishops in the nomination process greatly increased in filling the vacuum, so to speak, created by the absent Stuarts. What makes this reversal of influence significant is that during the same timeframe 'the states of Catholic Europe achieved a degree of control over their respective churches never attained before'.¹⁷¹ In the Irish situation, sitting bishops acquired exceptional control over who joined the episcopal order. As a result, there was more competition between the Irish bishops to have their preferred episcopal candidates appointed. This can be seen in the changing configuration of appointments. Between 1767 and 1800 there were forty-seven new bishops appointed to Irish dioceses, twenty-two of whom were coadjutor bishops with right of succession.¹⁷² Compared to the five coadjutor bishops appointed during the whole of the Stuart nominating period, this represents a significant change. This increase in coadjutors and its significance will be further analysed in later subsequent chapters.

Despite this development, the process for nominating Irish bishops during the post-Stuart nominating period remained closely tied to issues of political and ideological loyalty. Although the Stuarts' influence over the nomination of Irish bishops was greatly reduced after the reforms of 1750/51, the exiled Jacobite Court retained a virtual right to nominate Irish bishops. With the Stuart nominating power virtually suspended after 1766, the delicate status of Irish Catholicism under the penal laws remained a

¹⁷⁰ McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, p. 487.

¹⁷¹ William J. Callaghan and David Higgs (eds), *Church and society in Catholic Europe of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 10.

¹⁷² See Appendix III for a complete succession list of bishops appointed between 1767 and 1800.

central concern for members of the Catholic hierarchy in Rome. More troublesome was the apparent interest of some Irish bishops in earning the approval of the house of Hanover at the expense, it seemed to some, of papal authority. These divisions within the Irish episcopate, conjoined with the question of loyalty, significantly influenced the appointment of Irish bishops.

As already noted, after the Reformation, the administration in Ireland on numerous occasions attempted to have Irish Catholics swear an oath declaring publicly that the pope had no temporal or civil power in the realm. These attempts were generally accompanied with assurances from government that, if the oath was sworn, penal legislation would be scaled back. In the context of ecclesiastical politics in the 1770s and 1780s, the oath controversy sharply divided Irish bishops into factions, which have been labelled ‘the jurors’ and ‘non-jurors’.¹⁷³ ‘The jurors’, favourable to an oath, were led by James Butler II, archbishop of Cashel (1773-1791) whereas ‘the non-jurors’, hostile to the same, followed John Carpenter, archbishop of Dublin (1770-1786) and Thomas Burke OP, bishop of Ossory (1759-1776). These divisions largely centred on the ‘divergent opinions on the question of the links between the Catholic church and the state’.¹⁷⁴ The infamous ‘test-oath’ of 1774 proposed by Frederick Augustus Hervey, the Church of Ireland bishop of Derry (1768-1803) exposed these divisions within the Irish episcopal corps.

The affair of the ‘test-oath’ of 1774 began as a joint venture between the Irish bishops, most notably Archbishop Carpenter, and members of the Irish Parliament. The initial proposal for an oath, submitted to Rome for approval in 1772, was rejected because of its perceived unfavourable reference to the pope.¹⁷⁵ Carpenter continued in his efforts to find a solution to the impasse but became discouraged with the process when the oath he agreed to underwent significant changes in the House of Commons. Carpenter immediately proclaimed the document unacceptable, but Archbishop Butler called a meeting near Cork on 15 July 1775 where the Munster bishops declared the document orthodox.¹⁷⁶ Carpenter and Burke immediately notified Rome of the situation. The nuncio at Brussels sent a severe rebuke to the Munster bishops and urged them not

¹⁷³ For the political divisions that existed in the Irish hierarchy during the 1770s and 1780s see Eamon O’Flaherty, ‘Ecclesiastical politics and the dismantling of the Penal Laws in Ireland, 1774-82’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxvi, no. 101 (May 1988), pp 33-50; Fagan, *Divided loyalties*, pp 125-56.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁷⁵ O’Flaherty, p. 35.

¹⁷⁶ Maureen Wall, *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century: collected essays of Maureen Wall*, ed. Gerard O’Brien (Dublin, 1989), pp 111-13.

to continue down their current path. He called for patience and instructed them to wait for Rome to declare on the orthodoxy of the oath. Butler disregarded this order and maintained that he was doing what needed to be done and that waiting for Rome to respond would only delay matters.¹⁷⁷

After the Munster bishops¹⁷⁸ took the oath, the situation was made more delicate by the death of Bishop Burke on 26 September 1776. The loss of a significant non-juring voice provided Butler and the other Munster bishops with the opportunity to have a ‘juror’ appointed to Ossory. Butler immediately began organising support behind Father Patrick Molloy, who was elected vicar capitular of Ossory by the diocesan chapter.¹⁷⁹ Throwing support behind Molloy was a foregone conclusion for ‘jurors’ as he was popular among the Ossory diocesan clergy and had proven himself an ardent opponent of Burke.¹⁸⁰ Shortly after arriving in Ossory, Burke attempted to obtain the parish of St. Mary’s as his mensal parish on the grounds that the parish priest, Patrick Molloy, had not obtained St. Mary’s canonically.¹⁸¹ After an investigation by William O’Meara, bishop of Killaloe (1753-1765), it was decided that Molloy could retain St. Mary’s but had to pay Burke £25 per annum.¹⁸² With this ‘victory’ behind him as vicar capitular, dean and vicar general of the diocese of Ossory, Molloy’s appointment appeared to be a foregone conclusion.

Rome, as sometimes occurs in cases like this, had different ideas. Its choice for Burke’s successor was not Molloy but a regular with impeccable ‘Roman’ credentials, John Thomas Troy OP, bishop of Ossory (1776-1786) and subsequently archbishop of Dublin (1786-1823). The loyalty question and the deep divisions it had exposed within the Irish episcopal corps pushed Rome to nominate Troy. The official reply to Butler’s failed recommendation of Molloy was that it had arrived in Rome too late and Propaganda Fide had already made their choice. When looking at the appointment and the influence Troy yielded over the Irish Church, it is clear Rome expected him to act

¹⁷⁷ Renehan, *Collections on Irish Church history*, i, 329.

¹⁷⁸ All of the Munster bishops took the oath except for Michael Peter MacMahon OP (1765-1807), bishop of Killaloe.

¹⁷⁹ James Butler, archbishop of Cashel, to Cardinal Marefoschi, 28 October 1776 (D.D.A., AB1 116/2/151).

¹⁸⁰ Patrick Molloy was ordained at Paris (1752) and returned to his native diocese where he was appointed parish priest of St. John’s at the age of twenty-six. Within a year, John Dunne, the bishop of Ossory gave Molloy the benefice of St. Mary’s and made Molloy vicar general of the diocese (Fearghus Ó Fearghail, ‘The Catholic church in county Kilkenny 1600-1800’ in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny history and society* (Dublin, 1990), pp 197-249, at p. 237).

¹⁸¹ William Carrigan, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905), i, 157.

¹⁸² Ó Fearghail, ‘The Catholic church in county Kilkenny’, p. 237.

loyally as a trusted advisor on ecclesiastical matters. In this Rome made a good choice. Troy's appointment to Ossory and subsequent translation to Dublin solidified his influence on the Irish Catholic Church unparalleled by any other bishops at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Fr. Richard Joachim Hayes OFM (1787-1824), a vocal opponent of the veto proposed by Parliament at the beginning of the nineteenth century, summed up Troy's influence over the nomination of Irish bishops this way:

It is no secret to your Eminence, that the Archbishop of Dublin Dr. Troy has for nearly 30 years past been the principle (I might say, the only) regulator of the appointments of Irish Bishops. Look over the numerous Postulations for this period, and you will find but one solitary instance, (that of Dr. Bellew of Killala) in which his Grace's name does not appear at the head of Postulators. In every Province, Dublin, Armagh, Cashel, Tuam, he has established his undisputed title to the surname he bears of Bishop—Maker General.¹⁸³

Hayes' hyperbolic assessment of Troy touches nonetheless on an important point. Once the Stuart right of nomination ended and growing discontent within the hierarchy boiled to the surface, Rome moved to fill the void and sought an individual in Ireland who would act as 'Bishop—Maker General.' Troy's distinctly 'Roman' résumé made him imminently suited for this role. His strong defence of papal authority when he served as Roman agent to Bishop Burke of Ossory stood to him.

The effects of Troy's accession on the Catholic episcopal corps were felt immediately. Rome gave Troy the difficult task of investigating ecclesiastical disputes in the archdiocese of Armagh between Anthony Blake, archbishop of Armagh (1757-1787), and his clergy.¹⁸⁴ The dispute between Blake and his clergy long predated Troy's appointment as apostolic commissary. On 10 April 1775, Blake had been suspended and Cheevers of Meath was chosen as vicar apostolic to oversee the situation. Although considered a fair choice, Cheevers was at the end of his career and handed his responsibilities to a priest from his diocese, Fr. Anthony Nowlan. Nowlan was not up to the task entrusted to him and the situation continued to spiral out of control. When Troy

¹⁸³ Richard Hayes to Cardinal Litta, prefect of Propaganda, c.1816 (C.R.D.A., Cork, John Murphy, Corr. 1815-1816, B.3). Hayes was from Wexford and studied at St. Isidore's College, Rome. He was forced to leave Rome during the Napoleonic wars and returned to Ireland. An ardent opponent of the veto, he represented the Irish laity in Rome as their spokesman. He set out for Dublin in 1822 but did not complete his journey as he died in Paris on 24 January 1824. Many of Hayes correspondences still survive and were published by Cathaldus Giblin, 'Papers of Richard Joachim Hayes OFM, 1810-24 in Franciscan Library, Killiney' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 21-2 (1979-80), pp 82-148; *Collect. Hib.*, no. 23 (1982), pp 7-85; *Collect. Hib.*, no. 24 (1982), pp 94-162.

¹⁸⁴ For further information on the troubled episcopacy of Archbishop Blake see Patrick Whelan, 'Anthony Blake, archbishop of Armagh 1758-1787' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, v, no. 2 (1970), pp 289-323.

arrived in Drogheda in July 1777 he set out to investigate three allegations made against Blake: that he demanded five guineas for collation to a parish; that he was non-resident over a protracted period; that he neglected visitation and demanded various unfair financial exactions. After meeting with Blake and his clergy, Troy gave Blake another chance and lifted his suspension.¹⁸⁵ Perceiving this as a victory, Blake began re-asserting his ecclesiastical authority over his clergy causing further dissent and began soliciting Rome to appoint a coadjutor to assist him. The clergy of Armagh turned to Troy for assistance, but he was reluctant to become involved: ‘I am sorry at the aggravated continuation of disorder and scandal in your diocese, but have determin’d not to interfere in any matter regarding it, without a positive command from our Superiors. I have beseech’d them to free me from the Honour in future...’¹⁸⁶

Recognising that Armagh was not going to be settled with Blake as archbishop, Rome attempted to defuse the situation. Blake recommended to Propaganda Fide that a young priest named Dominick Bellew to be his coadjutor. The problem with this recommendation was that Bellew was a close associate of Blake and was embroiled in scandal himself. Rome responded by appointing Bellew coadjutor bishop of Killala. Bellew’s appointment did not ease this tension but compounded the problem as the Armagh clergy felt this was a short-term solution and Bellew would be later be translated to Armagh.¹⁸⁷ Troy, for his part, strongly opposed Bellew’s appointment to Killala and expressed his opinion that a transfer of Bellew to Armagh would not be accepted by the local clergy.¹⁸⁸ In their attempt to deal with the internal disputes between Blake and his clergy, the Armagh clergy once again turned to Troy to mediate. Blake was informed by Propaganda Fide on 28 April 1781 that his choice for his coadjutor, Bellew, was to stay in Killala and that Troy was to take over as administrator of Armagh.¹⁸⁹

Troy’s task as administrator of Armagh was two-fold: re-organise the diocese and restore the clergy suspended by Blake, and to find a suitable coadjutor bishop.¹⁹⁰ The latter task proved to be the most difficult as he had to contend with regional and

¹⁸⁵ Whelan, ‘Anthony Blake’, pp 316-7.

¹⁸⁶ Dr. Troy to Rev. Levins, 14 November 1778 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/2/185).

¹⁸⁷ Chapter of Armagh to Cardinal Marefoschi, 28 April 1780 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/12).

¹⁸⁸ Dr. Troy to the Rector of the Irish College, Rome, 30 March 1780 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/17).

¹⁸⁹ Propaganda Fide to Dr. Blake, 28 April 1781 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/51).

¹⁹⁰ Propaganda Fide to Dr. Troy, 28 April 1781 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/50). The added task of finding a coadjutor was added later by Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Antonelli, to Dr. Troy, 28 July 1781 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/57).

personality differences not only in the archdiocese but among his brother bishops. Western bishops feared that Troy's newfound prominence was an indication that he was intended by Rome for Armagh. Patrick Joseph Plunkett, bishop of Meath (1778-1827) wrote to Butler that Troy was attempting to get one of the vicar generals in Armagh to postulate for him.¹⁹¹ Butler enquired in Rome regarding this rumour but was told that Troy's appointment was unlikely as Rome desired to have a secular in Armagh.¹⁹² For Troy's part, he showed no desire to be translated to Armagh '...far from being ambitious of such a promotion I am repeatedly asking Propaganda to free me for good of the Long-lasting care of that Diocese. There is no need to spread calumnies about me; I have no wish to go there.'¹⁹³ With Rome ruling out northern bishops¹⁹⁴ and the western bishops being either 'Gallican' or too old, the focus shifted to Richard O'Reilly, newly appointed coadjutor bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.¹⁹⁵ Reluctantly, O'Reilly accepted the nomination to Armagh¹⁹⁶ and under Troy's guidance proved to be an effective archbishop gaining much of his clergy's trust within the first year.¹⁹⁷

Armagh had been a difficult challenge but Troy demonstrated to Rome his ability to be a loyal and candid agent in Ireland. On the death of Archbishop Carpenter (1786), Troy was translated to Dublin. As archbishop of Dublin, Troy went on to take a leading role in shaping Catholic engagement with the Irish Parliament and carefully navigated the Irish Church through the turbulent 1790s, a decade that culminated in revolution.¹⁹⁸ Of this complex and pivotal period Ian McBride has remarked:

The great themes of the 1790s – the diverse tensions between Catholic and Protestant, Anglican and Presbyterian, landlord and tenant, the kingdoms of Ireland and England – had deep roots. ... The spectacular realignments within and between the three major confessional blocs overturned a hundred years of entrenched hostilities.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹¹ Dr. Patrick Joseph Plunkett, Navan, to Archbishop Butler, 16 December 1781 cited in Sister M. Imelda, *Calendar of papers of the Butler archbishops of Cashel and Emly, 1712-1791* (Cashel Diocesan Archives, Thurles, March 1970).

¹⁹² Cardinal Salviati, Rome to Archbishop Butler, 29 December 1781 cited in *ibid.*

¹⁹³ Dr. Troy to Cardinal Antonelli, 31 December 1781 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/75).

¹⁹⁴ Nuncio to Dr. Carpenter, 8 October 1780 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/4).

¹⁹⁵ Dr. Troy to the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Antonelli, 11 January 1782 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/77).

¹⁹⁶ Dr. Richard O'Reilly to Dr. Troy, 7 May 1782 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/86).

¹⁹⁷ Nuncio to Dr. Troy, 3 September 1782 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/3/99).

¹⁹⁸ The following sources provide important insight into the changing dynamics within the Irish Church the last decades of the eighteenth century: Dáire Keogh, *The French disease: the Catholic church and Irish radicalism, 1790-1800* (Dublin, 1993); Jim Smyth (ed.), *Revolution, counter-revolution and union* (Cambridge, 2000).

¹⁹⁹ McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, p. 346.

At the same time the relationship between Britain and the Holy See underwent fundamental change.²⁰⁰

Although differences remained between the British government and the papacy, the growing discontent on the Continent and the French Revolution proved a strong unifying force as they both agreed on the importance of obedience to the civil authority.²⁰¹ This shared concern brought both sides together to discuss how London could increase its influence over the Irish Church, in particular, regarding the nomination of Irish bishops. The question of a royal veto over episcopal nominations had been discussed between 1770 and 1782 but the discussions never materialised into a consensus. In 1788 Archbishop Troy explicitly asked Cardinal Antonelli, prefect of Propaganda Fide, for guidance on the veto issue. Antonelli was fearful that the British government ‘...would not use the same circumspection and care in looking for the right qualities with which bishops should be endowed.’²⁰² However, if the king adopted a plan to nominate Irish bishops it was unlikely the church could reject his nominations. After the French Revolution, the position in Rome had taken a decidedly different tone. In a letter written by Cardinal Antonelli to Troy, Antonelli expressed his gratitude in the British administration’s willingness to support the establishment of Catholic institutions, ‘one sees evidently that if in some kingdoms there is an effort to diminish our Catholic Religion, in other kingdoms the Lord God may bestow unexpected resources in order to spread it.’²⁰³ In 1795 when the royal Catholic college at Maynooth was established London sought not only the right to appoint the president and/or professors of the newly founded college but also the right of nominating bishops. The response from the Irish bishops was a resounding no to both propositions.²⁰⁴

However, when the veto question was brought up in discussions with Government in 1799, the bishops had significantly changed their position. The exile of Pope Pius VII (1775-1799) at the hands of Napoleon’s army raised fears that the Holy See’s impartiality was being compromised as correspondences were being monitored by the French.²⁰⁵ Moreover, eager to prove their loyalty, when the Act of Union was proposed,

²⁰⁰ For a detailed summary of this changing relationship see Matthias Buschkühl, *Great Britain and the Holy See, 1746-1870* (Dublin, 1982).

²⁰¹ Patrick O’Donoghue, ‘The Holy See and Ireland 1780-1803’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxxiii (1977), pp 99-108, at p. 102.

²⁰² O’Donoghue, ‘The Holy See and Ireland’, p. 103.

²⁰³ Cardinal Antonelli to Troy, 20 December 1794 (D.D.A., Dublin, Troy Papers, AB2 116/6/1).

²⁰⁴ Bernard Ward, *The eve of Catholic Emancipation* (3 vols, London, 1911), i, 49-50.

²⁰⁵ Fr. Luke Concannon to Dr. Troy, 21 September 1798 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/7/52).

the Catholic bishops threw their support behind the royal veto believing it was the best way to ensure security for Catholic interests in the envisaged new political dispensation. The government recognised that securing Catholic support, or at least neutrality regarding the Union, was important. Indeed historians largely agree that Catholic opposition to the legislation could probably have prevented its passage.²⁰⁶ Taking the lead role as chief negotiator, Troy convened a meeting of ten bishops in Dublin from the 17-19 January 1799. During this meeting, it was agreed ‘[t]hat in the appointment of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Religion to vacant Sees within this Kingdom, such interference of Government, as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to.’²⁰⁷ However, Roman reaction to the Irish bishops’ proposal was swift and hostile. Cardinal Borgia wrote to Troy that he feared their proposal infringed the rights of the Holy See.²⁰⁸ On the other side, George III was opposed to any form of Catholic Emancipation.²⁰⁹

Clergy and laity empowered, 1801-1829

Between 1801 and 1829 there were a total of forty-seven new entrants to the Irish episcopal corps, twenty of whom were appointed coadjutor bishops with right of succession.²¹⁰ Once the Act of Union went into effect in 1801, it became important that the Irish episcopal corps be more co-ordinated in its dealings with both Rome and London. The international situation had drastically deteriorated and the appointing of bishops became hopelessly complex with the forced exile of Pope Pius VII (1800-1823) between 1809 and 1814. While in exile, Pius VII refused to appoint bishops and this resulted in multiple vacancies. The inability of the Holy See to intervene on ecclesiastical matters coupled with the burgeoning influence of the lower clergy in Irish ecclesiastical affairs, which often had a different agenda than many of the bishops, set the stage for significant discord within the Irish Church.

The failure by the London administration to grant emancipation for Irish Catholics as part of the quid pro quo for Catholic support for the union, for instance, prompted the Irish episcopal corps to take an understandably sceptical approach to the suggestion of a government veto when the issue re-emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

²⁰⁶ Oliver Raferty, *The Catholic Church and the Protestant State: nineteenth-century Irish realities* (Dublin, 2008), p. 39.

²⁰⁷ Resolutions of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland at their meeting 17—18—19 January 1799 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/7/126).

²⁰⁸ O’Donoghue, ‘The Holy See and Ireland’, p. 104.

²⁰⁹ Ward, *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, i, 55.

²¹⁰ See Appendix IV for a complete succession list of bishops appointed between 1801 and 1829.

Central to the task of dealing with the London Parliament and administration was the appointment of an Irish episcopal agent who would represent the interests of the Irish hierarchy in London. Initially Irish bishops delegated some of their own to travel to London to represent their position. But over time it became increasingly important to have a full-time agent on the ground. With the recommendation of Archbishop Troy²¹¹ John Milner, vicar apostolic of the Midland District in England (1803-1826) became the English agent for the Irish bishops in 1806.²¹²

The appointment of Milner proved a source of controversy not because of his character but because of the scheme concocted by Troy to get him translated to London. In his correspondences with Rome, Troy not only wanted Rome to recognise Milner as agent for the Irish bishops, but he also sought to have Milner translated to London to be coadjutor to John Douglass, bishop in the London District (1790-1812).²¹³ According to this arrangement, Douglass' then coadjutor bishop, William Poynter (1803-1827)²¹⁴ was to be translated to Milner's former position.²¹⁵ Senior English ecclesiastics were not opposed to Milner being the agent for the Irish episcopal corps, but Douglass did not want to lose Poynter as his coadjutor. Milner understood Douglass' apprehension, but he felt that he could not effectively do his job unless he was resident in London.²¹⁶ Troy's attempt to 'reconfigure' the English hierarchy is important for a number of reasons, notably because the English hierarchy became disenchanted with this example of Irish overreach of authority. When the veto question re-emerged in 1808 the English hierarchy complained on numerous occasions that the Irish bishops were attempting to assert their episcopal authority over them, a complaint that exasperated an already tense relationship.²¹⁷

²¹¹ Letter from Cardinal Borgia to Dr. Troy, 19 March 1803 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/9/49).

²¹² Milner proposed that once he was made agent to the Irish bishops he should be appointed coadjutor of the London District, Dr. Milner to Dr. Troy, 10 October 1805 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/10/66). Milner studied at the English College at Douai and ordained a priest in 1777. Milner died on 19 April 1826 in Wolverhampton. For more information on the life of Milner see F. C. Husenbeth, *The life of the Right Rev. John Milner, D. D.* (Dublin, 1862).

²¹³ Douglas was born in 1743 at Yarm, Yorkshire and educated at the English College at Douai. He established St. Edmund's College for the training of priests and remained as bishop of the London District until his death on 8 May 1812.

²¹⁴ Poynter was educated at the English College at Douai and was ordained in 1786. Upon his return to England he was appointed the first vice-president and second president of St. Edmund's College. He died on 26 November 1827 at London.

²¹⁵ Dr. Troy to Cardinal di Pietro, prefect of Propaganda, 3 March 1806 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/11/1).

²¹⁶ Dr. Milner to Dr. Troy, 22 April 1806 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/11/16).

²¹⁷ Ultimately the plan to swap Poynter and Milner was rejected by Propaganda Fide, but Milner was allowed to travel to London anytime it was necessary to act as Irish agent (Propaganda Fide to Troy, 23 January 1808 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/11/83).

Milner's appointment not only strained the relationship he had with his English peers, but it caused discord within the Irish Church. The willingness of the Irish bishops at the end of the eighteenth century to negotiate with the London administration on a royal veto as a step towards the granting of Catholic Emancipation influenced the direction of the veto discussions in the early part of the following century. For much of the first decade of the nineteenth century the veto question had lain dormant. However, in 1808 Henry Grattan re-ignited it with his provocative claim that the Irish bishops would accept the veto provided Catholics were granted emancipation. Grattan's claim was supported by George Ponsonby MP who claimed that Milner had told him that there would be no problem with the king effectively becoming the head of the Catholic Church in Ireland. Upon hearing what Ponsonby had attributed to him, Milner drafted a response stating that he told Ponsonby that they would never '...attribute to his Majesty a *positive power* in this business: but I believe, on good grounds, that they are disposed to attribute a *negative power* to him.'²¹⁸ To allay fears that his position was being distorted, Milner drafted his now famous *Letter to a parish priest in Ireland*. In this letter he defended his actions by stating that he was stating nothing contrary to what the Irish bishops agreed to in 1799:

Such were your decisions delivered to Government nine years ago, and which have remained with it ever since, to be acted upon, whenever circumstances should permit. Do you break faith with it? Or is that become false and unlawful now, which was true and lawful then? In a word, will you reject those Resolutions, for the purpose of quieting the 'alarms of the nation, and promoting the Emancipation, which you heretofore voluntarily made in order to obtain a provision for yourselves.'²¹⁹

What was supposed to be a private letter to the Irish bishops, however, fell into the hands of other parties and it was printed in both England and Ireland. In September 1808 the Irish bishops held a national synod where they passed two resolutions denouncing the veto and reaffirming the authority of the Holy See.²²⁰

Milner's difficulties were not yet over and continued over the next four years as both the English and Irish hierarchies debated the merits of a veto. Discontent continued between the two factions with the crisis coming to a head in 1813 when Catholic relief was proposed in Parliament. Milner, fearing that this bill would pass, pressed the Irish bishops to have the pope intervene on their behalf.²²¹ Milner's chief concern was that

²¹⁸ Husenbeth, *The life of John Milner*, p. 152.

²¹⁹ Dr. Milner's *Letter to a parish priest of Ireland*, 1 August 1808 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/11/103).

²²⁰ Husenbeth, *The life of John Milner*, p. 156.

²²¹ Dr. Milner to Dr. Troy, 2 January 1813 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/12/115).

the English had agents in France feeding the pope lies about the Irish bishops and the relief measures before Parliament. Those fears were partially justified when Monsignor Quarantotti, secretary of Propaganda Fide, at a time when English support for the papacy was valuable, issued a rescript stating that the veto measures proposed by Parliament were harmless, given the benefits of emancipation.²²² However, the Irish bishops, cognizant of the changing mood among Catholics in Ireland regarding dealings with the government, reacted strongly against Quarantotti stating that ‘at all times and under all circumstances deprecate and oppose in every canonical and constitutional way any such interference...’²²³ Rome went on to issue another rescript in 1815 providing further support for the veto measures proposed by Parliament.

The veto controversy not only strained the relationship between the English hierarchy and the Irish bishops, it also put pressure on the relationship between the Irish bishops and members of the clergy and laity, especially the more middling sort, who were the backbone of the slowly accelerating Catholic revival. As will be shown later in this study, the first decades of the nineteenth century marked a turning point in balance of power and authority in the Irish Church. In many ways the veto controversy that waged during this period encapsulated this change. Thomas Bartlett believed that the veto controversy gave the Irish Church a voice but it might be more accurate to say that it gave a voice to a new breed of Irish bishops, from a social class previously poorly represented in the Irish episcopate.²²⁴ When one examines the shifting profile of the Irish bishop during this time, one notices that the ‘voice’ of Irish Catholicism came to be articulated by the new crop of bishops who took office at this time. For the most part these bishops came from a different, lower socio-economic background than their predecessors, and the majority were educated at the newly established Irish seminaries.²²⁵ These changes were associated with the emergence of the diocesan chapter as a force in the selection of Irish bishops, a development that devolved some authority to the diocesan clergy.

As noted earlier, the nomination of Irish bishops was largely independent of state control after the 1750/51 reforms and the eclipse of the Stuarts. This greatly enhanced

²²² Liam Swords, *A hidden church: the diocese of Achonry, 1689-1818* (Dublin, 1997), p. 82.

²²³ Oliver MacDonagh, ‘The politicisation of the Irish Catholic bishops, 1800-1850’ in *The Historical Journal*, xviii, no. 1 (March 1975), pp 37-53, at p. 41.

²²⁴ Thomas Bartlett, *The fall and rise of the Irish nation: the Catholic question, 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992), p. 294.

²²⁵ These two significant changes in the profile of the Irish bishops will be addressed at greater length in the next two chapters.

the role of reigning bishops in selecting their successors, as already pointed out. James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin explained the procedure for nominating Irish bishops during this period in the following manner:

The traditional method of election on the continent by dean and chapter was problematic in Ireland because the chapter offices had fallen into desuetude during the penal era and had not, in many dioceses, been revived. So power was even more effectively centralised in the diocesan bishop who had a useful means of securing the successor of his choice by applying to Rome to have his nominee appoint coadjutor bishop *cum iure successionis*, a method resented by the second order clergy, particularly the parish priests who felt that they had a right to be consulted. In some dioceses no one was quite sure what the precise procedure for electing to a vacant see actually was.²²⁶

This 'system' significantly centralised the process of selecting Irish bishops, enhancing the role of sitting bishops.²²⁷ Of the forty-seven appointments made between 1801 and 1829, two-thirds of those bishops appointed were chosen by members of the Irish episcopal corps with little to no objections from Propaganda Fide. The other one-third was chosen by Propaganda Fide as there were rival nominees postulated for episcopal vacancies.²²⁸

However, the bishops did not have it all their own way and the 1820s proved to be a significant decade regarding changes in the *modus operandi* for nominating Irish bishops. Finding solutions to the 'nomination problem' in this period involved two challenges. First there was the re-emergence of the veto question, which has already been briefly discussed here. Second, there was the growing influence of the lower clergy who demanded a greater role in the nomination of Irish bishops.²²⁹ Clerical involvement in the nomination of Irish bishops was not a new development as diocesan clergy routinely submitted letters of postulation for Propaganda Fide to consider. However, as members of the lower clergy engaged the process more, deep divisions, both within the diocesan chapters (where they survived or had been re-established) and between the Irish bishops and local clergy became more apparent. These threw the process of nominating bishops into disorder. Lower clergy, Catholic lay organisations

²²⁶Thomas McGrath, *Politics, interdenominational relations and education in the public ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834* (Dublin, 1999), pp 10-11.

²²⁷ John H. Whyte, 'The appointment of Catholic bishops in nineteenth-century Ireland' in *The Catholic Historical Review*, xlviii (April, 1962), pp 12-32, at p. 14.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ For the most concise detailing of the domestic nomination controversy and the veto question, see McGrath, *Bishop James Doyle*, pp 10-15, 65-8.

and Catholic politicians like Daniel O'Connell now played their role too and the bishops had no choice but to allow their inclusion in the process of nomination.

Between 1817 and 1828 the diocesan chapters of Waterford and Lismore (1817), Clogher (1818), Achonry (1818), Killaloe (1819), Killala (1825), Limerick (1825) and Dromore (1828) divided on issues connected with episcopal succession. Finding the right balance that was acceptable by all parties involved a long drawn out process. Part of the reason for this was that Propaganda Fide took a less direct role in creating church policy in Ireland, which in many regards was indicative of the fragile state of the Holy See during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

In the absence of oversight by Propaganda Fide, pressure for changes in episcopal appointments emanated from Ireland. The first significant proposal to change the way bishops were nominated was proposed in 1817 but was deemed too favourable to the diocesan clergy.²³⁰ Another plan was submitted five years later (1822) but this time Propaganda Fide believed it was too favourable to Irish bishops.²³¹ This impasse was finally rectified with the regulations of 1829, drawn up by the Irish bishops and approved by Propaganda Fide.²³² According to these, when a vacancy occurred or when a coadjutor bishop was being proposed, a meeting of the canons and parish priests of the diocese was called. Each priest of the diocese was to vote in secret ballot for the candidate they wished appointed. The diocesan chapter then tabulated the votes and submitted to Propaganda a *terna* of names in order of preference: *dignissimus*, *dignior* and *dignus*. Suffragan bishops of the province could then comment on the *terna* of names before being sent to Propaganda Fide.²³³ This sharing of nomination authority between sitting bishops, clergy and Propaganda Fide stabilised the process and was a key factor in the production of an episcopal nomination model that operated not only in Ireland but throughout the Catholic diaspora.

Conclusion

Between 1657 and 1829 the nomination of Irish bishops underwent a number of complex changes. In the Restoration period, roughly between 1657 and 1684, Roman

²³⁰ SC Irlanda, vol. 20, ff 103-106 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5412); SC Irlanda, vol. 20, ff 165-170 (ibid.).

²³¹ Acta, vol. 185, ff 13-14 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5208); Acta, vol. 192, f. 19 (ibid.).

²³² Acta, vol. 192, f. 454 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5213).

²³³ For a detailed account of these discussions see Whyte, 'The appointment of Catholic bishops', pp 14-17; Desmond Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland: a sociological study* (Dublin, 1993), pp 166-71. This method of nominating Irish bishops lasted until the establishment of the Irish Free State.

influence was strong as Propaganda Fide re-engaged with the Irish Church and sought to provide government after the disaster of the Cromwellian wars and the Interregnum. It was during this time, however, that influence over episcopal nominations began to drift away from Propaganda Fide to the Stuart Court, a change that was consummated with the accession of James II, who received the privilege of *nominatio regis Angliae* in 1687. This saw the beginning of what might be called the Stuart episcopate. Initially James exercised his nomination privilege carefully. However, following his exile the nomination of Irish bishops became an important piece of the Jacobite survival strategy and was used by his son, James III, to defend the legitimacy of his claim to the throne. During the Jacobite phase of episcopal nominations the interests of the exiled Stuart Court were paramount and loyalty to the Stuarts was a necessary qualification for episcopal nomination. Over time this led to abusive practices. The eclipse of the Stuarts in the mid-eighteenth century allowed Propaganda Fide to impose a number of nomination reforms that gave the Irish bishops exceptional influence over who joined their ranks. It was during this nominating phase, the post-Jacobite period, that the Irish episcopal corps emerged as, arguably, the most independent episcopate in Europe. By the end of the eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth century, the nomination of Irish bishops underwent further changes. This period was characterised by the growing influence of the clergy and laity over episcopal nomination, particularly through the cathedral chapters and also lay patronage of building, educational and general philanthropic church activities. This process, already evident from the mid-eighteenth century, was slow to take effect but was confirmed by Propaganda Fide reforms of 1829. These gave members of the diocesan clergy a defined role in the nomination of bishops.

Having evaluated the changing face of episcopal nominations in the period under study, we turn to look at ethnic, family and social differences. Ultimately these helped shape the composition of the Irish episcopate. In the next chapter we will examine the geographic and social background of Irish bishops and assess their impact on episcopal selection.

Chapter two: The social and geographic worlds of the Irish episcopal corps, 1657-1829

As demonstrated in the last chapter, the appointment of Irish bishops was subject to a range of domestic and external influences that by the early nineteenth century tended to pit the interests of privileged elites against those of the clergy and laity. The focus of this chapter will be on how the mechanism of episcopal appointment articulated internal divisions within the Irish Church, often expressed in terms of the social and geographic background of episcopal candidates. For historians of the seventeenth century the geographical and social differences that existed among the inhabitants of Ireland were often explained in terms of 'ethnicity'. This was based on their ethnic and family heritage, often expressed in terms of native Irish lineage and post-Norman heritage. Distinctions along these 'ethnic' lines became an important dividing factor in both the civil and ecclesiastical life of Irish Catholic society in the medieval and into the early modern period. After the Restoration of Charles II and the accession of James II, however, the composition of the Irish episcopal corps tended to be less influenced by ethnic considerations. Instead, loyalty to the Jacobite cause became the most important factor in determining who was advanced to the Irish episcopacy.

The emergence of Jacobite loyalty as a virtual prerequisite for episcopacy ushered in a new era. Thereafter, from 1685 to 1766, the traditional pre-Reformation notion of 'no king, no bishop' came to apply again to Irish Catholic ecclesiastical government. At the same time, the importance of external influences on episcopal appointment also tended to minimise the importance of traditionally inherited 'ethnic' distinctions in choosing Irish bishops. Together external influences and Stuart nominations facilitated the creation of an episcopal corps whose members came largely from pro-Jacobite families who believed their sons were entitled to episcopal promotions. This chapter will describe this pro-Jacobite, family-centred episcopal corps and how these families actively worked to procure episcopal promotion for their relatives. The final section of the chapter will describe the emergence of a 'new' type of episcopate that was imposing itself by the early part of the nineteenth century. This more 'modern' episcopal corps was moulded less by political loyalties, though they remained potent, and more by pastoral considerations, particularly the need to govern and minister appropriately to clergy and laity. This coincides with the emergent growth of influence amongst the

lower clergy, and in an indirect way the laity, in the episcopal nomination process. This fact was noted in the final section of chapter one.

External influences and internal consequences

As shown in chapter one, the appointment of Irish bishops was heavily marked by competing influences, both domestic and foreign. Domestic spheres of influence were largely monopolised by members of the two important ethnic communities, the Old English and the native Irish. Competition between these two communities, mediated in a multitude of different ways throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, is well documented in Irish historiography, especially that dealing with Hugh O'Neill's 'flight' from Ireland and the collapse of the Confederate Association in the 1640s. Although distinctions between the Old English and the native Irish were often used to further a political and/or religious agenda, by the seventeenth century differences between the two ethnic groups, always somewhat blurred, tended to become increasingly less significant. In his ground-breaking study of the Irish episcopate appointed between 1618 and 1660, Donal Cregan remarked that to classify the episcopal corps along the native Irish and Old English divide was misleading as by the seventeenth century these two groups had undergone centuries of intermarriage.¹ Moreover, recent historiography on the exiled Irish émigré communities on the Continent has re-evaluated the patterns of Irish-continental migration and demonstrated how Irish migrant communities were shaped by the cultures and institutions they encountered abroad as much as their inherited ethnic self-understanding.² The fruits of this new research have shown that inherited, domestic distinctions between the Old English and the native Irish communities, although resilient, became relatively less important. Instead, they were rarely replicated on the Continent where Irish migrants had to adapt almost immediately to their new surroundings.³ In Spain for instance, as Irish emigrants became more entrenched in Spanish society, ethnic labels used in Ireland to denote cultural differences became increasingly problematic as ethnic rivalries stunted their social rise abroad. As a result, Irish émigrés began to 'think increasingly in terms of a 'national' community, a 'natio'. Gradually inherited

¹ Donal F. Cregan, 'The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation episcopate, 1618-60' in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish history* (Dublin, 1979), pp 85-117, at p. 102.

² Thomas O'Connor, 'Ireland and Europe, 1580-1815: some historiographical remarks' in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp 9-26

³ Raymond Gillespie, 'Contrasting communities: a comparative approach to Irish communities in baroque Europe' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *The Ulster earls and baroque Europe: refashioning Irish identities, 1600-1800* (Dublin, 2010), pp 166-82, at p. 167.

‘provincial identities’ were superseded by a sense of ‘national identity’, not only in propaganda designed to obtain privileges for the migrant Irish but also in migrant self-understanding.⁴

Following the Restoration (1660), Irish Catholics renewed their efforts, interrupted by war, to obtain religious, economic and social concessions from the Stuart monarchy. An important leader in these attempts was John Lynch, a Catholic priest and antiquarian who published a tract addressed to Charles II titled *Cambrensis Eversus* (1662). In this tract Lynch argued that Catholics should be allowed to serve in Parliament on the basis they were more loyal to the king than their Protestant counterparts. Lynch stressed that the Old English were loyal to the Stuarts during the English civil wars and that many of the New English were Cromwellians or Old Protestants.⁵ However, a problem Lynch encountered, and many members of the Old English community faced, was the anti-royalist sentiments expressed within the native Irish community. Lynch circumvented this problem by claiming that ethnic distinctions between the native Irish and the Old English communities were invalid:

...they could never be so infatuated as to assert that those men [Old English] were not Irish, who had lived so many centuries in Ireland; while in all other nations, how barbarous soever, a man is always considered native of the country he was born... Are not the old Irish intimately blended with the new, and the new with the old, by the indissoluble bond of affinity, and the strong chain of kindred blood?⁶

Thus, in terms of ethnicity, to be Irish meant to be *Éireannaigh* or *Hibernos*; native-born Irishmen defined without any ancestral qualification.⁷

Lynch’s attempts to blur the ‘ethnic’ divide between the two communities were complicated by the Irish Remonstrance controversy of the 1660s/70s, an episode already mentioned in chapter one. As recalled there, the Franciscan, Peter Walsh (1608-1688), attempted to demonstrate unqualified Catholic loyalty to Charles II by publishing and promoting a loyalty oath. The aim of Walsh’s oath was to oblige Irish Catholics to declare unquestionable loyalty to the reigning Protestant monarch. With regard to the

⁴ Óscar Recio Morales, ‘Irish émigré group strategies of survival, adaptation and integration in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain’ in Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 241-66, at p. 249.

⁵ Bernadette Cunningham, ‘Representation of king, parliament and the Irish people in Geoffrey Keating’s “Foras Feasa ar Éirinn” and John Lynch’s “Cambrensis Eversus” (1662)’ in Jane H. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 131-54, at p. 150. The terms Old Protestant typically represented those who were members of the Established Church differentiating them from members of the more radical Cromwellian settlement (Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland: making Ireland modern* (Dublin, 2006), p. 237).

⁶ John Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, trans. by Matthew Kelly (3 vols, Dublin, 1852), iii, 147.

⁷ Cunningham, ‘Representation of king, parliament and the Irish people’, p. 153.

question of native Irish and the Old English distinction, this campaign exposed lingering divisions between the two communities. Fearful that the reputations of Irish Franciscans were being tarnished by Walsh and his supporters, Ildephonsus Salizanes OFM, minister general of the Franciscans, instructed Irish Franciscans to:

...refrain from encouraging and stressing this distinction between Old Irish and Anglo-Irish...[through]...conversation or writing...[and]...all legal instruments, processes, pamphlets, books, and writings referring to the said controversies [are] to be removed from the colleges and friaries and burned...⁸

For Rome's part, opposition to Walsh was welcomed and, in some cases, opposition to Walsh and his campaign could help a particular episcopal candidate's campaign for a vacant Irish diocese. A case in point was the appointment of Thaddeus Keogh OP, bishop of Clonfert (1671-1683). James Lynch, archbishop of Tuam (1669-1713) actively supported Keogh's appointment to Clonfert based on his loyalty to the Holy See:

...Keogh obviously deserves well of the Holy See, for, when no one else was willing to do so, Keogh agreed, in spite of the risks involved, to present to Peter Walsh in London the summons issued by Propaganda and on that account suffered imprisonment. ...[T]o reward him with a mitre would apparently encourage others to serve the Holy See...⁹

Keogh's appointment illustrates the point already made in chapter one, namely that the process of appointing bishops was often dictated by external players and influences who did not always appreciate the complexities of Irish society.

This point is illustrated by a series of appointments made by Alexander VII (1655-1667) on 14/24 September 1665, many of which were ultimately rescinded. Gerald Fitzgerald's appointment to Cashel became problematic because Cashel already had a vicar apostolic, John Burke. Burke had been chaplain to Elizabeth Poyntz, known locally as Lady Thurles and was vicar general of Cashel during the Confederate Wars, prior to his appointment as vicar apostolic in 1657.¹⁰ Without reason, Gerard Fitzgerald of Cloyne was appointed vicar apostolic of Cashel in 1665. William Burgat, writing in his capacity of agent for the Irish clergy, concluded that the appointment was inexcusable as Fitzgerald only held the position of parish priest in Cloyne and was '...among the first, if not the very first, to desert his flock and flee to France...' during

⁸ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 579-582 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 1 (1625-68) of the collection "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 6-7 (1963-4), pp 18-211, at p. 183.

⁹ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 106, 109, 112, 113 cited in *ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁰ M. Maher, *The archbishops of Cashel* (Dublin, 1927), p. 17.

Cromwell's reign.¹¹ The second appointment, that of Burgat to Elphin, was also problematic as he was vicar apostolic of Emly and he did not want to be translated to another province '...as one is deserving of punishment he is removed to a remote part of the province of Tuam, where he is known only by name.'¹²

The third appointment questioned was Richard Butler to Dublin. Butler's appointment was problematic on many levels: Dublin already had a vicar apostolic in James Dempsey and, furthermore, Butler was not a Dublin native. To complicate matters further, there were at this time two priests with the name Richard Butler who belonged to the diocese of Ossory. It was not clear to which of the pair the appointment applied.¹³ In a memorandum containing the names of thirty-eight candidates for Irish vacancies, Richard Butler was listed as '...[coming from] an outstanding family, being a relative of the duke of Ormond; he is acceptable to the nobility; a man of excellent life and conversation [as] he studied at Paris; in no way does he support the followers of Peter Walsh.'¹⁴ Burgat mentioned in his reply to this appointment that there was no priest who fitted that description in the diocese of Dublin. The reasons for Butler's appointment must remain speculative, but it does seem clear that his appointment had to do with his close association to the duke of Ormond and his Old English roots. Moreover, although he originated from the diocese of Ossory, Butler may well have ministered in Dublin as Butler influence was strong in the capital. For the vicar apostolic of Dublin, James Dempsey, it appears he was to be translated from the capital to his native diocese, Kildare.¹⁵ Following these failed appointments, the Internuncio at Brussels took a more active role of investigating candidates for possible bishoprics, '...it is my duty to inquire carefully about the qualifications of each of these candidates...'¹⁶

¹¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 236-241 cited in Millett, 'Volume 1 (1625-68)', pp 67-71.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ FV, vol. 13, ff 142-145 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of Irish material in vols 12 and 13 (ff 1-200) of "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 24 (1982), pp 45-80, at pp 76-9.

¹⁵ On 17 July 1665, two months before the appointments were handed down, O'Reilly of Armagh recommended Dempsey be appointed vicar apostolic of Kildare provided 'he is to be removed as vicar apostolic of Dublin' (FV, vol. 13, ff 488-489 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 13 of the "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives: part 3, ff 402-522' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 26 (1984), pp 20-45, at p. 35).

¹⁶ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 557, 570 cited in Millett, 'Volume 1 (1625-68)', p. 174.

| <i>Table 2.1: Papal appointments according to 'ethnic' distinctions</i> | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------|
| | Alexander VII (1655-1667) | Clement IX (1667-1669) | Clement X (1670-1676) | Innocent XI (1676-1689) | Total |
| Gaelic | 10 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 25 |
| Old English | 5 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 22 |
| Total | 15 | 7 | 15 | 10 | 47 |

As the political situation in Ireland changed, episcopal candidates coming from Old English stock appear to have been prioritised by the pro-French popes of Clement IX (1667-1669) and Clement X (1670-1676).¹⁷ As illustrated by Table 2.1, the numerical breakdown of the Irish episcopal corps along 'ethnic' criteria remained relatively balanced between the two 'ethnicities': twenty-five appointees were of native Irish origin and twenty-two appointees were of Old English origin. Distinctions between the native Irish and Old English communities must be assessed, however, in conjunction with the geography and with whether appointees were 'native' to a given diocese or province. The problem with non-native appointments based on 'ethnicity' became obvious after the pontificate of Alexander VII and the brief two-year pontificate of Clement IX. The latter appointed four archbishops, all of which were of Old English origin. Fearing the possibility that a non-native might be appointed as archbishop of Tuam, certain parties addressed a memorandum to Propaganda Fide arguing for a 'native' appointee who would be deemed acceptable: '...it is clear that the province of Connaught does not need clerics from other provinces to rule its dioceses; for it has above all the above men who are natives of that province and many others, who are clearly suitable for promotion of ecclesiastical dignity.'¹⁸ The first candidate who appeared on the memorandum, James Lynch, was appointed archbishop of Tuam on 1/11 January 1669.

Whereas Lynch's appointment aroused little opposition,¹⁹ Peter Talbot's appointment to Dublin marked a turning point in Rome's quest for a better relationship with the

¹⁷ Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth-century Ireland: the war of religions* (Dublin, 1988), p. 231. For more on the political leanings of the late seventeenth-century popes see Gianvittorio Signorotto, 'The "squadron volante": 'independent' cardinals and European politics in the second half of the seventeenth century' in Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds), *Court and politics in papal Rome, 1492-1700* (Cambridge, 2002), pp 177-211.

¹⁸ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 383-384, cited in Millett, 'Volume 1 (1625-68)', pp 108-10.

¹⁹ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 333-334, cited in Millett, 'Volume 1 (1625-68)', p. 103.

Stuart Court. When Clement IX began to solicit candidates for episcopal promotion in 1668, the appointment of an archbishop to Dublin was initially viewed as premature.²⁰ However, when Talbot emerged as the front-runner, opposition to him arose for two reasons: he was criticised for opposing Rinuccini and favouring the monarchy²¹ and it was felt his appointment would further complicate the on-going feud between the Talbot and Butler families.²² The strength of Talbot's candidacy rested on his close affiliation to the Stuart Court and his consequent potential to act to counter the influence of Peter Walsh. In a letter to Propaganda Fide, James Netterville SJ, wrote that '...as a remedy for these evils nothing would be more suitable than the appointment of bishops...acceptable to the secular and regular clergy and also to the royalists.'²³ In addition to Netterville's assessment, Talbot also received a strong recommendation from the Queen of England, Catherine of Braganza, further enhancing his credentials with the English crown.²⁴

The Stuart Court's influence in Talbot's appointment also proved a significant factor in the appointment of Oliver Plunkett to Armagh. Where the two appointments differed was in the level of opposition they faced. Talbot was from a well-established Old English family and was appointed to Dublin, which had a large Old English lay population. Plunkett too came from a well-established Old English family and was native of the diocese of Meath, which also had a large Old English lay population. Moreover, the diocese of Meath was part of the civil province of Leinster, although the diocese was part of the ecclesiastical province of Armagh. As a result, Plunkett experienced a considerable ethnic backlash from the Armagh clergy for being 'non-native'.

Upon learning of his appointment to Armagh, an agent representing the Armagh clergy wrote, 'Meathmen without exception are not suitable as preachers of the word of God to them, because they belong to a different civil division and have different customs and language; indeed between the two sides there is in every respect a serious antipathy.'²⁵ This statement clearly expressed Armagh clerical opinion regarding Plunkett. In reply to these charges Plunkett noted that the two previous archbishops of

²⁰ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 333-334, cited in Millett, 'Volume 1 (1625-68)', p. 103.

²¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 402-403, cited in *ibid.*, p. 117.

²² SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 397, 404, cited in *ibid.*, pp 116-7.

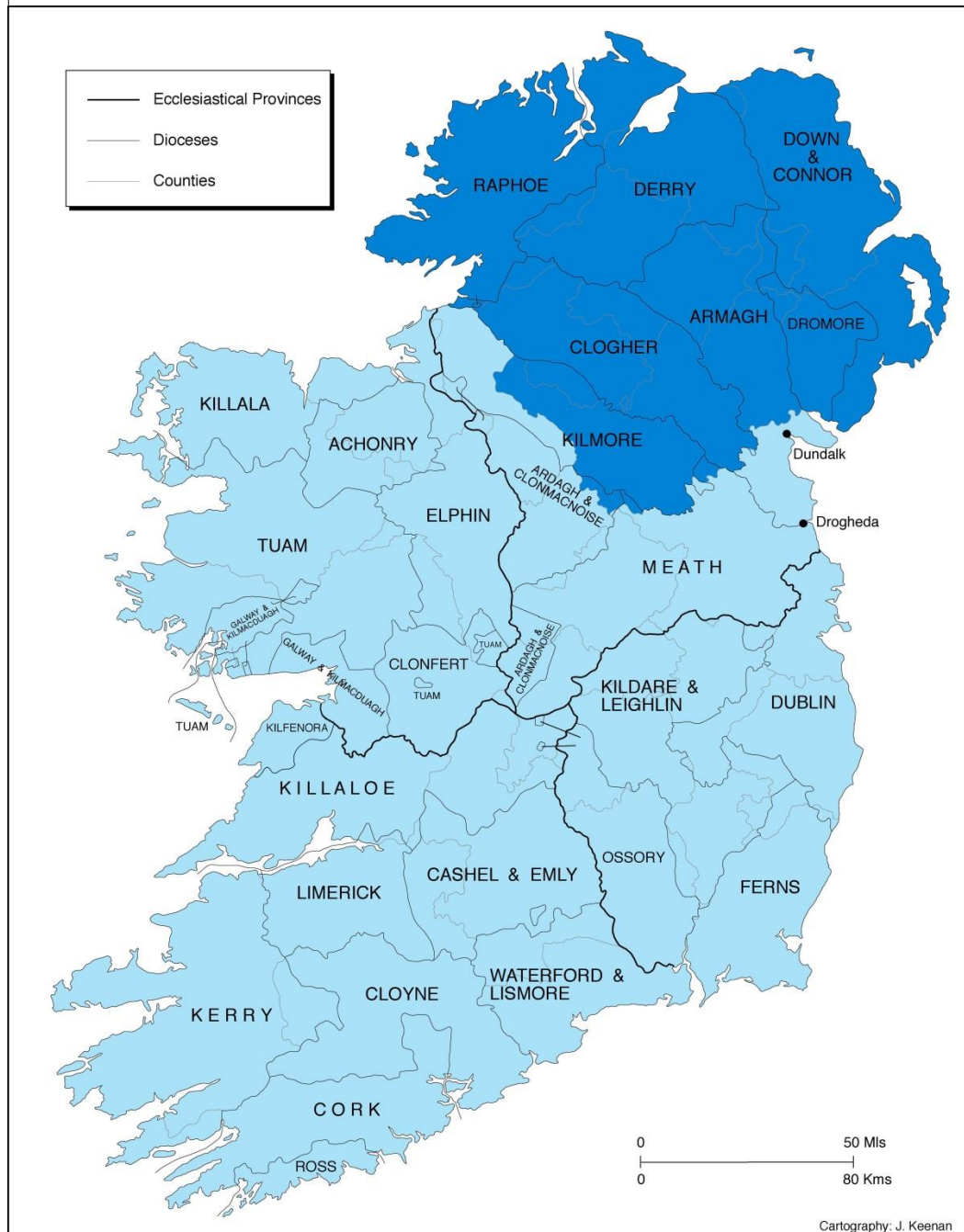
²³ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 508-511 cited in *ibid.*, p. 161.

²⁴ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 516, 523 cited in *ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁵ John Hanly (ed.), *The letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett, 1625-1681* (Dublin, 1979), p. 31.

Armagh (Co. Louth) were not from the civil province of Ulster and that the most prosperous parts of Armagh were in any case located in a different civil province. Plunkett's point is illustrated by Map 2.1 which shows the differences between the civil province of Ulster and the ecclesiastical province of Armagh. With respect to the second

Map 2.1: Comparison between the civil province of Ulster and the ecclesiastical province of Armagh



major charge against him, Plunkett stated he had spent most of his adult life outside of Ireland and that family patronage was not to be taken as indicative of blind allegiance.²⁶

Although Plunkett was eventually accepted by the clergy of his province, other senior Irish ecclesiastics were not so fortunate. The most controversial case occurred under the pontificate of Clement X when John Burke was appointed vicar apostolic of Killala. The Burkes were a prominent ecclesiastical family who, at one time, had two members from the same family appointed bishops of Tuam and Kilmacduagh.²⁷ Another brother was strongly recommended for other episcopal vacancies but Propaganda Fide feared that the family would have too much power in the province.²⁸ John Burke's appointment as archbishop of Tuam was not well-received by the local community and his opposition to Rinuccini further complicated his standing in this largely Gaelic region.²⁹

The situation in Tuam became further complicated when Archbishop Burke returned from exile in 1663 and tried to reassert his families influence over the native clergy. One of his leading opponents was his vicar general, John Dooley. Unlike Burke, Dooley was a strong supporter of Rinuccini and during Burke's eight-year absence had wielded significant influence within the province. Burke attempted to siphon off Dooley's influence by appointing his relative, Thomas Burke, as his vicar general. Moreover, it appears that Archbishop Burke's ultimate goal was to secure Thomas Burke as his successor ensuring that the Burke dynasty would continue.³⁰ After John Burke's death in 1667, the newly appointed archbishop, James Lynch, returned Dooley to his previous role as vicar general of Tuam. The apparent demise of the Burke dynasty proved short-lived as the appointment of John Burke as vicar apostolic of Killala re-opened old wounds.

Seeking a return to Ireland, a different John Burke, a native of the diocese of Killaloe, wrote to Propaganda Fide asking that he be appointed to either Killaloe or

²⁶ SC Irlanda, vol. 2, ff 19-21 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett*, pp 34-5.

²⁷ John Burke, bishop of Clonfert (1641-1647) and archbishop of Tuam (1647-1667); Hugh Burke OFM, bishop of Kilmacduagh (1647-c.1654).

²⁸ This brother in question was Oliver Burke OP who received a papal brief on 18/28 November 1629 for the diocese of Kilmacduagh. He was postulated by leading Irish prelates to succeed Boetius Egan OFM, bishop of Elphin (1625-1650) after his death in 1650 (FV, vol. 14, ff 216-223 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 14 of the "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives, part 2: ff 132-283' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 30 (1988), pp 26-54, at pp 43-5).

²⁹ According to Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, Burke was Rinuccini's strongest episcopal opponent (*Catholic Reformation in Ireland* (Dublin, 2002), p. 271).

³⁰ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 242-247 cited in Millett, 'Volume 1 (1625-68)', p. 77.

Cork as he had support in both dioceses.³¹ Burke was a distant relative of the deceased archbishop of Tuam and had fled to Milan following his banishment in 1653.³² With the support of Cardinal Alfonso Michele Litta of Milan,³³ Burke was appointed to Killala as vicar apostolic, an appointment he reluctantly accepted only after receiving assurances it was temporary, until a less remote diocese became available.³⁴

With another Burke receiving episcopal preferment against their wishes, the clergy of Tuam found an able ally in Lynch, the newly appointed archbishop of Tuam. Lynch named Dooley as administrator of Killala until he could secure Dooley's appointment as either vicar apostolic or bishop.³⁵ Furthermore, Lynch attempted to counter Burke's authority by writing to the clergy of Killala on 28 February 1672 imploring them to not accept intruders into the diocese:

...one man [John Burke], unknown to him, is said to have been appointed to Killala and he is from another province and completely unknown...[and]...if per chance he arrives...he is sending to them Doctor John Dooley...[who] will defend the diocese against intruders, attend to his business and discuss the affairs at greater length with them...³⁶

Burke's problems were further complicated when he was arrested by local authorities. Dominic Burke OP, bishop of Elphin (1671-1704), strongly supported his namesake and pleaded with Rome to appoint someone from another province to investigate the situation. Citing a letter he received from Patrick Duffy, abbot of Bangor, Burke of Elphin was not only certain that Dooley was behind John Burke's arrest, but that he was poised to make similar allegations against him:

...[Dooley] made threats against Bishop Burke, especially because the bishop had impeded him after the capture of John Burke of the Killala diocese...[and] he was not afraid to attack the bishop bitterly and irreverently...[threatening to] circumvent

³¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 2, ff 791-792 cited in Millett, 'Volume 2 (1669-71)', p. 68.

³² SC Irlanda, vol. 3, f. 355 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of Volume 3 (1672-5) of the "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda"' in Propaganda Archives: part 2, ff 201-518' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 21-2 (1979-80), pp 7-81, at p. 36. Previous to his banishment, Burke was vicar general to John O'Molony I, bishop of Killaloe (1630-1651).

³³ Cardinal Litta was from a patrician family and was the nephew of Cardinal Agostino Cusani (1588). He was created cardinal in 1664 and died in 1679 (Salvador Miranda, 'Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church' (<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm>) (29 April 2011)).

³⁴ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, f. 355 cited in Millett, 'Volume 3 (1672-5)', p. 36. In this letter, Litta stated that he did not know much about Burke other than he was '...very Italianised, knows various languages, is an able administrator and was formerly a soldier' (ibid.).

³⁵ Dooley was first appointed vicar general under Malachy O'Queely, archbishop of Tuam (1630-45) and then served under the aforementioned Archbishop Burke (FV, vol. 16, ff 224-225 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 16 of the "Fondo di Vienna"' in Propaganda Archives: part 3, ff 217-80' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 41 (1999), pp 10-35, at p. 14). As previously stated, Dooley fell out of favour with Burke (SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 242-247 cited in Millett, 'Volume 1 (1625-68)', p. 77).

³⁶ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, f. 476 cited in Millett, 'Volume 3 (1672-5)', p. 68.

and overthrow Bishop Burke in the same way in which he did Abbot Burke, who is in fact is now in gaol for excising papal jurisdiction...³⁷

Following his release from custody John Burke returned to the Continent and Dooley was appointed vicar apostolic of Killala on 12/22 April 1676. Both Lynch and the clergy of Tuam had finally succeeded in ending the hegemony of the Burke dynasty in the province.

The difficulties encountered in appointing senior Irish ecclesiastics in the 1660s and the opposition raised against non-native appointees in the 1670s demonstrates that the internal complexities of Irish society were not fully appreciated by external entities like Propaganda Fide, foreign courts or members of the Irish émigré communities. Thus, gaining an episcopal promotion was often the result of patronage rather than a matter of pastoral suitability. Those episcopal candidates who were successful were often those senior ecclesiastics who were adept at manipulating the ‘system’. Ethnic labels like Old English and native Irish were useful distinctions for political reasons, but they were largely just that, convenient political labels, often with little real descriptive value.

The advent of the Stuart nomination right

With the accession of James II (1685-1701), the issue of an episcopal candidates’ political loyalty began to exert a direct influence on their eventual appointment. As shown in chapter one, James was careful to promote bishops who were acceptable to Rome while at the same time favourable to his re-Catholicisation programme. However, as more Irish clerics returned from the Continent, they began to actively seek political favours from the Stuart Court to help secure a position for themselves. Following the exile of James II, the question of loyalty became the primary criterion for securing an episcopal promotion. Cathaldus Giblin has remarked:

...were it not for the Stuart kings in exile, the appointment of Irish bishops during the eighteenth century would not have taken place so smoothly and so efficiently. It is due to them in great part, that the persecuted Catholics of Ireland had a sufficient number of bishops to strengthen and guide them when consolation and encouragement were so directly needed.³⁸

Historian Éamonn Ó Ciardha takes Giblin’s view a step further by stating that the Stuart Courts influence over the Irish episcopal corps and James II’s insistence on clergy and laity involvement in the appointment of their bishops ensured his ‘pivotal role in Irish

³⁷ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 476-477 cited in Millett, ‘Volume 3 (1672-5)’, p. 69.

³⁸ Cathaldus Giblin, ‘The Stuart nomination of Irish bishops, 1687-1765’ in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cv (1966), pp 35-47, at p. 47.

ecclesiastical and secular politics for the first part of the eighteenth century.’³⁹ Although both of these positive assessments of the Stuart Court have some merit, they may give too much credit to the Stuarts. It is undeniable that the exiled Stuart Court actively tried to use its right of episcopal nomination to bolster support for the Jacobite movement in Ireland. As detailed in chapter one, James III often shied away from ecclesiastical politics and many of his nominations were not well-received by the local clergy. As a result, by the 1740s reformers in Ireland like the *zelanti* of Dublin and Armagh tried to increase their influence in the appointment of bishops at the expense of the exiled Stuart Court. For our purposes here, it is important to chart the ‘changing loyalty’ of the Jacobite generation of bishops against the changing patterns in their geographic and social origins. By examining the geographic background of Irish bishops both Giblin and Ó Ciardha’s views can be re-assessed. Although the Stuart Court was instrumental in providing the Irish Church with bishops, it could be argued that its propensity to reward individual or family loyalty ultimately alienated a significant portion of the Irish Catholic elite.

Some of these weaknesses were already present in the first official Stuart nomination. Gregory Fallon (1687) was the earliest, followed shortly thereafter by the translation of Patrick Tyrrell OFM to the diocese of Meath (1688) and John O’Molony II to the diocese of Limerick (1688). Fallon’s path to his nomination and subsequent appointment started as early as the 1660s when letters were sent to Rome in his favour noting his esteemed academic career lecturing at the University of Bologna.⁴⁰ The reasons why Fallon did not receive an episcopal appointment in the 1660s and 1670s remain unclear, but Hugh MacEgan, provincial procurator of Tuam, noted that although Fallon was ‘...an honest and educated man, [he] comes from a lower class family, being, it is said, the son of a shopkeeper...’⁴¹ Later in his career, however, Fallon became associated with the Stuart Court, acting as the chaplain to the Spanish ambassador to England.⁴² It was through this position, and his ostensible loyalty to the

³⁹ Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause, 1685-1766* (Dublin, 2001), p. 207.

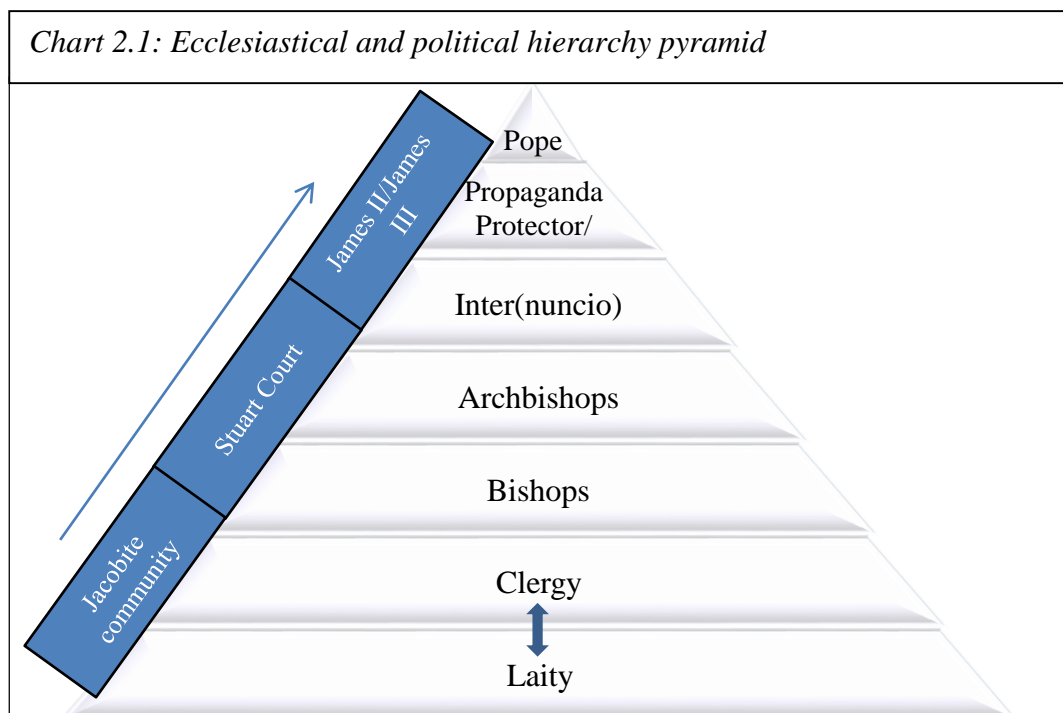
⁴⁰ FV, vol. 15, ff 144-145 cited in Benignus Millett, ‘Calendar of volume 15 of the “Fondo di Vienna” in Propaganda Archives’ in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 33 (1991), pp 54-92, at p. 79.

⁴¹ FV, vol. 16, ff 62-63 cited in Benignus Millett, ‘Calendar of Volume 16 of the “Fondo di Vienna” in Propaganda Archives: part 1, ff 1-102’ in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 38 (1996), pp 59-81, at p. 72.

⁴² Hanly, *Letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett*, p. 15.

Stuart Court, that he eventually secured his appointment at the end of his ecclesiastical career.⁴³

As the first ‘official’ appointment made by James II, Fallon’s appointment set the pattern for how subsequent nominations were determined. A distinguishing ‘mark’ of the Jacobite episcopal corps nominated by James II and James III was their expressed loyalty to the exiled Stuart Court. The Jacobite political hierarchy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Catholic Church often operated in separate spheres, a reality illustrated in Chart 2.1, which outlines the pyramidal nomination model operating under the Stuarts. At the apex of the pyramid was the pope who was the final arbiter of episcopal appointments. To reach that point, episcopal candidates ascended the hierarchical pyramid through complex ecclesiastical, social and political networks. The influence of individuals occupying the base of the hierarchical pyramid were not necessarily limited to that level as there were members of the laity, for instance, who exercised more influence than members of the clergy, apparently further up the system. As the



⁴³ James J. MacNamee, *History of the diocese of Ardagh* (Dublin, 1954), p. 357. The exact age of Fallon is not easily ascertained as there are varying ages provided. MacNamee states that he was over eighty at the time of his nomination but there are letters recommending him in the 1660s that put his age in his early thirties, which by the 1680s would only put him in his fifties. Given his career path and established teaching career, MacNamee’s age range seems most appropriate.

candidacy of a cleric gained momentum, his credentials were processed by the nunciature at Brussels before being submitted to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland to be brought to Propaganda Fide.

The appointment system functioning under the Stuarts naturally had James II or James III at the apex of its hierarchical pyramid of influence. To an important extent, the Stuarts operated within their own bureaucratic system, compiling a list of episcopal candidates loyal to their cause. Their credentials were then submitted to the nunciature and/or the Cardinal Protector for further scrutiny. Recognising that the pope was the final arbiter in episcopal appointments, the Stuart Court often tried to reach a consensus with the Cardinal Protector prior to submitting a nomination. Once provided to a vacant diocese by the pope, Jacobite nominated bishops were expected to transmit the Catholic Jacobite message to the Catholic populace.⁴⁴ Given their important role within the Jacobite movement, it should come as no surprise that loyalty was often demonstrated by providing James with intelligence from Ireland and/or by serving James at foreign courts.⁴⁵ The transmission of the Jacobite message was important as it kept the legitimacy of the Stuart claim to the Irish and English crown relevant to the local population in Ireland and also to potential foreign supporters abroad.

Clerical loyalty to the Stuart Court was a crucial factor governing episcopal appointment and helps explain the pattern of geographic origin of Irish bishops nominated by James II and James III between 1685 and 1766. An analysis of the data on the collective geographic origin of Irish bishops yields intriguing results. However, before analysing the geographical origins, it is useful to provide some context with regards to the geographic distribution of the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic population. As is well known, the largest concentration of Catholic land ownership and population was in the province of Connaught where the Catholic population comprised 91% of the total population.⁴⁶ Particularly important were Galway gentry who displayed considerable resilience during the eighteenth century as they circumvented the hardships consequent on the application of the penal laws. Kevin Whelan refers to this region as

⁴⁴ Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, p. 264; Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 2-6.

⁴⁵ One such nomination by James who was active in the Jacobite cause was Sylvester Lloyd OFM, bishop of Killaloe and later bishop of Waterford and Lismore. For a detailed account of Lloyd's nomination and career see Patrick Fagan, *An Irish Bishop in the Penal Times: the chequered career of Sylvester Lloyd, OFM, 1680-1747* (Dublin, 1993).

⁴⁶ Seán Duffy (ed.), *Atlas of Irish history* (2nd edn, Dublin, 2000), p. 76.

home to ‘the flower of the Catholic gentry.’⁴⁷ The second largest concentration of landed Catholic gentry was in an arch that ran from south Kerry, Limerick, Clare, south Tipperary, Kilkenny, south Carlow and north Wexford. These Catholic gentry families were the strongest Jacobite sympathisers in Ireland and gradually developed a system of retaining property through leases and intermarriage. The third stronghold of Catholic landed families was in Kildare, Meath, Dublin, parts of Louth and Westmeath, where some Anglo Norman Catholic families hung on. Following the enactment of penal legislation affecting land ownership, these families turned to trade and, over time, became the leaders of the mercantile Catholic class that developed in the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ The geographic region of Ireland that remained stagnant, both in the size of the Catholic population and in range of economic opportunity open to Catholics was Ulster. It was here that the Catholic population was consistently below 40% of the total population and there was no significant Catholic landed class.⁴⁹

Map 2.2 illustrates the county of origin of the episcopal corps nominated by the Stuart Court between 1685 and 1766. Of the 114 senior ecclesiastics who entered the Irish episcopal corps during this timeframe, geographic origin can be ascertained for 110, or 96.4%. Thirty-five of the bishops originated from the civil province of Connaught followed by Leinster with twenty-seven, Munster with twenty-five and Ulster with twenty-three. Thus, the western provinces of Connaught and Munster gave the Irish Church twelve more bishops than the eastern provinces. This is unsurprising given the relatively large number of pro-Jacobite landowning families there. If Dublin is excluded, the share of bishops originating from the eastern counties is just over one-third. However, it ought to be noted that many of these eastern bishops resided in the city of Dublin during their episcopate. This was largely due to the weakness of diocesan structure in these eastern counties and for reasons of comfort and convenience.

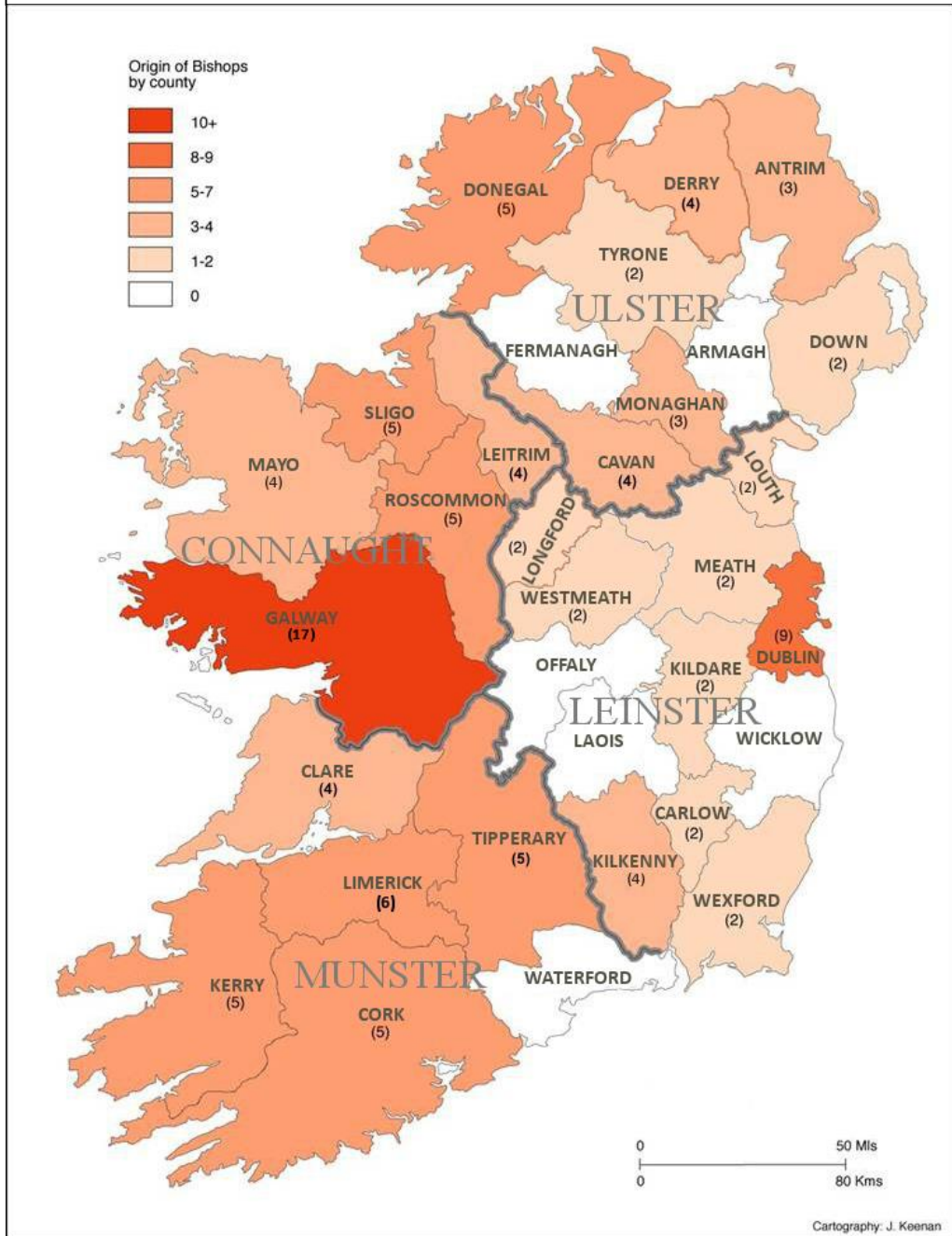
The large number of bishops originating from the western provinces and Dublin contributed to another distinguishing ‘mark’ of the Jacobite episcopal corps, absenteeism. This was not a new problem in the Irish Church. Since the time of Elizabeth’s reign, absenteeism had been an issue, in particular, following periods of

⁴⁷ Kevin Whelan, ‘The regional impact of Irish Catholicism, 1700-1850’ in William Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common ground: essays on the historical geography of Ireland* (Cork, 1988), pp 253-77, at p. 257.

⁴⁸ Louis Cullen, ‘Catholics under the penal laws’ in *E.C.I.*, i (1986), pp 23-36, at pp 31-2.

⁴⁹ Duffy, *Atlas of Irish history*, p. 76.

Map 2.2: Geographic origin of Irish bishops, 1685-1766



intense persecution. With the exile of James II and the implementation of new penal legislation, absenteeism may be viewed as survival technique of the Irish episcopal corps. For the early part of the eighteenth century, absentee bishops appear to fall into three distinct groups: those bishops who resided with their family outside the diocese to which they were appointed; those bishops who resided in larger cities, i.e. Dublin, Limerick or Galway; and those bishops who resided outside of Ireland. As illustrated in

Map 2.2, many of the Jacobite bishops came from the pro-Jacobite western provinces where Catholic families were able to protect some of their landed interests from penal legislation. Because of this, many of the bishops appointed there maintained their networks of patronage after their appointment and visited their dioceses during the summer months to collect dues and preside over confirmations. The second group of absentee bishops were those who resided in larger cities. Reasons for urban residence varied, but the primary reason was that the city offered greater protection and anonymity from the civil magistrates.⁵⁰ Another excuse often used by absentee bishops residing in Dublin was that they could communicate more effectively with their clergy. If the bishop was appointed to a rural diocese, it could take weeks rather than days to get in touch.⁵¹ The third group of absentee bishops were those bishops who resided outside of Ireland. This was the group most strongly criticised by Propaganda Fide as early as the 1730s.

Table 2.2 provides a numerical breakdown of the ninety-nine bishops nominated

| Origin | Same Diocese | Neighbouring Diocese | Same Province | Different Province | Unknown | Total |
|---------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1703-1710 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 9 |
| 1711-1720 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| 1721-1730 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 15 |
| 1731-1740 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 20 |
| 1741-1750 | 11 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 18 |
| 1751-1760 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 19 |
| 1761-1766 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Total | 56 | 13 | 14 | 11 | 5 | 99 |

⁵⁰ John Brady and Patrick J. Corish, 'The Church under the Penal Code' in Patrick Corish (ed.) *A History of Irish Catholicism* (7 vols, Dublin, 1971), iv, 31; Hugh Fenning, 'Michael MacDonogh OP, bishop of Kilmore, 1728-46' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cv (1966), pp 138-53, at p. 142; *ibid.*, 'Laurence Richardson, bishop of Kilmore, 1746-53' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cix (1968), pp 137-57, at pp 147-8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

by James III between 1703 and 1766. Nearly 70% of them were appointed to their native diocese or a neighbouring diocese.⁵² Looking at this table in relation to absenteeism, bishops who were non-native and who owed their appointment straightforwardly to their political ‘loyalty’ to the Stuarts were more likely to be absent. For instance, the ten bishops appointed to a diocese in a different province before 1750 were largely absent from their diocese of appointment. The most notable exception was Colman O’Shaughnessy OP, bishop of Ossory (1736-1748) who resided at Kilkenny for much of his term. O’Shaughnessy was unique as many regulars appointed in the first part of the eighteenth century were absent from their dioceses. Reasons for this high rate of absenteeism varied but money was a crucial factor. Given the secular/regular divide that persisted in Ireland for much of the eighteenth century and the difficulty Irish bishops had in securing a mensal parish, regular bishops often continued to rely on their religious communities for support. In 1739, reports sent to the papal nuncio at Brussels stated that there were six absentee bishops: Elphin, Meath, Ferns, Killaloe, Kilfenora and Kilmore.⁵³ Of the six bishops named, all but James Augustine Daly, bishop of Kilfenora (1726-1749) were regulars.

Absenteeism continued to be a problem towards mid-century and Propaganda Fide tried to find a solution. With the death of Pope Clement XII (1740) and the accession of Benedict XIV, there were renewed efforts to stamp out abuses within the Irish church, including absenteeism. In June 1742, John Kent, president of the Irish College at Leuven, left for Ireland to collect information for Propaganda Fide that would aid in rectifying abuses on the Irish mission.⁵⁴ Having only visited Dublin and Waterford, Kent returned to the Continent where he compiled his report on the Irish mission. Propaganda Fide utilised Kent’s report to draw up decrees which responded to the major abuses that afflicted the Irish church. In relation to absentee bishops, the decrees demanded that bishops return to their diocese within one year or face suspension. Faced with strong opposition from regulars and fearing the report could be used to justify further anti-Catholic legislation, the report and decrees by Propaganda Fide were subsequently rescinded.

⁵² Table 2.2 only reflects the diocese of entry and does not reflect translations to different diocese. For example, throughout the early part of the eighteenth century the MacMahon bishops of Clogher began their episcopal careers in their native diocese of Clogher but were later translated to Armagh.

⁵³ Hugh Fenning (ed.), ‘John Kent’s report on the state of the Irish mission, 1742’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxviii (1966), pp 59-102, at p. 61. Christopher Butler was not listed as being an absentee bishop, but as he was mentioned in 1749 report, he should also be included in the 1739 list as well.

⁵⁴ For a concise synopsis of Kent’s visitation and related documents see Fenning, ‘John Kent’s report on the state of the Irish mission, 1742’, pp 59-102.

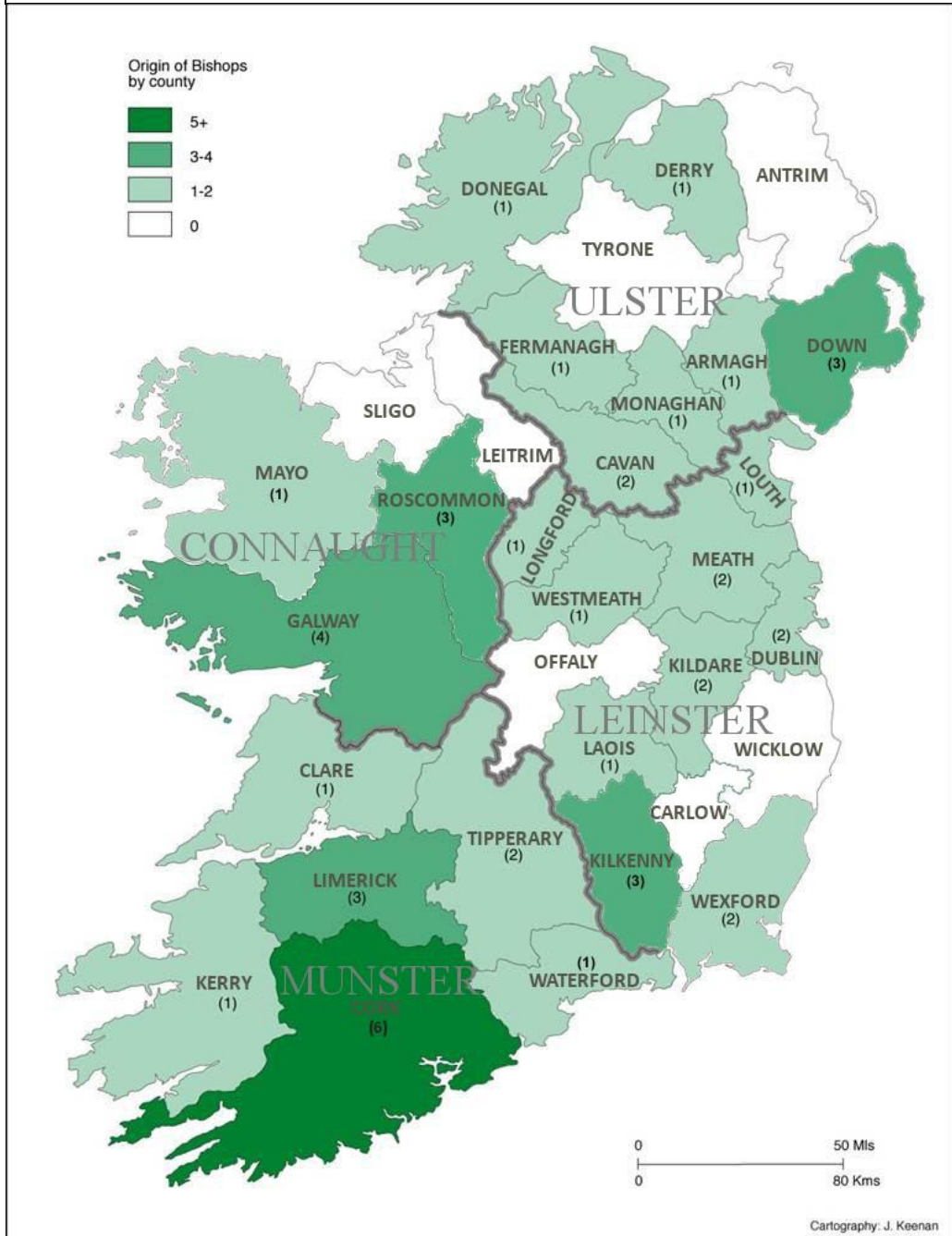
Later in the decade, further allegations of absenteeism were sent to Rome and again regular bishops were to the fore. Laurence Richardson OP, bishop of Kilmore (1747-1753) responded to these charges by claiming that he was not the only absentee bishop.⁵⁵ If one uses the typology of absenteeism outlined earlier (i.e., living with family, living in cities or living abroad), one notices that two of the bishops named by Richardson were absent because they lived with their families, five resided in nearby cities and four were living abroad. When looking at their collective origin, eight of the eleven bishops were non-native appointments. Thus, there was an unmistakable link between the geographic origin of Irish bishops and absenteeism, which ultimately can be traced back to the Stuart Courts propensity to nominate bishops based on political considerations rather than ecclesiastical considerations. Obviously this was not a pastorally sound policy.

Change was on the way in the following half century and analysis of the geographic origin of Irish bishops appointed after the Jacobite period, between 1767 and 1800, throws light on the shifting balance of interests in episcopal appointments. The last decades of the eighteenth century saw forty-seven senior ecclesiastics enter the Irish episcopal corps. Of these forty-seven senior ecclesiastics, geographic origin can be ascertained for forty-six, or 97.9%. A striking feature of Map 2.3 is the significant decline in the number of bishops originating from Connaught. In this period there are only eight, or a decrease of 15% from the Jacobite generation. The provinces of Munster and Leinster each provided fourteen and the province of Ulster ten, a proportional increase of 7% (Munster), 5% (Leinster) and 3% (Ulster).

The data presented in Map 2.3 suggests that in this period there was greater parity between the provinces regarding episcopal appointments. This was especially true for Armagh which saw its senior ecclesiastics appointed in larger numbers. Chart 2.2 breaks the geographic origin of Irish bishops into three timeframes to chart pattern changes in the geographic origin of bishops: first, the early Jacobite nominating period

⁵⁵ The list of dioceses that had absentee bishops according to Richardson were: Cashel, Kerry, Cloyne, Kilmacduagh, Meath, Killaloe, Kildare, Clogher, Elphin, Ossory and Kilmore (Fenning, 'Laurence Richardson, bishop of Kilmore', p. 148).

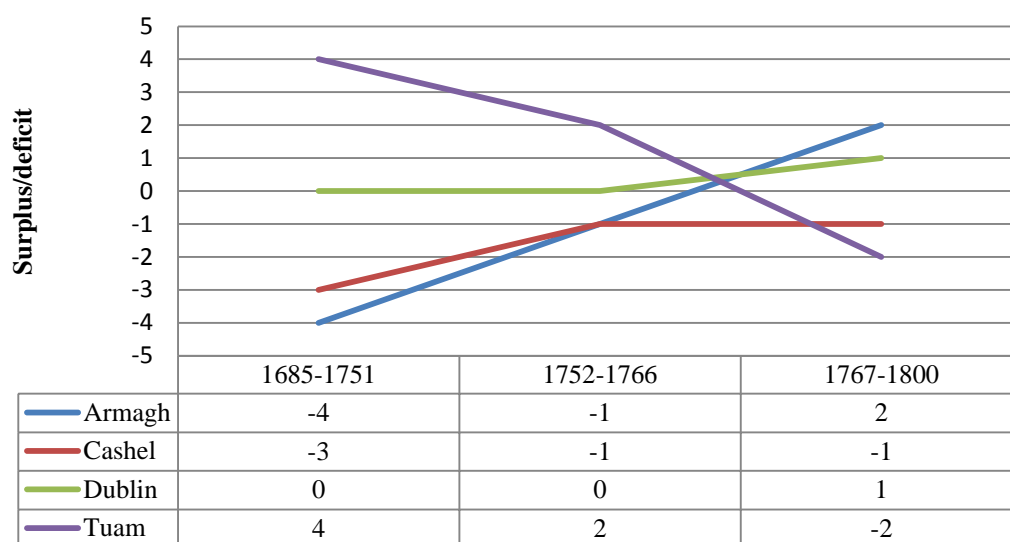
Map 2.3: Geographic origin of Irish bishops, 1767-1800



(1685-1751); secondly, the period after Propaganda Fide's 1750/51 decrees reforming how bishops were appointed (1752-1766); third, the post-Jacobite period (1767-1800).

As shown in Chart 2.2, for much of the Jacobite period bishops originating from the province of Tuam were more numerous than those originating from the other three

Chart 2.2: Changing patterns in geographic origin of Irish bishops, 1685-1800



provinces, especially the province of Armagh. However, after the decrees by Propaganda Fide this trend line began to reverse and by the end of the eighteenth century the province of Armagh which was registering a surplus in the number of bishops originating within its borders.

Determining the exact decade when this reversal took place requires further analysis of the data on a decade-by-decade basis. As such, the 1740s and 1750s saw the greatest level of disparity between the provinces of Armagh and Tuam. Moreover, this trend corresponds with the complaints made to Propaganda Fide by leading ecclesiastics from the province of Armagh like Michael O'Reilly, bishop of Derry (1739-1749) and archbishop of Armagh (1749-1758) who contested the Stuart right of nomination. O'Reilly's ultimate goal was to decrease the influence of the exiled Stuart Court in the appointment of bishops.⁵⁶ The reversal of this trend line took place during the 1760s when each of the four provinces reached perfect parity whereby they all had a surplus/deficit ratio of zero.

By analysing geographic origin as an indicator of shifting influence over episcopal appointments, it appears that the reforms decreed by Propaganda Fide in the 1750s were effective. For instance, by the 1770s members of the Irish episcopal corps began to exert greater influence over the appointment of bishops. This was achieved primarily by

⁵⁶ See chapter one for further analysis on the debates raised at Propaganda Fide regarding the efforts by O'Reilly to decrease the level of influence the exiled Stuart Court had over the appointment of Irish bishops.

having coadjutor bishops with right of succession appointed in greater numbers. The bishops of the province of Armagh proved most effective in this regard and used the appointment of coadjutor bishops to promote episcopal candidates of their choosing. From 1767-1800 there were eight coadjutor bishops appointed to dioceses in the province of Armagh, a larger number than the six coadjutor bishops appointed to the province of Cashel, four to the province of Dublin and three to the province of Tuam. A common denominator with all but one of the coadjutor bishops appointed at the end of the eighteenth century was that all of them were native appointments. The only coadjutor bishop who was not a native of his province was James Butler II, archbishop of Cashel (1773-1791) who came from the Kilkenny branch of the Butler family.

The rise and fall of Irish ecclesiastical dynasties

James Butler's appointment to Cashel highlights another important feature of the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic episcopal corps, namely family influence and loyalty. Through the early part of the eighteenth century prominent pro-Jacobite families were able to attain and retain episcopal benefices over prolonged periods of time. By the 1750s this type of influence began to wane as the Irish bishops themselves gained significant influence over who joined their ranks. The creation of ecclesiastical dynasties was not unique to the eighteenth-century Irish episcopate. However, truly striking in the Irish context was their ability to secure episcopal benefices for family members over prolonged periods of time and their apparent sense of entitlement to these benefices. The clearest example of this was the Butler family of Munster which gave the eighteenth-century Irish church three archbishops and two bishops, with a combined 104 year-long hold on two dioceses within the province. On a provincial basis, the provinces of Cashel and Tuam emerge as significantly more adept at creating episcopal dynasties at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but none of these dynasties survived into the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ Families from the province of Dublin were least successful of the four provinces in securing episcopal promotions over successive generations, at least until the nineteenth century when the Cullen/Moran family supplied Ireland and Australia their first cardinals.⁵⁸

Whereas the ecclesiastical families from the provinces of Tuam and Cashel were adept at creating episcopal dynasties for much of the eighteenth century, the bishops

⁵⁷ See Appendix VI for a listing of the prominent ecclesiastical families in the eighteenth century who received episcopal benefices.

⁵⁸ Cardinal Paul Cullen was archbishop of Dublin (1852-1878) and was the half-brother of Alicia Moran, the mother of Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran, archbishop of Sydney (1884-1911).

from the province of Armagh were more successful in that enterprise during period from the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. Marianne Elliott has noted that the prominent ecclesiastical families of Armagh withdrew ‘into themselves and [had] a tendency to cling onto old practices and values.’⁵⁹ In a way, this ‘withdrawal’ may be interpreted as a late expression of traditional Gaelic ‘tribalism’, whereby certain families held high position in society. No families in the province of Armagh were more successful at creating episcopal dynasties than the MacMahons and O’Reillys. Together they governed the diocese of Clogher for nearly ninety-two years and the MacMahon family led the archdiocese of Armagh for thirty-three years. Other prominent families in the province of Armagh were the MacDevitt and the O’Donnell families of Derry, who led that diocese for fifty-six years from 1767 to 1823. The ‘succession’ from uncle to nephew was common, as illustrated by the combination of Peter MacLaughlin, bishop of Raphoe (1802-1819) and bishop of Derry (1818-1840) and his nephew John MacLaughlin, bishop of Derry (1837-1864). These families combined led the diocese of Derry for over ninety-seven years.

The MacMahon family’s ability to create an episcopal dynasty is interesting as the appointment of the first MacMahon bishop in the eighteenth century was not well-received by the Stuart Court. Hugh MacMahon’s appointment to Clogher in 1707 was controversial as it came at a time when the Stuart Court was still struggling to retain their right of nomination over Irish bishops. MacMahon’s appointment was initially contested by James III as his nomination originated in Rome rather than at the Stuart Court. Seven years later when MacMahon’s name was being discussed for the vacancy in Armagh, James III expressed his hesitation in promoting MacMahon on the following grounds:

...you know his Holiness had nominated him to the bishopric of Clogher, without my having anything to do with it, and dispatched the first his first brief to him, and that ecclesiastic, contrary to the duty of a good subject, accepted without asking my consent, and has still to make excuses to me.⁶⁰

Notwithstanding this, MacMahon was promoted to Armagh and from the primatial chair bestowed on family members the privileges of ecclesiastical promotion.

⁵⁹ Marianne Elliott, *The Catholics of Ulster: a history* (London, 2000), p. 215.

⁶⁰ James III to Cardinal Imperiali, 12 July 1714 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, Entry book 1, p. 129) cited in Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (ed.), *Calendar of the Stuart papers belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle* (7 vols, London, 1902-23), i, 331.

However, opposition to the MacMahon dynasty became more pronounced near the end of Bernard MacMahon's episcopacy. A number of clergy drafted a remonstrance accusing MacMahon, and his brother Ross MacMahon, bishop of Clogher (1738-1747) of gross misconduct. A central grievance was that newly-appointed priests were obliged to pay parochial 'first fruits' to the bishop.⁶¹ Clergy objected:

His brother of Clogher was very active in oppressing the subjects jointly with him, and who expects to step into the government of Armagh, nay and to make it a hereditary right in the name of MacMahon, took no small pains to lay aside the remonstrance made... . . . Now I beg leave tell you, Sir, that in case his brother of Clogher should in any shape step in to govern us, that we must be the most miserable people in the world, nay probably the subjects will oppose and will not receive him.⁶²

Following the death of Bernard MacMahon, the diocesan chapter of Armagh submitted the names of three candidates to Propaganda Fide: Francis Stuart OFM, bishop of Down and Connor, Nicholas Devine, parish priest of Dundalk and Nicholas Sweetman, bishop of Ferns.⁶³ Their efforts were to no avail as Ross MacMahon was provided to Armagh 23 July/3 Aug. 1747.

Ross MacMahon's tenure at Armagh was short as he died a year after his translation. The names of candidates were again submitted by the Armagh clergy to the Stuart Court and Propaganda Fide. Backed strongly by the Irish émigré community in France, attention turned to Michael O'Reilly of Derry to fill the Armagh vacancy. Circumstantial evidence suggests that O'Reilly was a close relative of the late primate Hugh MacMahon. This possible family relationship is further supported by the fact that MacMahon's mother was an O'Reilly from Cavan and upon his return to Ireland O'Reilly had served as MacMahon's vicar general in both the diocese of Armagh and the diocese of Kilmore.⁶⁴ In their recommendation to Propaganda Fide in favour of O'Reilly, the staff at the Collège des Lombards pointed out that O'Reilly's work in Kilmore turned one of the most disorganised dioceses into the best regulated diocese in

⁶¹ Fr. John Campbell to James Edgar, 20 December 1744 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 260/122, MFR 836) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, ii, 18-9; Hugh Fenning, *The undoing of the friars of Ireland: a study of the novitiate question in the eighteenth century* (Leuven, 1972), p. 197. According to Fenning O'Reilly abolished this practice while he was bishop of Derry and later throughout the province as archbishop of Armagh (*ibid.*).

⁶² Fr. John Campbell to James Edgar, 20 December 1744 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 260/122, MFR 836) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, ii, 18-9.

⁶³ H. Morris, 'Welcome to the Primate Brian MacMahon, archbishop of Armagh, 1738' in *Journal of County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, iii, no. 2 (Dec. 1913), pp 189-92, at pp 191-2.

⁶⁴ Michael O'Reilly was also listed as executor of Hugh MacMahon's will dated 1/12 May 1735 (Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, i, p. 155).

the kingdom.⁶⁵ O'Reilly was subsequently provided to Armagh and served as archbishop for ten years. It was not until the appointment of Anthony Blake as archbishop of Armagh (1758-1787), that the MacMahons and O'Reillys ended their forty-three year monopoly over the diocese of Armagh.⁶⁶

Following Ross MacMahon's translation to the diocese of Armagh, the diocese of Clogher entered a new phase under the guidance of the O'Reilly family from Virginia, Co. Cavan. The appointment of Daniel O'Reilly to Clogher (1747) marked the start of a prolonged period of O'Reilly dominance there, lasting fifty-five years. Shortly after his appointment, O'Reilly named his nephew, Hugh O'Reilly, as his vicar general and positioned him as his heir apparent. In 1776 the diocesan clergy postulated for Hugh O'Reilly to be named coadjutor bishop of Clogher, which was accepted by Pope Pius VI (1775-1799). As bishop, Hugh O'Reilly followed in his uncle's footsteps and actively sought to extend the O'Reilly dynasty another generation when he attempted to have his nephew, Hugh O'Reilly, appointed his coadjutor with right of succession.⁶⁷ Led by James Murphy, the dean of Clogher, the diocesan clergy successfully blocked Hugh O'Reilly's appointment, ending a ninety-four span during which the MacMahons and the O'Reillys had governed the diocese of Clogher.

Although he was one of the chief opponents of the O'Reilly dynasty, James Murphy, on his own elevation to the see of Clogher (1798), attempted to create an episcopal dynasty of his own. His initial attempts centred on his nephew, Patrick Bellew, whom he began to groom for the mitre after his own appointment. After he had his nephew nominated as his coadjutor with right of succession, the Clogher clergy protested on the basis that he did not know the classics and had only studied theology for eight months. The apparent reason for the brevity of his theological formation was his appointment,

⁶⁵ Fenning, *The undoing of the friars*, pp 157-8.

⁶⁶ Evidence has not yet been found to prove or disprove a family link between another archbishop of Armagh appointed at the end of the eighteenth century, Richard O'Reilly (1782-1818). Very little is known of O'Reilly's family background, but it appears he was a member of the Kildangan O'Reillys. If this is correct, O'Reilly can trace his family lineage back to the Cavan O'Reillys. After his appointment to Armagh, O'Reilly was a frequent guest of Myles O'Reilly of Thomastown Castle near Tallanstown, Co. Louth (Papers of Richard O'Reilly (A.D.A., Armagh, Letter book).

⁶⁷ The MacMahon/O'Reilly family links were not confined to Clogher and Armagh. Daniel O'Reilly was president of Antwerp College from 1732 to 1747. He was followed by one Hugh MacMahon (1747-1787), who was later succeeded by Hugh O'Reilly, who served as president from 1787 until the college closed after the French Revolution (Jeroen Nilis, 'The Irish College Antwerp' in *Clogher Record*, xv, no. 3 (1996), pp 7-86, at pp 21, 23). Hugh MacMahon's niece was married to John O'Reilly, nephew of Bishop Daniel O'Reilly and brother of Bishop Hugh O'Reilly (P. Ó Gallchobhair, 'Clogherici: a dictionary of the Catholic clergy to the diocese of Clogher (1535-1825) continued' in *Clogher Record*, xi, no. 1 (1982), pp 43-59, at p. 56).

by his uncle, as professor in the newly established seminary at Monaghan.⁶⁸ Although unqualified, he continued his rapid rise and was appointed in 1811 to be his uncle's vicar general.⁶⁹ Even though his uncle tried to ensure his preferment, the allegations against him were too strong and he was successfully blocked from becoming his uncle's coadjutor. Ultimately in 1818 Edward Kernan was appointed coadjutor with the right of succession.⁷⁰

The ecclesiastical family that exerted the greatest influence in the eighteenth century was the Butler family from the province of Cashel. As early as the late seventeenth century there were attempts by members of the Stuart Court to reward the Butler family with episcopal appointments. For instance, the failed appointment of Richard Butler to Dublin in 1665 and later the appointment of James O'Phelan to Ossory (1669). O'Phelan had been chaplain to the Butler family at Kilcash for eight years prior to his appointment.⁷¹ As James III tried to establish himself one of his first tasks was to nominate Christopher Butler to Cashel because: '...he is nearly related to the Duke of Ormonde, at present Viceroy of that kingdom, he will have more facility and freedom to exercise his ministry there.'⁷² Butler was subsequently nominated by James to Cashel on 9/20 August 1711. However, a month later the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651-1737) informed James that Butler had refused the nomination prompting James to reply, 'We beg you to continue your efforts to induce him to comply with the intentions of his Holiness.'⁷³ His appointment began eighty years of unbroken Butler leadership of Cashel that also extended to Cork with the appointment of John Butler in 1763 and the failed attempt to have a different John Butler appointed to Limerick in 1778. In total, the Butler bishops served a combined 112 years.

⁶⁸ Letter from Rev. Phil Connolly to Michael Maginn, Irish Seminary, Paris, 27 August 1814 (P.R.O.N.I., Belfast, DIO (RC) I/4B/23). Connolly stated that Bellew's attempted to discharge jointly the office of president and professor. As professor, 'he was by no means qualified; having never made any regular studies - never having even read what he then attempted to teach to others - nor was he possessed of any reasonable powers of genius...' (ibid.).

⁶⁹ Letter of appointment for Patrick Bellow, 15 October 1811 (P.R.O.N.I., Belfast, DIO (RC) I/4A/II).

⁷⁰ For information regarding the controversy surrounding Kernan's appointment see Oliver Rafferty, *The Catholic Church and the Protestant state: nineteenth-century Irish realities* (Dublin, 2008), pp 129-31.

⁷¹ William Carrigan, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905), i, 117.

⁷² James III to Cardinal Imperiali, 2 March 1711 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, Entry book 1, p. 80) cited in Royal Commission (ed.), *Calendar of the Stuart papers*, i, 239.

⁷³ James III to Cardinal Imperiali, 20 September 1711 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, Entry book 1, p. 82) cited in ibid., 241.

Christopher Butler's episcopal tenure covered forty-five years during which time he successfully united the dioceses of Emly and Cashel. A contemporary of Christopher Butler, Thomas Burke OP, bishop of Ossory (1758-1776) remarked:

He presided over the archiepiscopal See of Cashel for forty-five years, on which he conferred many benefits by his sound teaching and exemplary life, being remarkable for humility, meekness and other virtues, whereby he may be said to preach constantly to the people—a prelate in a word, who for learning and virtue may justly be compared to the bishops of the golden age of the Church.⁷⁴

Much of his time was spent residing with at the family estate at Kilcash, Co. Tipperary which was a place of refuge during the height of the penal era. When it came to episcopal appointments, Butler actively tried to extend the Butler family's influence over church affairs. In 1749, Butler attempted to have his cousin, James Butler I appointed to Cork to assist the aged Thaddeus MacCarthy. As detailed in chapter one, these attempts not only failed but also caused diocesan reorganisation in the province of Cashel with the separation of Cork from Cloyne and Ross. Although there is no documentary evidence to suggest that James Butler's appointment three years later to Cashel was part of a compromise deal, it could be argued that this was the case.

These attempts to reward family members continued into the next generation of Butler bishops when James Butler I sought to extend the Butler dynasty near the end of his episcopal tenure. By 1767 reports surfaced that Butler's mental capacity had slipped and attempts were made to have a coadjutor appointed. Initially Butler tried to impose his cousin, one Edmond Butler from the diocese of Ossory appointed as his coadjutor bishop. To this end, Archbishop Butler had his cousin incardinated into the diocese of Cashel and made him his vicar general. However, seventeen parish priests from the diocese of Cashel petitioned that Edmond O'Ryan of Madrid be made his coadjutor. Without any response from Rome, thirteen of the priests petitioned for Ryan again in 1772, at which time Butler had recommended another cousin, James Butler II. Although the diocesan clergy opposed extending the Butler dynasty another generation, Catholic families like the Butlers showed great ability in having their family members receive episcopal preferment.

⁷⁴ Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana* (Kilkenny, 1762), p. 819. Ironically, this assessment of Christopher Butler is found in the *Supplementum* of *Hibernia Dominicana*, which received considerable condemnation by the Munster bishops, in particular, James Butler I.

At the time of his appointment, James Butler II was still at St. Omer's (France) when he received word that his cousin, the archbishop of Cashel had died. Returning to Ireland he took up residence at Thurles where he used his £1,000 subsistence from his family estate to build his archiepiscopal residence. His seventeen-year tenure was for many ways a continuation of his cousin's style of ecclesiastical government and political outlook. He strongly condemned the Whiteboy movement and supported the oath of loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty, which was, he claimed, 'nothing contrary to the Catholic religion.'⁷⁵ When James Butler II died on 29 July 1791 there was no suitable Butler to succeed him. Shortly after his death, the suffragan bishops of Cashel closed ranks and met to recommend one of their own to the vacant see. Thomas Bray, parish priest of Cashel and vicar general of Cashel relayed to Francis Moylan, bishop of Cork (1787-1815), that it was the general wish of the clergy to have Gerard Teaghan, bishop of Kerry appointed archbishop.⁷⁶ However, their wishes were not considered by Teaghan who came under considerable pressure from the clergy of Cashel and his fellow bishops to accept the appointment.⁷⁷ Teaghan's refusal increased fears that:

...the smallest opposition now to be given to the *Fiat* of the Sacred Congregation in favour of Dr. Teahan probably would engage the cardinals to substitute in his place some favourite candidate already *in Petto* with them; or to gratify some foreign high and powerful recommendation on behalf of another.⁷⁸

After Teaghan the field of candidates expanded to include Charles Kearney, rector of the Irish College at Paris, Thomas Bray, parish priest of Cashel and vicar general, and Thomas Cooke, an agent for Moylan on the Continent. Kearney was strongly supported by the bishops whereas both Bray and Cook each received thirty-four names of support

⁷⁵ Maureen Wall, *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century: collected essays of Maureen Wall*, ed. Gerard O'Brien (Dublin, 1989), p. 123.

⁷⁶ Thomas Bray to Moylan, Cashel, 20 August 1791 cited in Evelyn Bolster (ed.), 'The Moylan correspondence in Bishop's House, Killarney: part 1' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 14 (1971), pp 82-142, at pp 102-3. It is further stated in the letter that the other acceptable candidates to the clergy of Cashel were: Daniel Delany, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin; Patrick Joseph Plunkett, bishop of Meath; Thomas Hussey, president of Maynooth College and Charles Kearney, rector of the Irish College at Paris (ibid).

⁷⁷ For a concise account of the difficulties encountered with Teaghan's refusal see Angela Bolster, 'Insights into fifty years of episcopal elections (1774-1824)' in *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, no. 5 (1972), pp 60-76, at pp 67-70.

⁷⁸ Thomas Bray to Bishop William Egan, Cashel, 13 February 1792 cited in Bolster, 'The Moylan correspondence', pp 105-7.

from the parish priests.⁷⁹ In the end, support shifted to Bray as Rome preferred a candidate acceptable to both the local clergy and suffragan bishops of the province.⁸⁰

The regime change from Butler to Bray illustrates the increased level of clerical and lay involvement in the episcopal nominating process, a new development in the province and generally in Ireland. In the case of the Butlers, the family's eighty-year tenure as leaders of Cashel was at an end. In a way it had been fading prior to the death of James Butler II. In 1778, Archbishop Butler had attempted to have a cousin appointed to Limerick following the death of Bishop Daniel Kearney (1759-1778). This protégé in question was one John Butler SJ, son of Thomas Butler, 8th Lord of Cahir. He had left Ireland at a young age, was educated at St. Omer's and joined the Jesuits at Watten.⁸¹ Although he had no affiliation to the diocese of Limerick, he was recommended by Archbishop Butler and appointed on 23 March 1778. His appointment was not well-received by the clergy of Limerick who protested, arguing that they had suitable candidates from within their own ranks. The leading Limerick clerics were Denis Conway, who was elected vicar capitular by the diocesan chapter and Laurence Nihill, parish priest of St. Mary's in Limerick city. Following the announcement of Butler, Conway wrote to a fellow priest of the diocese expressing his disappointment: 'Pray console poor Doctor Nihel,⁸² for I believe he had a strong vocation, as for my part I shall comfort myself, as I never set my heart much upon things of doubtful event.'⁸³

Although Butler returned to Ireland in May, by June he still had not visited the diocese of Limerick. In June, the vicar general of Limerick, Denis Conway travelled to the Butler estate at Cahir to prepare John Butler for taking up his new diocese:

The archbishop received me most cordially and I spoke to him about his resentment to the chapter of Limerick, represented the necessity of supporting an harmony between both sees, your [sic] on the same footing as allways [sic] and discussed the clergy even to the protest in such a manner, that he repeatedly assured me he never would think more about events in past, and that he would do everything in his power to serve...⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Patrick Boyle (ed.), 'Documents relative to the appointment of an archbishop to the see of Cashel in 1791, and a coadjutor to the bishop of Waterford in 1801' in *Archiv. Hib.*, vii (1918-21) pp 1-19, at pp 14-5.

⁸⁰ Teahan to Moylan, Killarney, 20 March 1792 cited in Bolster, 'The Moylan correspondence', pp 110-11.

⁸¹ Henry Foley, SJ, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (8 vols, London, 1882), vii, 107-08.

⁸² Laurence Nihill was senior curate of St. Mary's at Limerick and later served as bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora (1783-1795).

⁸³ Letter from Conway to Young, 20 May 1778 (L.D.A., Limerick, BI/JY/1/1/7).

⁸⁴ Letter from Conway to Young, 17 June 1778 (L.D.A., Limerick, BI/JY/1/1/8).

However, seven months after his appointment he was still resident at Cahir and did not appear to have any intention of leaving his family estate. The clergy of Limerick postulated more names but Propaganda Fide refused to act until they had Butler's resignation in hand.⁸⁵ Butler eventually resigned the diocese of Limerick and Conway was appointed, the cleric whom the clergy of Limerick originally postulated was appointed.

Even more damaging than this incident to the influence of the Butler family was the resignation of another Butler bishop, in this case, John Butler, bishop of Cork (1763-1787). He came from the Dunboyne (Co. Meath) branch of the Butler family and had left Ireland for Rome where he was educated at the Irish College. Returning to Ireland he acted as James Butler I's secretary and as archdeacon of Cashel. His tenure as bishop of Cork came to an abrupt end when he found himself as the sole surviving member of his family's estate. In his attempt to 'save' his family he resigned as bishop of Cork and tried to gain a dispensation from Rome to marry his distant cousin, Maria Butler.⁸⁶ However, by the time Rome responded, asking Butler to reconsider, he had already made preparations to be married. Given the extreme circumstances surrounding his resignation, fanciful accounts circulated around Ireland concerning the affair. In one of these, James Butler I allegedly wrote to Troy that on reading to the people the notice of his intent to resign, 'the populace were so shocked at it, that they gathered around his carriage and pelted him with all that came to their hands.'⁸⁷ Moreover, there were some within the hierarchy who feared that his resignation might harm the Catholic cause. On 30 August 1787, James Caulfield, bishop of Ferns (1782-1814) gave a telling assessment of the Butler controversy:

Your Grace has, with great concern, observed that our false, faithless brother Dunboyne has put the finishing hand to his treachery, by solemnly objuring [sic] the Sacred Doctrine of that holy church, which had too meekly and patiently suffered the withered rotten limb to adhere to the Body for which he was so badly fitted. He now laughs at you all, but his woes and weeping cannot be far off.⁸⁸

A few days later, John Dunne, bishop of Ossory (1787-1789) wrote to Troy:

The infamous Dunboyne is the hero of every conversation. It is rumoured that he is to succeed Beresford, who, it is said, is to be translated to Ferns. His Grace of Cashel and Earlsfort have pledged themselves to make him a spiritual. ...[He was escorted

⁸⁵ Letter from Conway to Young, 18 January 1779 (L.D.A., Limerick, BI/JY/1/1/11).

⁸⁶ Dr. Troy to Brother Charles Kelly, agent in Rome, 13 June 1787 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/4/15).

⁸⁷ Dr. Butler of Cashel to Dr. Troy, 22 August 1787 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/4/18).

⁸⁸ Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy, 30 August 1787 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/4/31).

to his apostacy by all the Tipperarian nobility and gentry by the by they got no great acquisition.⁸⁹

Butler's actions harmed the Butler family interest and caused reputational damage to the Irish bishops. Within the episcopate it was hoped the Dunboyne affair might quickly blow over, but following Butler's death the family became engaged in a legal battle with Maynooth College over the John Butler's will, as he had left a large portion of his property to the royal catholic college. His surviving family members argued that he had left his estate to the College under duress, as some sort of forced retribution for his conduct.⁹⁰

The difficulties encountered by the Butler family in extending their ecclesiastical influence into the diocese of Limerick and the embarrassment caused by the resignation and excommunication of John Butler, 12th Baron Dunboyne, are significant for a number of reasons. In particular, these events illustrate how clerical involvement in the governing of the diocese was becoming more organised. Clergy were now in a position to influence episcopal appointments in a direct, effective manner and the old 'episcopal' families had to take note. Although the Limerick clergy were willing to accept a Butler appointee, they were not content to tolerate an absentee bishop living on his family estate in another diocese. The Limerick debacle, coupled with the resignation of Lord Dunboyne, sounded the death knell of Butler family dominance of ecclesiastical governance in the southern province.

The rising influence of the lower clergy

As outlined above, by the end of the eighteenth century the capacity of bishops and traditional 'episcopal' families to dictate who joined their ranks weakened. Historian Emmett Larkin believed the influence Irish bishops had over episcopal appointments declined as members of the lower clergy began to exercise a larger role in the high politics of the church, especially in the appointment of their bishops.⁹¹ Larkin viewpoint is expanded upon by S. J. Connolly who remarked: 'there is some indication that by the early nineteenth-century individuals drawn from the Catholic upper classes were less likely to achieve prominence within the Church, as internal reform and a changing social and political climate combined to diminish the weight given to birth as a

⁸⁹ Dr. Dunne to Dr. Troy, 2 September 1787 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/4/32).

⁹⁰ For a detailed summary of John Butler's life, resignation and the legal battle that ensued after his death, see John Kingston, 'Lord Dunboyne' in *Reportorium Novum*, iii, no. 1 (1962), pp 62-82.

⁹¹ Emmet Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 5.

qualification for ecclesiastical promotion.⁹² According to Larkin and Connolly, archbishops and suffragan bishops found it more difficult to have their episcopal recommendations imposed on dioceses, a development which to some extent marked the end of an era of the gentry-bishop.⁹³ These conclusions are largely confirmed by the prosopographical data presented here.

Indeed, some of these changes can be mapped using the data describing the place of origin for bishops appointed in this period. The geographic origin of Irish bishops appointed between 1801 and 1829 can be ascertained for all forty-seven senior ecclesiastics concerned. A striking feature of Map 2.4 is the large number of bishops originating from the traditional economic heartlands of Catholic Ireland, notably the province of Leinster, the eastern portion of Munster and parts of Cavan in Ulster.⁹⁴ It has been suggested this was the economic heartland that served as the backbone to the Catholic Emancipation programme.⁹⁵ When analysing their geographic origin it emerges that twenty-five of the forty-seven bishops originated from these regions, or 53%. To illustrate this point more clearly, one can take the counties Wexford and Waterford which provided the Irish church with five bishops from 1685-1800. In the first three decades of the nineteenth century the region maintained its importance, supplying two more bishops. During the Jacobite period, the province of Dublin's bishops were largely of Dublin origin. However, by the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century this centre had shifted south to Wexford and Kilkenny. In the province of Cashel one notes that the 'episcopal origin' centre also shifted southwards and eastwards to counties Cork, Tipperary and Waterford. The north-western provinces of Tuam and Armagh largely maintained their relative importance as sources for bishops. Galway remained the centre for Tuam and the only noticeable difference was the absence of any bishop originating from Roscommon. The same is true for Armagh where counties Down and Cavan continued to provide the province with bishops. These changes in geographic origin provide further evidence that

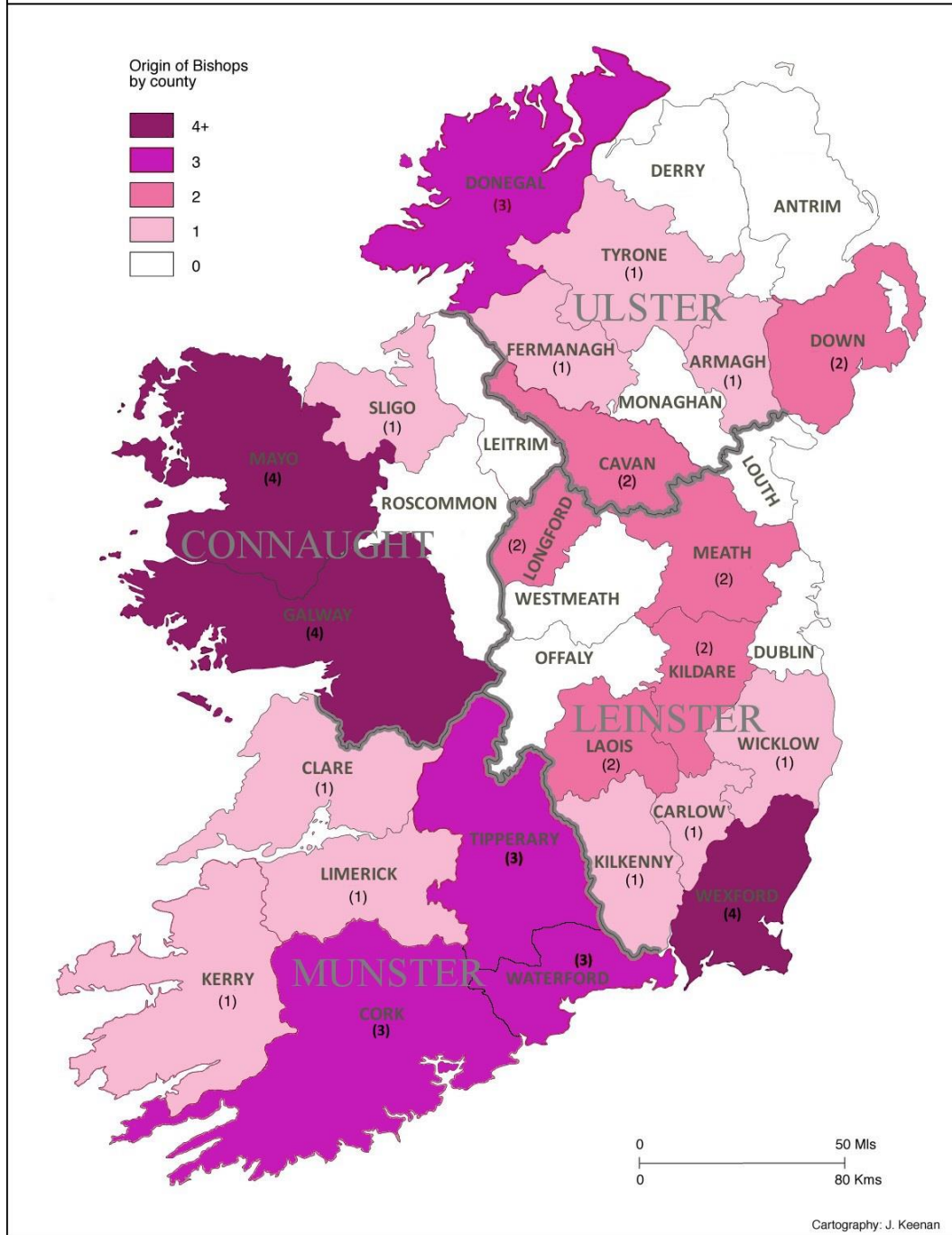
⁹² S.J. Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845* (Dublin, 1981), p. 42

⁹³ Kevin Whelan, 'The regional impact of Irish Catholicism 1700-1750' in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common ground: Essays of the historical geography of Ireland* (Cork, 1988), pp 253-77, at p. 264.

⁹⁴ Larkin, *Roman Catholic church in pre-Famine Ireland*, p. 17.

⁹⁵ Whelan, 'Regional impact of Irish Catholicism', pp 264-6.

Map 2.4: Geographic origin of Irish bishops, 1801-1829



the socio-economic background of Irish bishops was changing as more bishops came from the economic heartlands of Catholic Ireland.

An important case that captures this changing dynamics within the Irish episcopal corps was the appointment of Oliver Kelly, archbishop of Tuam (1814-1834). Kelly was native of the diocese of Tuam and was educated at Salamanca under the esteemed Patrick Curtis, later archbishop of Armagh (1819-1832). After his ordination in 1800 he

was appointed first president of the newly established St. Jarlath's College and was later appointed vicar general of the diocese. Following the death of Edward Dillon, archbishop of Tuam (1798-1809), Kelly was elected by the diocesan clergy as their vicar capitular; he also led the list of candidates to succeed Dillon. However, at a meeting convened by the suffragan bishops of Tuam, it was decided that Kelly's election was invalid and they named Boetius Egan, parish priest of Castlebar as vicar capitular of the vacant diocese.⁹⁶ Egan fitted neatly into the episcopal mould many of the western bishops were looking for as he was the nephew of Boetius Egan, bishop of Achonry (1785-1787) and later archbishop of Tuam (1787-1798).

The western bishops tried to dislodge Kelly as the heir apparent to Dillon by questioning the probity of his character. The entire debate over who might succeed Dillon rested on the basic argument put forward by the Tuam bishops that Kelly was unqualified. In a letter to Rome defending their position they argued that Kelly's family background prevented him from becoming archbishop, as his father was a 'mere tenant farmer.' They also cited his ambition and charged that Kelly had gained the respect and support of Dillon only through flattery.⁹⁷ Kelly's apparent 'tenet farming background' is telling as it clearly demonstrated that there were those within the Irish episcopal corps who viewed their caste as an elite group whose membership demanded individuals of a certain standing in society. Although the debate over provincial powers was the main issue being debated in the public sphere by the Tuam bishops, going behind this public rhetoric, it appears that there was significant concern among some bishops that their ranks were being infiltrated by clerics from a lower socio-economic background.

Conclusion

Patterns of social and geographic background changed significantly from the Restoration of Charles II (1660) to Catholic Emancipation (1829). For seventeenth-century bishops, family heritage came first and provincial origin came second in the competition for episcopal nomination. Although these considerations were always important to members of the lower clergy and laity in Ireland, for external agencies of influence like Propaganda Fide, foreign courts and members of the exiled Irish émigré community fidelity to Rome was what mattered most in securing the mitre. With the accession of James II in 1685 these external spheres of influence were largely

⁹⁶ The suffragan bishops made 'Dr. O'Kelly suspended and irregular' (Richard O'Reilly, Drogheda, to Dr. Conwell, 21 November 1809 (A.D.A., Armagh, Papers of Richard O'Reilly, Letter book/117).

⁹⁷ Draft letter to Rome, from the, Bishops of the Roman Catholic Province of Tuam (G.D.A., Galway, Papers of Valentine Bodkin, Box 8/D6/F2).

consolidated under the house of Stuart, which henceforth played a leading role in determining which candidates were suitable for episcopal promotion. Espousing the Jacobite cause, pro-Jacobite families from western Ireland actively used their Jacobite networks to procure episcopal benefices for their sons.

However, by the middle of the eighteenth century this hegemony created by pro-Jacobite families had begun to break down and influence shifted to provincial factors, influenced by family concerns and advantage. Henceforth, Irish bishops actively protected their personal and familial interests. By the first decades of the nineteenth century, however, the Irish episcopal corps began to change again as more members of the lower clergy rose through the ranks, signalling a greater emphasis on merit and a decline in the importance of family affiliation and ecclesiastical patronage. To examine this shift to an episcopal corps which was appointed largely according to merit, it is helpful to look at the educational background of the Irish episcopal corps during this period.

Chapter three: The educational formation of the Irish episcopal corps, 1657-1829

The central objective of the last chapter was to evaluate the social and geographic background of Irish bishops and assess how this impacted episcopal preferment. This concluded that by the end of the period covered by this study, Irish bishops were recruited on the grounds of ‘merit’ rather than social status. ‘Merit’, however, was never entirely absent as a factor and the aim of this chapter is to investigate the concept of ‘merit’ further by exploring the educational background of Irish bishops. This chapter will first provide a historical overview the Irish college network, which were set up to provide trained Catholic clergy and laity to the Irish Church from the end of the sixteenth century. It will then investigate why it was judged necessary to appoint to bishoprics only those clerics who had received at least part of their training on the Continent. There follows an evaluation of the changing patterns in clerical and episcopal educational formation over the study period and an assessment of how the evolution of a domestic seminary system at the end of the eighteenth century had profound and significant implications for the impact of the Irish Church on world Catholicism in the nineteenth century.

As is well known, the papal response to the Protestant Reformation was to call an ecumenical council, which was intended both to answer their criticisms and to respond to the need for structural reform in the Church. The Council of Trent convened in 1545 and met in session over an eighteen-year period. Trent’s first two phases dealt primarily with doctrinal issues like Church authority, scripture, the Sacraments, faith and justification. For clerical formation, the final session was the most important. As the fathers of Trent set out to describe the roles of the bishops and priests in relationship to their faithful, they understood that a simple re-definition of these roles was not enough as formal systems for training subjects for the priesthood hardly existed.¹ The Council decreed that every diocese should ‘...support, encourage, and facilitate the training of young men for the priesthood...[where]...students were to receive a proper liberal education and be taught how to preach, conduct Divine worship, and administer the

¹ Robert Bireley, *The refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700* (London, 1999), pp 56-67.

sacraments...² This was a tall order, even for wealthy, well organised dioceses. Consequently, the Council's demand for a unified ecclesiastical programme achieved varied levels of success, and none of them were immediate.

The Council of Trent and general church custom and discipline set an ideal standard for the educational attainments of Catholic bishops. In the Irish context, this was rarely achievable in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, the actual education possibilities open to future senior Irish ecclesiastics between 1657 and 1829 varied greatly according to political and economic conditions at home and abroad. In the seventeenth century, most young men intended for the Irish Church received a basic formation locally and were ordained in Ireland. Depending on circumstances at home the ordained priest might be sent abroad to study theology in one of the continental colleges. Abroad, as an ordained priest, he could support himself with Mass stipends. Ecclesiastical students not yet ordained also went abroad, proportionally in larger numbers in the eighteenth century, but they were less likely to persevere to ordination and, if ordained, more likely to remain abroad. Thus, both already ordained and unordained young men and boys went to continental Europe to the various émigré communities to commence, continue or complete their education. Many of these émigré communities were located in university towns and it was there, from the 1560s, Irish students gathered into what became the Irish college network.

The network of Irish colleges

There were informal Irish student communities on the Continent in the second half of the sixteenth century. However, the official 'birthplace' of the Irish college network as such was in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands with the establishment of the Royal College of the Irish Nobles founded in Salamanca, Spain on 23 July 1592.³ Expansion of the Irish college network on the Iberian Peninsula accelerated with foundations for seculars established at Lisbon (1593), Santiago (1603), Seville (1612), Madrid (1629) and Alcalá (1649). Originally these institutions served as 'houses of formation'. As the

² Matthew Bunson, *OSV's encyclopedia of Church history* (Huntington, 2004), p. 816.

³ The Irish College at Salamanca was founded by Fr. Thomas White who brought nine Irish students from Valladolid, Spain. The academic community in Valladolid was established in 1590 and ceased to be operational after Salamanca was established. For more information on the foundation of Salamanca see J. Corboy 'The Irish College at Salamanca' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., lxiii (1944), pp 247-53; T. Morrissey, 'The Irish student diaspora in the sixteenth century and the early years of the Irish College at Salamanca' in *Recusant History*, xiv, no. 4 (1978), pp 242-60; Monica Henchy, 'The Irish College at Salamanca' in *Studies*, lxx (1981), pp 220-27. Walsh states that the reason Spain took the lead on establishing Irish seminaries was due to its willingness to embrace Tridentine reforms, whereas the assembly of the French clergy did not accept administrative reforms until 1615 (T. J. Walsh, *The Irish continental college movement: the colleges of Bordeaux, Toulouse and Lille* (Dublin, 1973), p. 12).

Irish college network in Spain became better developed, these institutions became, with the Spanish royal armies and the ports, one of the most important gravitational centres of the Irish émigré community. As such, the Spanish monarchy used patronage of the Irish colleges as a means of strengthening their political and religious authority over the Irish, both in Ireland and in Spain.⁴ Thus, Irish colleges in Spain became ‘...political instruments of the Spanish monarchy as well as “think-tanks” forging new concepts of “Irishness” under the ideological guidance of the Irish communities.’⁵

Along with the establishment of institutions on the Iberian Peninsula, so too Irish students began to appear in the university rolls at Leuven. In particular, the establishment of institutions like the English College at Douai (1568) provided an alternative to disaffected Catholic students from Oxford and Cambridge, some of whom were Irish.⁶ At the turn of the seventeenth century, Irish colleges were established at Douai (1596), Tournai (1607), Antwerp (1608) and Lille (1610) under the administration of Fr. Christopher Cusack.⁷ The Franciscan College of St. Anthony’s (1607) began a permanent Irish student presence in Leuven, which was significantly enhanced by the establishment of the Irish Pastoral College at Leuven (1624) by Eugene Matthews (MacMahon), archbishop of Dublin (1611-1623).⁸ Outside of the Low Countries, Irish student communities extended to Rome where the Irish Franciscans established a student community at St. Isidore’s (1625) and two years later the Irish College at Rome⁹ was established from the patronage of Cardinal Ludovico

⁴ Oscar Recio Morales, ‘Not only seminaries: the political role of the Irish colleges in seventeenth-century Spain’ in *History Ireland*, ix, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), pp 48-52, at p. 48.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ T. J. Walsh, *The Irish continental college movement*, pp 10-11. For a detailed account of the English College at Douai and its foundation see Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic refugee on the Continent, 1558-1795* (London, 1914), pp 63-120. According to Guilday, the English College at Douai became the blueprint for other ecclesiastical seminaries, in particular, Irish seminaries.

⁷ Christopher Cusack founded the Irish College (Douai) with his own money and within five years Douai had almost one hundred Irish students. In 1616 Cusack relinquished administration of Lille to the Irish Capuchins and in 1619 he retired as superior general of the other Irish colleges under his administration. Cusack returned to his native diocese of Meath where he was named vicar general and where he died in 1624 (Patrick M. Geoghegan, ‘Cusack, Christopher’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish biography* (Cambridge, 2009) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a2339>) (10 August 2013)).

⁸ Frederick Jones (ed.), ‘Documents concerning the “Collegium Pastorale Hibernicum” of Louvain, 1624’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xvi (1951), pp 40-61; Jeroen Nilis, ‘Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797 (with index)’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, lx (2006-07), pp 1-304, at pp 1-6.

⁹ For a detailed account of its establishment see Patrick J. Corish, ‘The beginnings of the Irish College, Rome’ in Dáire Keogh and Albert MacDonnell (eds), *The Irish College, Rome, and its world* (Dublin, 2008), pp 1-13.

Ludovisi (1595-1632), cardinal protector of Ireland.¹⁰ Four years after the foundation of St. Isidore's the Irish Franciscans established the eastern-most Irish student-community

Map 3.1: Irish student communities on the Continent



Source: Mary Ann Lyons and Thomas O'Connor, *Strangers to citizens: the Irish in Europe, 1600-1800* (Dublin, 2008), p. 57.

¹⁰ Cardinal Ludovisi was born on 27 October 1595 and was educated at the Roman Collegium (Rome) by the Jesuits before studying law at Bologna. He returned to Rome where he became a referendary of the Tribunals of the Apostolic Signature of Justice and Grace and later relator of the Segnatura di Guistizia, the Buon Governo and the Sacra Consulta. After the election of his uncle, Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi to the papacy on 9 February 1621, Pope Gregory XV (1621-1623), Ludovisi was ordained a priest the following day and named a cardinal-priest five days later on 15 February 1621. He served held many curial positions, namely prefect of Propaganda Fide (1622-1632) and protector of Ireland (1623-1632). Cardinal Ludovisi died on 18 November 1632 at Bologna (Charles Burns, 'Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595-1632)' in Dáire Keogh and Albert MacDonnell (eds), *The Irish College, Rome, and its world* (Dublin, 2008), pp 24-44).

at Prague (1629).¹¹

Although the Irish colleges in the Low Countries became the hub of education for Irish students in the first part of the seventeenth century, by the end of the century its importance was surpassed by that of the Irish college network in France. Irish student-communities had first emerged at Paris (1578), Bordeaux (1603), Toulouse (1603), Rouen (1610) and Charleville (1615). However, establishing formal Irish ‘colleges’ was a slow process as many student-communities failed to obtain ‘accommodation and made interim arrangements for ad hoc financial donations while they awaited royal recognition and sanction.’¹² The emergence of the French network was largely due to the organisational efforts of John O’Molony II, bishop of Killaloe (1671-1689) and later bishop of Limerick (1689-1702). Prior to his appointment, O’Molony had played an important role in the Jansenist controversies of the 1650s and 1660s in Paris. It was perhaps because of this experience that he believed the Irish bishops should exert greater influence and control over Irish colleges on the Continent.¹³ It was for these reasons that O’Molony became the driving force behind efforts to increase episcopal oversight of Irish student-communities abroad, with mixed results.¹⁴ In 1673, Archbishop Plunkett of Armagh petitioned Rome to allow O’Molony to travel to Paris to re-establish the Irish college there. Because of O’Molony’s efforts, bursaries were transferred to Irish students at Paris in 1676 and the Collège des Lombards was ceded by the French king to the Irish the following year.¹⁵ His visit to Paris further facilitated the establishment of the Irish Jesuit College at Poitiers (1674) and the Irish College at Nantes (1680). Through this increased engagement by the Irish episcopate in educational matters, the size of the Irish clerical population studying in France rose from a few dozen to over 100 within the space of five years.¹⁶ Even more significant for

¹¹ From 1645 to 1653, the Irish Franciscans operated a student-house in Wieluń, Poland. However, this foundation was short-lived and was not as important or as large as the Franciscan establishment in Prague. For more information on the Irish Franciscan establishments on the Continent see Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651-1665* (Rome, 1964), pp 105-83.

¹² Patrick Fertet, ‘The Counter-Reformation and Franco-Irish solidarity’ in Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 32-68, at p. 36. For instance, the student-community at Toulouse did not receive royal patent until 1659, nearly fifty-six years after a student-community was first established (ibid., p. 38).

¹³ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, ii, 219-21.

¹⁴ John Lynch, *De praesulibus Hiberniae*, ed. John Francis O’Doherty (2 vols, Dublin, 1944), ii, 187-8.

¹⁵ For a detailed account of the establishment of the Irish College (Paris) see Priscilla O’Connor, ‘Irish clerics in the University of Paris, 1570-1770’ (Ph.D. thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, Maynooth, 2006).

¹⁶ Éamon Ó Ciosáin, ‘The Irish in France, 1660-90’ in Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 85-102, at pp 98-101.

this study is the fact that from the late seventeenth century to the eve of the French Revolution, the French network of Irish colleges provided the Irish church with nearly two-thirds of its bishops.¹⁷

Creation of a continentally trained episcopate, 1657-1684

Analysing the educational formation of the Irish episcopal corps from 1657-1684 is problematic for a number of reasons. To begin with, it is difficult to consider the fifty-one senior ecclesiastics appointed during this timeframe as a single coherent group. As already outlined, Propaganda Fide's re-engagement with the Irish Church after the Cromwellian disruption was a slow process and did not take on definitive form until 1669 when Plunkett, Burgat, Lynch and Talbot were appointed to the archiepiscopal sees. Only at this stage can one reasonably begin to speak of a shared episcopal educational profile. Collectively, those senior ecclesiastics appointed before 1669 were individuals who had exercised a prominent role within the diocese of their appointment prior to the collapse of the Confederate Association. Indeed, thirteen of the seventeen appointments made in 1657 were from this cohort.¹⁸ By analysing the shared characteristics of this group, it may be possible to begin to recognise why a continental formation became, at least in the view of Propaganda Fide, a prerequisite for episcopal promotion.

Re-engagement with the Irish Church presented a challenge to Propaganda Fide as many of the Irish bishops were scattered throughout Europe and intelligence on potential candidates was scarce. To this end, the appointment of Edmund O'Reilly as archbishop of Armagh was significant as he was entrusted with the task of compiling a list of possible candidates for episcopal promotion. Returning to Ireland in 1659 as archbishop of Dublin, O'Reilly spent the next ten years familiarising himself with the situation on the ground. After O'Reilly's arrival it became apparent to him that the majority of the senior Irish ecclesiastics who had governed the dioceses during the Interregnum were not suitable for episcopal preferment. This was especially evident with the 'failed' appointments of Terrence Fitzpatrick, vicar apostolic of Ossory (1657-1668) and Edmund MacTeige, vicar apostolic of Meath (1665). Following the collapse of the Confederate Association, Fitzpatrick sought refuge in Spain where he had

¹⁷ L. W. B. Brockliss, 'The Irish colleges on the Continent and the creation of an educated clergy' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *The Ulster earls and baroque Europe: refashioning Irish identities, 1600-1800* (Dublin, 2010), pp 142-65, at p. 42.

¹⁸ Bishop Anthony MacGeoghegan OFM was translated in 1657 from Clonmacnoise to Meath and is represented in this figure.

remained until his appointment. Fitzpatrick returned to Ireland but all relevant documentation indicates he was unqualified for the position entrusted to him. A common view expressed in reports submitted by O'Reilly and Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns (1645-1678) was '...he is not competent, for he is lacking in learning, and is truly unworthy of this office, to the embarrassment of the Catholics...' ¹⁹ Fitzpatrick was removed from his position in 1668 and left for Paris where he completed his Bachelors in Canon Law (July 1670) and ironically spent the remainder of his life in houses of formation. ²⁰

Whereas Fitzpatrick left for the Continent to be educated after he was removed, MacTiege appears to have remained in Ireland. MacTiege was native of the diocese of Elphin but held prominent positions in both his native diocese and the diocese of Clonmacnoise where he acted as vicar general. After MacTeige's appointment to Meath, William Burgat, who acted as agent of the Munster and Tuam clergy at Rome, informed Rome that his promotion would '...displease the nobles of Meath to have a man of little distinction...' appointed as their vicar apostolic. ²¹ It appears that Burgat's comments were taken seriously as MacTiege does not appear to have taken up the governance of Meath. In 1671, when the newly appointed bishop of Elphin, Dominic Burke OP, took up residence he mentioned that MacTiege was vicar general of Clonmacnoise and was not suitable for the ministry. Even more significantly, perhaps, Burke suggested that a possible solution might be to send him abroad to be educated. ²² The criticisms Fitzpatrick and MacTiege received from their contemporaries, who were educated on the Continent, highlight a fundamental point. Senior Irish ecclesiastics not educated on the Continent were judged insufficiently qualified for episcopal preferment by the rising generation of Irish prelates, by Propaganda Fide and by the influential Brussels nuncios. Perhaps Burgat's assessment of MacTiege implied a deficiency in his

¹⁹ FV, vol. 13, f. 99 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of Irish material in vols 12 and 13 (ff 1-200) of "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 24 (1982), pp 45-80, at pp 62-3. French wrote to Propaganda Fide that Fitzpatrick was 'regarded by the clergy and people as little suited to rule and instruct that numerous flock because he lacks the necessary learning...' (SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 389-392 cited in *ibid.*, 'Calendar of volume 1 (1625-68) of the collection "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 6-7 (1963-4), pp 18-211, at p. 112).

²⁰ L. W. B. Brockliss and Patrick Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792' in *Archiv. Hib.*, lviii (2004), pp 7-166, at pp 118-19; O'Connor, 'Irish clerics in the University of Paris, 1570-1770', pp 116-18, 120-1, 132-8.

²¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 236-241 cited in Millett, 'Calendar of volume 1 (1626-68)', p. 68.

²² SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 179-180 cited in *ibid.*, 'Calendar of volume 3 (1672-5) of the "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives, part 1, ff 1-200' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 18-9 (1976-7), pp 40-71, at pp 66-7.

social background, but when contextualised by Burke's assessment it suggests that 'distinction' also implied 'merit'.

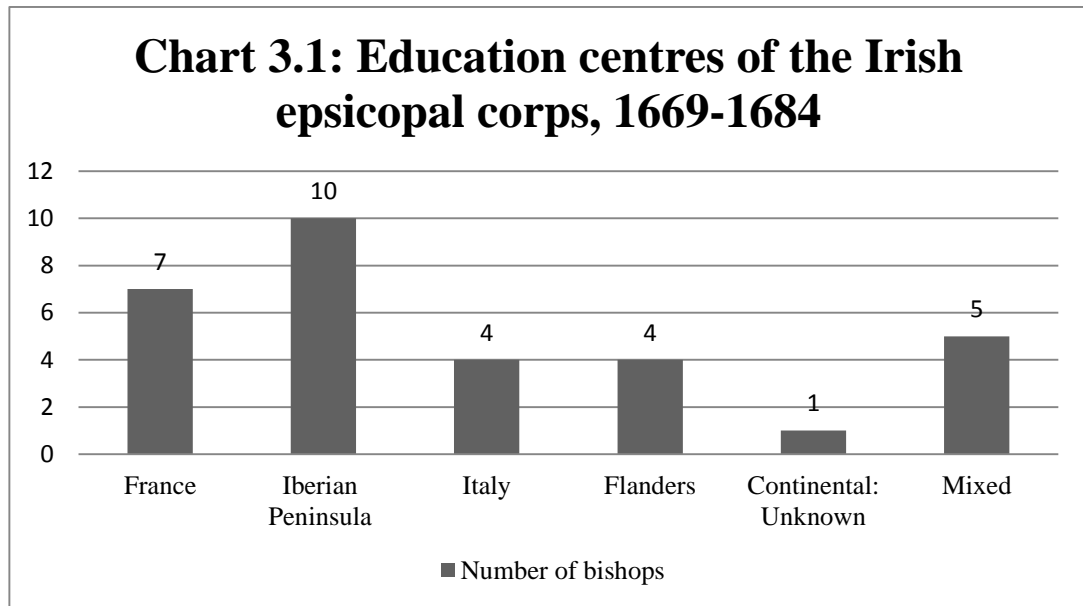
With abuses being reported to Propaganda Fide throughout the 1660s by leading Irish clerics, Giacomo Rospigliosi, Internuncio at Brussels (1665-1667) asked the experienced Irish cleric John Sullivan to travel to Ireland and investigate the situation.²³ After two years Sullivan returned from Ireland in 1668 and drafted a long report to Propaganda Fide which, among other topics, addressed the governance of the local churches. Chief amongst his criticisms was that jealousy persisted between those clerics educated on the Continent and those clerics formed in Ireland. Sullivan stated Irish-educated clerics were '...jealous of them, [those educated on the Continent] and that those who have never or hardly at all read philosophy or theology are more acceptable to certain superiors than the most educated clerics, who can produce more fruit.'²⁴ Sullivan's rather 'elitist' remarks tended to support the reports made against Fitzpatrick and MacTiege.

As might be expected, one of Propaganda Fide's fundamental criteria for episcopal preferment was the attitude of episcopal candidates to papal authority, something that had been decisive during the troubled 1640s. Appointments like those of Eugene MacEgan to the diocese Ross (1657) and John O'Molony II to the diocese of Killaloe (1671) strengthened what might be described as the Roman faction in Ireland, which had become especially prominent within the Irish episcopal corps, especially since Rinuccini's time. This pattern of appointing reliable bishops was continued with other appointments throughout the 1670s, most notably the appointment of O'Molony. O'Molony was steadfastly faithful to papal authority and was greatly influenced by his uncle, John O'Molony I, bishop of Killaloe (1630-1651).²⁵ The younger O'Molony was

²³ John Sullivan was from Kenmare in the barony of Dunkerron, Co. Kerry. He matriculated at Leuven on 6 December 1655 and was ordained a priest in April 1661 at Ghent. He was lector in theology at the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter at Lobbes and returned to Ireland in 1665 where he was a parish priest in the diocese of Achonry. He was recalled to Leuven by the Internuncio Rospigliosi in 1666 and tasked with investigating ecclesiastical matters in Ireland under the alias John Lobbe. He was president of the Irish Pastoral College in Leuven (1672-1697), rector of the University of Leuven (24 June-21 Dec. 1690) and president of the College of Drieux (1692-1695). He died on 26 May 1699 at the age of sixty-six (Jeroen Nilis, *Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797* (Leuven, 2010), pp 107-08).

²⁴ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 470, 481-482, cited in Millett, 'Calendar of volume 1 (1625-68)', p. 144.

²⁵ For a complete analysis of John O'Molony I's life, see James Hogan, 'Two bishops of Killaloe for Irish freedom: John O'Molony I (1630-1651)' in *Studies*, ix, no. 33 (March 1920), pp 70-93.



taught by his uncle in Ireland until he was ordained a priest when he was sent to Paris to further his studies. At Paris, O'Molony became vocally opposed to Jansenism and Gallicanism where he became known in French circles as an 'out and out Roman'.²⁶ In relation to Irish affairs, the death of his near relative David O'Molony at the hands of Cromwellian forces on 1 January 1654 cemented his strong anti-English bias. He played an active role in trying to persuade the French government to invade Ireland in the late 1660s.²⁷ More importantly he used his diplomatic skills to oppose Peter Walsh's 'Remonstrance' and helped broker peace between Plunkett and Talbot in their on-going and energy-sapping dispute over the Irish primacy.²⁸

After 1669 the educational background of the Irish episcopate was permanently altered as henceforth all Irish bishops would be educated on the Continent. As illustrated by Chart 3.1, for the period between the Restoration and the accession of James II, clerics educated on the Iberian Peninsula were appointed to the Irish episcopate in greater numbers than those educated at the other educational centres on the Continent, representing just over one-third of the episcopal cohort in the period. Looking at the data from a provincial viewpoint, one notices that there were twelve bishops originating from the province of Armagh, three from the province of Cashel,

²⁶ Patrick Boyle, 'John O'Molony: bishop of Killaloe (1672-89) and of Limerick (1689-1702)' in *I.E.R.*, 4th ser., xxxii (1912), pp 574-89, at p. 575. For a more detailed account of Molony's involvement with the Jansenist debates in Paris see Hogan, 'Two bishops of Killaloe for Irish freedom', pp 218-22.

²⁷ Boyle, 'John O'Molony: bishop of Killaloe', pp 228-31; Hogan, 'Two bishops of Killaloe for Irish freedom', pp 421-7.

²⁸ See chapter one for more on the primatial dispute between Plunkett and Talbot.

eight from the province of Dublin and eight from the province of Tuam. Six of the twelve bishops appointed to dioceses in the province of Armagh were educated in Spanish territories, three were educated in Rome and two were educated in France.²⁹ Bishops appointed to dioceses located in the province of Tuam were also drawn largely from the Spanish colleges. Three of the eight bishops were known to have been educated in Spain. The place of education for two other bishops is unknown but given their close links with the Spanish military it is probable that they too were educated in Spain or Flanders.³⁰ Only one bishop is known to have been educated in France, Hugh MacDermot, vicar apostolic of Achonry (1683-1707). As for John Dooley, vicar apostolic of Killala (1676-1678), he received his licentiate in canon law from the University of Paris and a doctorate in canon law at Galway in the presence of the papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini. This is the only known example of a senior Irish ecclesiastic being awarded an advanced degree in canon law in Ireland at this time.³¹

Bishops appointed to dioceses in the province of Dublin had the most diversified educational background of all the provinces. Three of these bishops were educated on the Iberian Peninsula, two in Portugal and one in Spain. Two were educated in Flanders and both of these were appointed to the diocese of Kildare. Patrick Dempsey, vicar apostolic of Kildare (1671) was president of the Irish College (Lille) at the time of his appointment (1665-1682).³² The Dempseys were part of the strong Leinster contingent educated at Lille, three of the college's rectors in the seventeenth century were drawn from the Dempsey family. Another vicar apostolic, Gerard Tellin (1683) was educated at Tournai and then transferred to the Irish College (Rome) where he was ordained in 1680. His nomination was strongly opposed by the Dublin chapter owing to his inexperience: he had been ordained only three years previously.³³ The other two

²⁹ The Franciscan Patrick Tyrrell was educated at the University of Alcalá and then undertook his theology courses at St. Isidore's in Rome under the celebrated Luke Wadding.

³⁰ John Burke was appointed vicar apostolic to Killala in 1671. In an undated letter to Propaganda Fide Burke was recommended to a vacant diocese in Ireland by Cardinal Camillo Massimo, papal nuncio to Spain (1654-1656); given the tenure of Massimo this recommendation was placed between 1654 and 1656. A supporting letter to Camillo's letter was provided by the king of Spain, Philip IV (1621-1665). Philip stated that Burke had spent seven years serving as a chaplain in the Spanish military (FV, vol. 15, ff 102-104 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5535). Maurice Durcan was appointed vicar apostolic to Achonry in 1677. He already had earned a doctorate in theology when he signed the *Déclaration* (1651) against Jansenism (Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics', p. 146). Durcan also had a distinctive 'Spanish resume' having served as chaplain to troops in Spanish Flanders (FV, vol. 13, f. 459 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5533).

³¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 499-500 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5339).

³² Lille was part of Spanish Flanders until 1668 when it was ceded to France as part of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

³³ J. Anthony Gaughan, *The archbishops, bishops and priests who served in the Archdiocese of Dublin in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2010), p. 67.

bishops appointed to the province of Dublin were educated at France. Phelan of Ossory received his education following the collapse of the Confederate Association, first undertaking a degree in canon law at Paris and then transferring to Rheims where he earned a doctorate in theology.³⁴ After 1669, there were only three bishops appointed to dioceses in the province of Cashel: O'Molony, Brenan of Waterford and Creagh of Cork and Cloyne. Both Brenan and Creagh were educated at Rome and both were later translated to archiepiscopal sees.³⁵

Although the 1670s were a period of significant growth for the Irish Church, political instability at home highlighted the stark reality that educational opportunities and centres on the Continent would have to be part of the long-term Catholic survival strategy.³⁶ This strategy had a profound impact on the educational profile of Irish bishops. Many of the bishops mentioned above undertook degree programmes on the Continent as a result of the continuing political unrest and uncertainty in Ireland. A continental education was henceforth a pre-requisite for episcopal preferment in Ireland and this was tied to the maintenance of the continental college network. On the eve of James II's accession, as more resources were directed towards the Irish colleges in France, the Irish episcopate was poised to become more French-centred. Ultimately this change in educational profile had a profound impact on how the Irish episcopate viewed royal and papal authority. The distinctly 'Roman' appointments of the 1670s were about to be engulfed by a decidedly royalist episcopal generation.

Education of the Irish episcopal corps, 1685-1766

As detailed in the previous chapters, after James II's accession the primary criterion for potential episcopal candidates was their demonstrable loyalty to the Stuarts. This requirement did not always sit well with the Brussels nuncios and members of Propaganda Fide who preferred a more thorough-going papal loyalty from Irish bishops. Consequently, it set something of a challenge for candidates for the Irish episcopacy. From 1685, with a Catholic monarch on the throne of Ireland, the criterion of papal loyalty had henceforth to be accommodated in the context of fidelity to the Stuarts and their interests. One might argue that if their loyalty to the Stuarts enabled them to secure a promotion, once promoted, Irish bishops had to be able to govern and also to manage the sometimes conflicting loyalty due to the supreme Pontiff and the agencies of

³⁴ John Hanly (ed.), *The letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett, 1625-1681* (Dublin, 1979), p. 9.

³⁵ Peter Creagh was initially educated at the Jesuit College (Portiers) under his uncle, Edward Creagh. He then transferred to Rome where he studied under another relative, John Creagh.

³⁶ Ó Ciosáin, 'The Irish in France, 1660-90', p. 100.

ecclesiastical government in Rome. Consequently, it is important to assess in a nuanced way how the formation of the Jacobite generation of bishops reflected these complex realities. As we shall see, this Jacobite cohort was the most diverse of all the episcopal cohorts appointed during the period covered by this study (1657-1829).

Given the strong emphasis placed on loyalty to the Stuarts after 1685, it should come as no surprise that many of the nominations made by James II and later by his son, the so called pretender, James III, tended to be clerics associated with France, initially the great continental supporter of the Catholic Stuarts. Between 1685 and 1766, forty-eight bishops appointed under the Stuart nomination had been educated in France with most coming from the province of Cashel. Statistically, the Cashel bishops accounted for 44% of the French-educated Irish bishops. This high proportion of French-educated bishops is confirmed by Brockliss and Ferté's statistical analysis of Irish clerics educated in France where the majority of Irish clerics came from the province of Cashel. Take, for example, the Irish College at Toulouse, where Cashel clerics comprised 95.4% of the student population from 1690-1740 and 84.6% of the student population from 1740-1789.³⁷ The Cashel student population at Bordeaux was slightly lower with about 60% of the student population coming from the province.³⁸ However, not all of the Irish colleges were monopolised by Cashel clerics. It ought to be noted that the Irish College at Lille, for instance, was established exclusively for students from the civil province of Leinster and was dominated by them.³⁹

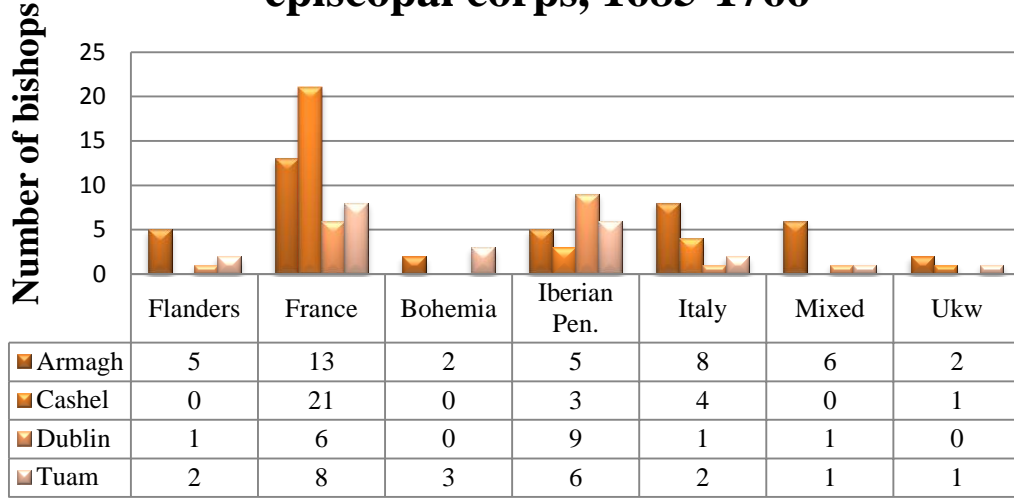
As illustrated by Chart 3.2, French-educated bishops comprised a much smaller percentage of the Irish episcopal corps in the other three provinces. There were noticeable absences of French educated bishops from the five northern and eastern dioceses of: Clogher, Kilmore, Meath, Dublin and Ferns. With regards to Clogher, the reason for the paucity of French-educated bishops may be explained by the MacMahon and O'Reilly families' historical association with Flanders and Rome. Looking at the remaining four dioceses mentioned, the family connection cannot explain why there

³⁷ L. W. B. Brockliss and Patrick Ferté, 'Irish clerics in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: a statistical analysis' in *R.I.A.*, lxxxixC (1987), pp 527-72, at p. 560.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 561.

³⁹ Walsh, *The Irish continental college movement*, p. 140.

Chart 3.2: Education centres of the Irish episcopal corps, 1685-1766



were no French-educated bishops.⁴⁰ If there is any discernable pattern, it might be that an Iberian education was preferred in these dioceses. Twelve bishops were educated in Portugal and Spain, one at Prague and the remaining three at Leuven and Rome.

Dublin was something of a special case for the Stuarts. With their close French affiliations, James III was conscious that the appointment of French-educated bishops might be viewed negatively by the Dublin and London administration.⁴¹ When Dublin became vacant in 1723 on the death of Edmund Byrne, archbishop of Dublin (1707-1723), his successor Dominic Edward Murphy was the choice of neither the local nobility nor senior Catholic ecclesiastics. However, he gained James' nomination as a compromise candidate when it became apparent that he was more palatable to the Dublin administration than the other possible nominee, Bernard Dunne. This was a fact that the exiled Stuarts could not ignore. Although Dunne had strong Jacobite sympathies and used Jacobite networks in his efforts to return to Ireland as bishop, his exclusively French résumé was a determining factor in him being passed over for the Dublin vacancy.⁴² In a letter to John Ingleton, Jacobite agent regarding ecclesiastical matters,

⁴⁰ Between 1657 and 1749, there were no French-educated archbishops of Armagh. O'Reilly of Armagh was educated in Antwerp, Leuven and Douai; however, Douai was part of the Spanish Low Countries until 1668 when it was ceded to France with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

⁴¹ Francophobia on the part of the Irish and English administration was largely shaped by the policies of Louis XIV and his quest to be a 'universal monarch' at the end of the seventeenth century. As Tony Claydon has shown, the bellicose language used by English pamphleteers had a profound impact in shaping English attitudes of the French. Although there was a 'thaw' in English-French relations between 1716 and 1731, these characterisation had become too engrained in the English psyche, a mistrust that lasted well into the nineteenth century (Tony Claydon, *Europe and the making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007), pp 152-219).

⁴² Dunne was educated at Paris and had earned a doctorate in theology (1695). After completing his studies he remained in France where he was named curé of Boynes located in north-central France.

James III said Dunne's appointment posed too great of a problem with government '...in the present circumstances [I] found by no means desirable to send into the capital of that country any person from France, however qualified he was for the highest dignities...' ⁴³ Instead, Dunne was nominated to the diocese of Kildare by James and he was provided to that diocese on 5/16 December 1724.

Although Chart 3.2 provides intriguing geographical analysis, the data presented do not adequately explain the role educational destinations and formation had in the making of Jacobite bishops. To this end, it is helpful to analyse in more detail the different educational patterns of successful episcopal candidates. It seems likely that many Jacobite bishops benefited from the educational opportunities provided by the establishment of Catholic schools in certain parts of Ireland during the 1670s. This development was led by the Jesuits who had established schools at New Ross, Drogheda, Cashel and Dublin. ⁴⁴ Plunkett of Armagh was instrumental in having the Jesuits open the school in Drogheda, which at its height educated 150 students per annum, twenty-five of whom were clerical students. ⁴⁵ One of these was Patrick Donnelly, bishop of Dromore (1697-1728). After the completion of his studies he was ordained by Plunkett near Dundalk (1673) and continued to the Continent to further his studies in France.

Contrary to what is often stated, increased religious persecution at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century did not eradicate all of these Jesuit institutions. In some regards these institutions operated 'underground', a fact that is illustrated by the early education of John Linegar, archbishop of Dublin (1734-1757). Linegar was educated by the Jesuits in Dublin at Chancery Place before going to Portugal. ⁴⁶ Aside from Jesuit run institutions, there were other schools like McCabe's School in Tullycorbet where Bernard MacMahon, bishop of Clogher (1726-

⁴³ James III to Fr. John Ingleton, 26 August 1724 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 76/72, MFR 754) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 46. James asked Ingleton to have Fr. Bernard Dunne consider the vacancy created in the diocese of Kildare by the transfer of Bishop Murphy to Dublin.

⁴⁴ The schools taught basic humanities in preparation for third level education (T. Corcoran, 'Blessed Oliver Plunkett and his Jesuit schools' in *Studies*, xxx, no. 119 (Sept. 1941), pp 415-24.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

⁴⁶ Hugh Fenning, 'The archbishops of Dublin, 1693-1786' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 175-214, at p. 188. In 1731 there had been forty-five Catholic schools in Dublin established to counteract the work of Protestant charter schools (J. L. McCracken, 'The ecclesiastical structure, 1714-1760' in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (eds), *A new history of Ireland, 4: eighteenth-century Ireland* (9 vols, Oxford, 1986), iv, 84-104, at 95).

1737) and later archbishop of Armagh (1737-1747) received his early education.⁴⁷ Although rare by the early eighteenth century, the practice of fosterage cannot be dismissed as a form of education in the Gaelic regions of the country. Hugh MacMahon, bishop of Clogher (1707-1715) and later archbishop of Armagh (1715-1737) was fostered to the MacAlgivery family around the age of seven and stayed with the family until twelve years old.⁴⁸ MacMahon's fosterage to the MacAlgivery family cemented a close bond with the family as he later willed five pounds to each of his 'foster brothers' Edmund and Thady MacAlgivery al' Winter.⁴⁹

Determining patterns in the educational experience of prospective bishops once they arrived to the Continent can be difficult given the unevenness of university records. Few records survive from the Irish colleges and, those that do, generally detail the day-to-day running of the institutions rather than providing student lists or describing the coursework or programme of study. Moreover, extreme caution needs to be exercised when analysing the total number of bishops who undertook higher degrees. There is sound information on where bishops were educated, but it is difficult to determine their level of study and final qualification. As is well known, early modern admission records tend to be more accurate than graduate rolls. Moreover, there was high mobility among seventeenth- and eighteen-century students.⁵⁰ This is most evident in the University of Leuven's records which provide an excellent overview of those students who studied there, but when looking at the degrees earned the information is rather patchy.⁵¹ Brockliss and Ferté's prosopographical analysis of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Irish students provides the most in-depth analysis of Irish students in Paris and Toulouse and their educational careers. But again, it is not always clear what level of final qualification was attained.⁵²

⁴⁷ P. Ó Gallchobhair, 'Clogherici: a dictionary of the Catholic clergy to the diocese of Clogher (1535-1825) continued' in *Clogher Record*, xi, no. 1 (1982), pp 43-59, at p. 47. For more information on local schools during the eighteenth century see Antonia McManus, *The Irish hedge school and its books, 1695-1831* (Dublin, 2004).

⁴⁸ Laurence T. Flynn, 'Hugh MacMahon, bishop of Clogher 1707-1715 and archbishop of Armagh 1715-1737' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, vii, no. 1 (1973), pp 108-75, at pp 110-11.

⁴⁹ Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), pp 149-56.

⁵⁰ Willem Frijhoff, 'Graduation and careers' in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A history of the university in Europe, ii: universities in early modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 355-415, at p. 377.

⁵¹ The University of Leuven's records covers about 95% of the Leuven alumni whereas Brockliss and Ferté's list of Parisian alumni only accounts for one in ten students (Jeroen Nilis, *Irish Students at Leuven University 1548-1797: a prosopography* (Leuven, 2010), ix).

⁵² Brockliss and Ferté, 'Irish clerics in France', pp 527-72.

Having an alumnus appointed bishop was a ‘badge of honour’ for an Irish continental college, something that rectors liked to record and highlight, thus providing historians with another information source. For instance, Alexander Roche, rector of the Irish College in Rome, compiled a list in 1740 that named the former students from 1650-1736 who later became bishops. His letter was in response to an inquiry by Propaganda Fide regarding alleged deficiencies in the training provided at the college.⁵³ In other cases there are references to celebrations marking the episcopal elevation of an alumnus. A good example of this is the appointment of Nicholas Sweetman to Ferns in 1745. In the records for the Irish College in Lisbon, it is stated that upon receiving word of Sweetman’s promotion, they ‘celebrated with [firing] six dozen rockets or fireworks’.⁵⁴

Turning to the question of educational formation, it could be argued that Irish bishops were exceptionally well prepared for the ecclesiastical duties entrusted to them. For instance, with his first ‘official’ royal nomination, James II nominated Gregory Fallon who had an impressive academic record. Like another nominee of the Stuart Court, Hugh MacDermot, bishop of Achonry (1707-1725), Fallon obtained both a doctorate in theology and *juris utriusque*. This double doctorate was rare amongst university students and was increasingly discouraged in the 1730s.⁵⁵ Most Irish bishops would have earned at least a Master of Arts (MA) taken as a propaedeutic qualification.⁵⁶ Thereafter, the majority of future bishops undertook a higher degree in theology. Obtaining a degree in the early modern period was a test of longevity and perseverance as degrees were primarily awarded according to duration of studies rather than level of qualification acquired.⁵⁷

As a consequence of this and the high mobility of Irish clerics, the fact that a bishop did not obtain a degree does not necessarily mean that they lacked academic or intellectual competence. Conversely, the possession of an advanced degree was not necessarily an indication of great theological or canonical competence. For the entire

⁵³ Vera Orschel and John J. Hanly, ‘Calendar of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century documents at the archives of the Irish College, Rome (with index)’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, lxiii (2010), pp 7-263, at p. 45 (n96).

⁵⁴ Patricia O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834* (Dublin, 2001), p. 50.

⁵⁵ Brockliss and Ferté, ‘Irish clerics in France’, p. 546 (n67).

⁵⁶ Frijhoff, ‘Graduation and careers’, p. 378.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

| <i>Table 3.1: Irish Catholic episcopal corps, 1685-1766: bishops who obtained a higher degree in theology</i> | | | | |
|---|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| | Baccalaureate | Licentiate | Doctorate | All three known |
| Number of bishops | 14 | 21 | 46 | 3 |

Jacobite era, forty-six bishops are known to have held doctorates in theology. As Table 3.1 indicates, only for three of those bishops are the dates of completion of all earned degrees known. Christopher Butler, archbishop of Cashel (1711-1757) completed his MA in 1702 and spent about four years following his baccalaureate degree completing it in 1706. He then commenced his licentiate and completed that degree four years after in 1710. Later in the same year he finished his doctorate. Butler's timeframe for completing his programme can be used as a basis for filling lacunae in knowledge of the academic programme of the remaining bishops, for whom the data is less complete. It can safely be assumed that most bishops who undertook a theology programme spent three years of study before earning their baccalaureate. In Paris, the baccalaureate degree was awarded once the student completed his *tentativa*, which comprised a three-hour oral defence of their thesis. If successful in their *tentativa*, they began their programme of studies for the licentiate. Edmund Kelly, bishop of Clonfert (1718-1732) began his baccalaureate in 1690 and completed his licentiate in 1694.⁵⁸ Unlike Butler it took Kelly four years to complete his doctorate.

Besides the degree in theology, a small number of bishops took degrees in canon and civil law. Law degrees were held in considerably less esteem than a theology degree, for both financial and academic reasons.⁵⁹ At the beginning of the seventeenth century the baccalaureate and licentiate were conferred on the same day and the licence was seen as equivalent to the doctorate.⁶⁰ For the cohort under examination, three bishops took

⁵⁸ The normal timeframe between receiving a baccalaureate and receiving the licentiate was five years unless the candidate received special dispensation (Joseph Bergin, *The making of the French episcopate, 1589-1661* (London, 1996), p. 236).

⁵⁹ Bergin, *The making of the French episcopate*, p. 233.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

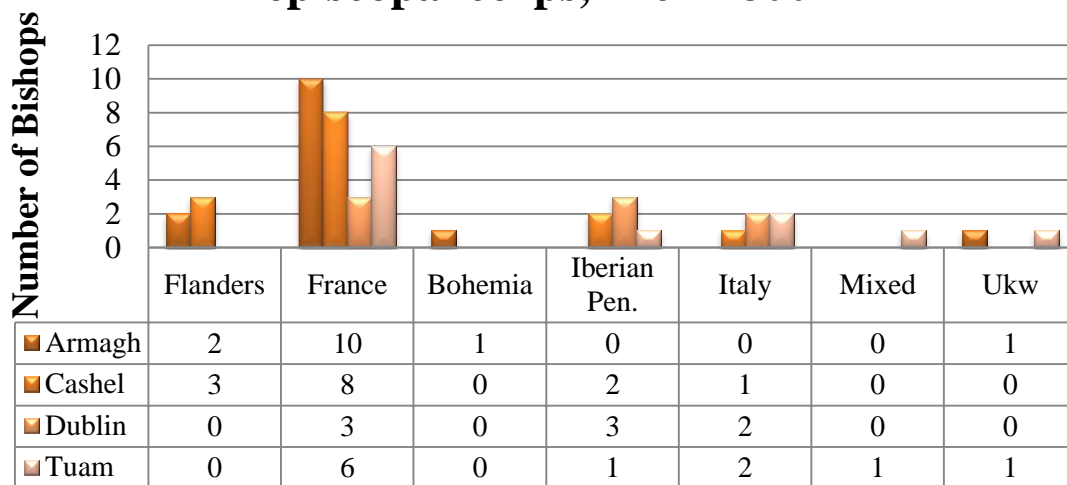
| <i>Table 3.2: Bishops who undertook a degree in law, 1685-1766</i> | | | | |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| | Armagh | Dublin | Cashel | Tuam |
| Canon law | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| canon and civil law | 7 | 0 | 3 | 1 |

degrees solely in canon law, the vast majority preferring a degree *in utroque iure*.⁶¹ The staple for the law curriculum in France was a solid foundation in Roman law with the reasoning that this foundation made it easier to understand canon law. As Table 3.2 illustrates, bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Armagh were most likely to have a law degree. This may suggest that Ulster bishops generally came from poorer economic backgrounds than their confreres in other provinces and could not afford the more expensive theology degree. Or could it point to deeper divisions within Irish society in the north, which so often issued in legal dispute. Of the four provinces, Ulster was the most diverse religiously and clergy wishing to minister there needed to know not only their entitlements under the law but the compatibility between state law and the practice of the Catholic religion.

The Jacobite episcopal corps marked a significant departure from the late seventeenth-century generation of bishops, particularly regarding the growing importance of France as a preferred educational destination. This changing pattern in episcopal education should not come as a surprise given the efforts of O'Molony and the other Irish bishops in the 1670s when they actively directed resources to the French colleges. However, what is most remarkable is the absence of French-educated bishops in the five eastern and northern dioceses. When one examines this in light of where Irish reform movements originated in the 1740s and 1750s (Armagh and Dublin), this pattern, if investigated further, could provide intriguing context for these reform movements. Another significant pattern is the large percentage of bishops awarded higher degrees. As we shall see later, the number of Irish clerics taking degrees had begun a steady decrease by the middle part of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the political situation in Ireland at the beginning of the eighteenth century gave Irish bishops the opportunity to prolong their stay on the Continent and enter degree

⁶¹ L. W. B. Brockliss, *French higher education in the seventeenth and eighteenth century: a cultural history* (Oxford, 1987), p. 278.

Chart 3.3: Education centres of the Irish episcopal corps, 1767-1800



programmes. As enforcement of the penal laws eased, and the influence over the system of episcopal nominations became increasingly monopolised by the Irish bishops, it may be that clerics destined for the episcopal order saw the benefit of returning to Ireland sooner.

The education of the Irish episcopal corps, 1767-1800

Compared to the two previous generations of bishops, the educational background of the post-Jacobite episcopate became less diverse, both in terms of where Irish bishops studied and the degrees they obtained. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the multi-national dimension of the Irish college network exposed the Irish colleges to the changing political conditions of their host countries. This was particularly true with the suppression of the Jesuits which saw Jesuit-run Irish colleges closed in Lisbon (1759), Portiers (1762), Seville (1767) and Santiago de Compostella (1769). In 1785 the Irish College at Alcalá de Henares was merged with the Irish College at Salamanca, a process that was initiated by King Carlos III of Spain (1759-1788) seven years earlier.⁶²

Although the re-organisation of the Irish colleges on the Iberian Peninsula affected a small number of bishops, it does appear to have had some impact on the educational diversity within the Irish episcopal corps. This is especially evident in the proportional

⁶² Francis Finegan, 'The Irish College of Poitiers, 1674-1762' in *I. E. R.*, 5th ser., civ (1965), pp 18-35; Patricia O Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares 1649-1785* (Dublin, 1997); *ibid.*, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834* (Dublin, 2001); *ibid.*, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostella, 1605-1769* (Dublin, 2007).

decrease in the number of bishops receiving their education in Spain and Portugal. As shown in Chart 3.3, there were only five bishops from this cohort of bishops known to have been educated on the Iberian Peninsula, representing a meagre 10% of the total number of bishops receiving episcopal preferment. When compared to the Jacobite generation of bishops, where 20% of the bishops were educated on the Iberian Peninsula, the proportion of bishops educated in Spain and Portugal had decreased by 10%.

Whereas the number of bishops educated in Spain and Portugal decreased, the number of French-educated bishops continued to increase. During the Jacobite era, 42% of the Irish bishops were educated in France. By the post-Jacobite era this had increased to 56%. Of the French-educated bishops, the vast majority (65%) were educated in Paris. For many of these bishops they would have been educated at a time when reform proposals were being debated between college administrators and the Irish bishops. Undoubtedly these debates shaped their philosophy and understanding of what a seminary should be. This is particularly important as many of these bishops were instrumental in establishing the seminary network in Ireland from the 1780s.

Paris was an important theatre for the first of these Irish college reform efforts in the eighteenth century. The reform initiatives there were first undertaken by college administrators between 1733 and 1737. Their objective was to abolish the practice of admitting already ordained priests as students to the Paris institution.⁶³ It appears that every Irish bishop was against this reform initiative except for Hugh MacMahon of Armagh. Their argument was that such a reform would undermine their episcopal authority as they would no longer have a say in who was admitted to clerical orders.⁶⁴ Eventually these reform efforts were shelved only to re-emerge in the 1740s when issues regarding clerical indiscipline took centre stage and the problem of insubordinate ‘priest’ students in the continental colleges were again highlighted as a problem.⁶⁵ Liam Swords has argued that this conflict between clerical students and non-clerical students was the result of competition for resources, given that a significant number of student-

⁶³ For a complete account of the reform movements at Paris see Liam Chambers, ‘Rivalry and reform in the Irish College, Paris, 1676-1775’ in Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 103-29.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁶⁵ For more on the problems related to clerical indiscipline in Ireland see Eamon O’Flaherty, ‘Clerical indiscipline and ecclesiastical authority in Ireland, 1690-1750’ in *Studia Hibernica*, xxvi (1992), pp 7-29; Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland: the Isle of slaves* (Dublin, 2009), pp 246-70.

bursaries were set aside for clerical students.⁶⁶ There is no question that financial resources were at the heart of the dispute, but as Liam Chambers has shown, the reform attempts at Paris were also part of a wider struggle taking place within the Irish Church aimed at correcting clerical abuses.⁶⁷ Over the course of these debates, the central focus was on the propensity of Irish bishops to ordain, and send, unqualified students to the continental colleges.

By the 1760s and 1770s, many Irish colleges faced significant external pressures to re-organise which ultimately brought a fresh round of reform attempts. In 1769 there were attempts to unite the Irish colleges of Douai and Lille, which was thwarted by the Irish bishops from the province of Leinster. From the fragmentary source material that survives, it appears that the plan originated with Luke MacKiernan, rector of the Irish College at Douai (1752-1784). His efforts caused an episcopal storm. In a letter to the president of the Irish College at Lille, Nicholas Sweetman, bishop of Ferns (1745-1786) wrote, ‘If Mons^r MacKiernan had meant to serve his country, he wo’d have acted above Board, fairly & honestly; and in Concert wth y^u, instead of going basely and treacherously to work under hand; w^{ch} shows what sort of man he is.’⁶⁸ In a letter to Peter Furlong, president of the Irish College at Lille, from James O’Keeffe, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1752-1787) a year and a half later he wrote that the Irish bishops halted such attempts:

I brought Dunne to an acc^t some time ago for attempting to unite Lille and Doway [sic.]. He positively deny’d the charge, declaring he never had a notion of it. And tho he had, that he was still of too little consequence to move in an affair of such importance.⁶⁹

O’Keeffe further mentioned that rumours had circulated that the Irish College in Lille was in debt, which Furlong denied.⁷⁰

Similar difficulties affected Paris. In 1775/6 the new Collège des Irlandais opened in Paris consolidating a number of the bursaries but failing to alleviate the economic hardship of the students who remained in the old Irish college still housed in the uncomfortable Collège des Lombards.⁷¹ There are indications that bishops actively

⁶⁶ Liam Swords, ‘Collège des Lombards’ in Liam Swords (ed.), *The Irish-French connection: 1578-1978* (Paris, 1978), pp 44-62, at p. 48.

⁶⁷ Chambers, ‘Rivalry and reform in the Irish College, Paris’, pp 103-29.

⁶⁸ Nicholas Sweetman, Wexford to Peter Furlong, Lille, 20 October 1769 (A.D.N., Lille, 36/D/5 D568/49).

⁶⁹ James Keeffe, Tullow to Peter Furlong, Lille, 1 May 1771 (A.D.N., Lille, 36D/5 D568/49).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ For a complete account of the economic state of the Irish colleges in Paris see Chambers, ‘Revolutionary or refractory’, pp 32-6.

sought financial support from their priests to assist the colleges,⁷² but at this time the reputation of some of the colleges began to suffer, especially in the context of literary and political developments within Enlightened French society, which were regarded as a potential threat to the intellectual ‘purity’ of Irish students. In a letter to Peter Furlong of Lille, the father of a potential student wrote:

...only you can satisfy me in regard to what is said here [sic.] of the French Colleges, gentlemen who have long lived in France, say they are danger and the opportunities [sic.] the boys may find not only abroad but even from their fellow boarders at home, the books they may read[,] the discourses they may hear all may change into a source of corruption.⁷³

Perhaps this passage is only representative of a nervous father reluctant to send his son to a foreign college. But these views were also shared by French-educated bishops who returned to Ireland the last decades of the eighteenth century. They were acutely aware of the changing scene in France and saw its potential impact on the loyalty of the clergy to the established authority in Ireland. Historical support from the Jacobites did not imply political radicalism on the part of the Irish bishops.⁷⁴

By the second half of the eighteenth century, French-educated Irish bishops were more than willing to express their loyalty to the house of Hanover and actively promoted the proposed test oaths that dominated ecclesiastical politics of the 1760s, 70s and 80s, as we have noted in earlier chapters.⁷⁵ Support for these government-led initiatives was stronger with this cohort than with many of the bishops educated at other colleges on the Continent, or even members of the bishops educated earlier in Paris like Matthew MacKenna, bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1769-1791). Unsurprisingly, the ‘leaders’ of this faction were two French-educated bishops: James Butler II of Cashel and Patrick Joseph Plunkett, bishop of Meath (1778-1827). Eventually Butler and Plunkett came to make up the supposed ‘Gallican’ faction of the Irish episcopal corps.⁷⁶

⁷² Dr. MacKenna’s Cloyne Diocesan Register, 1785 (C.D.A., Cobh, Matthew MacKenna Box, 1789.00/2/1785).

⁷³ Letter to Peter Furlong, Lille, 24 May 1771 (A.D.N., Lille, 36/D/5 D568/49).

⁷⁴ Although his assessment is based purely on conjecture, John Brady argued that the increased rate of ‘apostasy’ amongst Irish clerics the last half of the eighteenth century was directly related to the changing scene in France, ‘The only satisfactory explanation is that the Faith of those who fell had been undermined before they returned to Ireland’ (John Brady, ‘Origins of Maynooth College’ in *Studies*, xxxiv, no. 136 (December 1945), pp 511-4, at p. 513).

⁷⁵ For a detailed account of oaths in the eighteenth century see Patrick Fagan, *Divided Loyalties: the question of an oath for Irish Catholics in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1997).

⁷⁶ In a letter to Rome, Troy wrote that every bishop from the province of Cashel was a ‘Gallican’ aside from MacKenna (Cloyne), the Dominican MacMahon (Killaloe) and Conway (Limerick) (Troy to Cardinal Antonelli, 14 January 1782 (C.D.A., Cobh, Matthew MacKenna Box, 1789.00/1/1782).

‘Gallican’ became something of a pejorative epithet at this time and in Troy’s view, for instance, described bishops who were ready to make overtures to the Irish government without first consulting Roman officials. Fears of greater secular control over Church affairs was still fresh on the minds of the Roman hierarchy as Germany in the 1760s became increasingly Gallican under the influence of the Febronian movement and the suppression of the Jesuits under the papacy of Clement XIV (1769-1774), largely at the insistence of Catholic monarchs.⁷⁷ These continental developments naturally affected how the Catholic Church in Ireland was perceived by the Protestant establishment. The Oath of Allegiance (1774) drawn up by Frederick Augustus Hervey, Church of Ireland bishop of Derry (1768-1803), was part of a plan to divide the Irish Catholic episcopal corps into two conflicting factions, Gallican and papist, with the ultimate goal that the ‘great maxim *divide et impera* would be followed with equal equity and success.’⁷⁸ Hervey’s plan was minimally successful as it did divide the Irish Catholic episcopal corps along his desired lines, but growing political unrest on Continental Europe made this division short-lived. Moreover, the main divisions over the oaths were largely confined to the provinces of Dublin and Cashel. Perhaps it was a coincidence that the bishops from the province of Dublin were largely educated on the Iberian Peninsula and Italy whereas the bishops from the province of Cashel were educated in France.⁷⁹ Unfortunately the scope of this study does not permit a detailed evaluation of what impact their educational background might have had in shaping their views on matters of church and state. C. D. A. Leighton asserts that if the Cashel bishops are labelled ‘Gallican’ then one could safely so label the majority of activist Irish Catholics who made up the greater part of Catholic opinion in the late 1780s and 90s,⁸⁰ including the leader of the ‘anti-Gallican’ movement, Archbishop Troy of Dublin.

It is clear that Rome tried to counter these allegedly ‘Gallican’ bishops by favouring senior Irish ecclesiastics who had strong Roman credentials. Now that the complication of Jacobite loyalty was a thing of the past, Rome had more opportunity to exercise freely its own preference in this regard. Significantly, three archbishops appointed at

⁷⁷ Owen Chadwick, *The pope and the European revolution* (Oxford, 1981), pp 411-7; Eamon O’Flaherty ‘Ecclesiastical politics and the dismantling of the penal laws in Ireland, 1774-82’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, x, no. 101 (May 1998), pp 33-50, p. 37.

⁷⁸ O’Flaherty, ‘Ecclesiastical politics’, p. 35.

⁷⁹ A notable exception was James O’Keeffe, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1752-1787) who was the lone Dublin bishop to support the oath and who was the only Dublin bishop to have been educated in France.

⁸⁰ C. D. A. Leighton, *Catholicism in a Protestant kingdom: a study of the Irish ancien regime* (Dublin, 1994), pp 145-56.

this time were educated in Rome: Troy of Dublin, Richard O'Reilly of Armagh and Thomas Bray of Cashel. Although Bray received part of his education at St. Guard in Avignon, most of his studies took place at Rome. Moreover, in the appointment of the latter two bishops, O'Reilly and Bray, each received their papal provisions following reception of strong letters of recommendations from Troy. As stated in chapter one, Troy's influence over episcopal appointments earned him the title of 'Bishop Maker-General'. This epithet seems especially apt when one looks at his role in the promotion of archbishops at this time.

During this period one notices a significant decrease in the number of bishops earning degrees, a pattern that continued with the bishops appointed in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Only 47% of the bishops are known to have obtained a degree, of this percentage, nearly two-thirds received the highest degree possible, a doctorate in theology. For comparison purposes, it should be noted that only two bishops took degrees in law⁸¹ and both were from the province of Armagh, a trend that continued Jacobite practice. Bishops not taking higher degrees were not vastly different from the rest of the Irish student population. In their prosopographical studies of the student communities at Paris and Leuven, both Brockliss and Fertè (Paris) and Nilis (Leuven) show that the number of Irish students obtaining degrees by the middle to late eighteenth century was in a general decline.⁸² According to Nilis, many students took courses in theology but never completed their degrees.⁸³ Of the four post-Jacobite bishops who were educated at Leuven, two were members of the 'elite' group of students who took theology degrees, both were bishops of Limerick. John Young (1792-1813) who completed the *sacrae theologia baccalaureus currens* and his predecessor Dennis Conway (1779-1796) who completed the higher degree of *sacrae theologia baccalaureus formatus*.⁸⁴

A possible reason for the decline in degrees is that they were no longer deemed useful or necessary for episcopal preferment. This may be linked to the increasingly common practice of appointing coadjutor bishops with rights of succession to Irish sees. As will be noted, this practice increased the influence of the sitting bishop on the

⁸¹ Andrew Donnellan, bishop of Clonfert (1776-1786) registered with the faculty of law at the University of Paris in October 1739. It is unknown whether he completed his degree programme.

⁸² Brockliss and Fertè, 'Irish clerics in France', pp 543-6; Nilis, *Irish students at Leuven University*, p. 5.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ According to Limerick historian John Begley, both Conway and Young obtained their doctorate in sacred theology (*The diocese of Limerick: from 1691 to the present time* (Dublin, 1938), pp 242, 260).

appointment of his successor. However, the evidence suggests a higher proportion of clerics appointed coadjutor bishops held advanced degrees than those clerics who were appointed directly to episcopal and archiepiscopal sees. During this episcopal generation 57% of the coadjutor bishops appointed are known to have received degrees whereas the figure is only 38% for bishops and archbishops. It might be argued that the decrease in the number of bishops taking higher degrees is a further indicator of the changing socio-economic background of the Irish episcopate. As shown in the previous chapter, by the end of the eighteenth century the social background of Irish bishops had changed. With more bishops entering the Irish episcopal corps from the lower order of clergy it may not have been financially feasible or necessary to take higher degrees.

Shifting educational profile of the Irish bishop, 1801-1829

As illustrated in the previous section, the changing political situation on the Continent the latter half of the eighteenth century put significant pressure on the Irish colleges. Moreover, as the penal laws were repealed in Ireland, Irish bishops were now free to set up diocesan seminaries. This development provided Irish bishops with the possibility of increasing their influence over the education of their clergy. In the final period, an ever increasing proportion of future bishops received their education at domestic institutions. This had profound consequences for the nature and content of clerical educational programmes and heavily influenced the political and world view of the new generation of Irish bishops taking office in the nineteenth century.

Irish colleges in France came under significant stress with the outbreak of the French Revolution, a stress that reverberated throughout the network of Irish colleges reaching Flanders, Rome and the Iberian Peninsula.⁸⁵ Liam Chambers convincingly argues that, although the French Revolution severely damaged to the Irish college network, it was not ‘the great cataclysm which swept the entire continental college system away.’⁸⁶ Some of the colleges re-emerged after the tumult of revolution. A Parisian faculty member could write in 1815 to the newly appointed archbishop of Cashel, Patrick Everard:

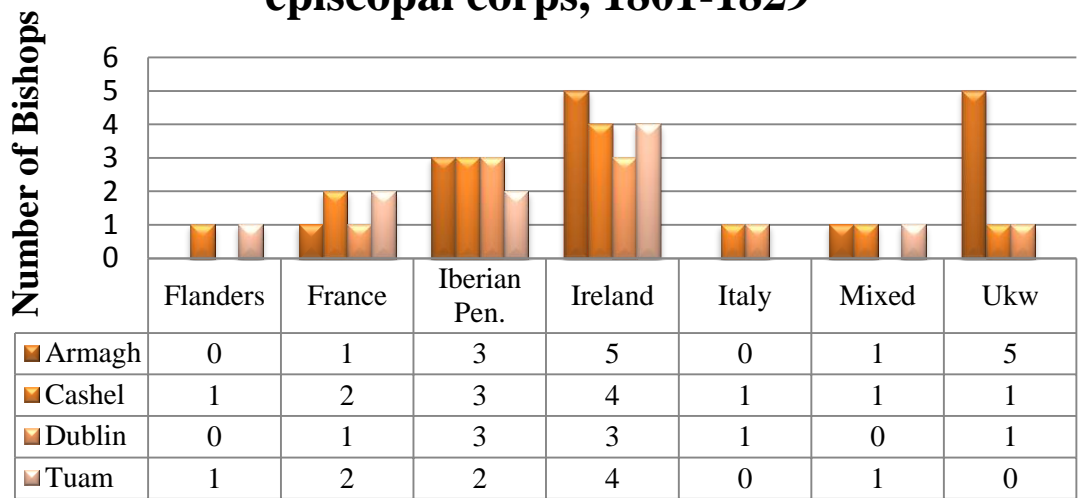
If Maynooth and other institutions offer stability for home education it may however be consonant to wisdom to preserve some continental Establishments where select students may receive further instruction and a social Polish by resorting foreign universities...⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Liam Chambers, ‘Revolutionary and refractory? The Irish colleges in Paris and the French Revolution’ in *The Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, ii, no. 1 (September 2008), pp 29-50.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸⁷ Dr. Walsh, Paris, to Dr. Everard, 12 August 1815 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 30/75).

Chart 3.4: Education centres of the Irish episcopal corps, 1801-1829



Notwithstanding the possibility of a continental college offering future bishops in the nineteenth century the opportunity to acquire some culture, the fact remains that the French Revolution and continental wars altered the traditional formation system beyond recognition. The creation of a national seminary network not only impacted their educational and professional formation of future bishops but also influenced their religious and political allegiances. These would differ significantly from their continentally educated predecessors.

From 1801-1829, most of the senior Irish ecclesiastics receiving episcopal preferment were educated at Salamanca and the newly established seminaries in Ireland, accounting for nearly 57% of the newly appointed bishops. As illustrated by Chart 3.4, the number of French-educated bishops decreased sharply from the Jacobite and post-Jacobite generation of bishops, a decrease of nearly 31%. Surpassing France was the Irish College at Salamanca whose alumni wielded significant influence over episcopal promotions, a point that is demonstrated by the appointment of Patrick Curtis, archbishop of Armagh (1819-1832). At the time of his appointment, Curtis had spent a majority of his ecclesiastical career (thirty-seven years) on the Continent serving as rector at the Irish College (Salamanca). Although he was seventy years old, his

appointment to Armagh was owing largely to that fact that six of his former students were bishops at the time of his appointment.⁸⁸

The most significant change in the educational background of the Irish episcopate in the first decades of the nineteenth century was the establishment of diocesan seminaries. As might be expected, the establishment of a national seminary network was tied to the geopolitical situation of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the crisis of the continental colleges coincided with the softening of the London government's attitude towards Catholics. Within the British Empire, the loss of the American colonists, the Quebec experience and the need to keep up large armies alerted the English political elites to the necessity of fostering Catholic loyalty in other parts of the empire, most notably through the granting of legal concessions to the Catholics in England, Scotland and Ireland.⁸⁹

As the political situation in Ireland changed, a growing number of Irish bishops considered establishing seminaries in Ireland. This took place in the context of the legislative acts that granted Catholic relief from the penal laws. Precipitated by Catholic relief measures in Quebec (1774), England and Scotland (1778), steps were finally taken to deal with the political quagmire in Ireland to which the penal laws and anomalous civil status of Irish Catholics contributed.⁹⁰ Charles Grattan, member of the Irish Parliament and proponent of legislative freedom of the Irish Parliament from London oversight was widely praised for helping these modest relief measures through Dublin parliament.⁹¹ At Luke Gardiner's initiative, the first easing of such laws took place in 1778. This was a watershed in the eighteenth century, dividing the age of enforcement of the Penal Laws from that of Catholic relief.⁹² The Gardiner Relief Act of 1778 resembled Sir George Saville's Act in England, with the difference that the Irish Act dealt primarily with land ownership. For the first time Irish Catholics were

⁸⁸ For a more thorough account of Curtis' career see William McDonald, 'Irish ecclesiastical colleges since the Reformation: Salamanca VI' in *I.E.R.*, 2nd ser., xi (1874), pp 101-14; Ambrose MacCauley, 'The appointments of Patrick Curtis and Thomas Kelly as archbishop and coadjutor archbishop of Armagh' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, x, no. 2 (1982), pp 331-65.

⁸⁹ Thomas Bartlett, *The fall and rise of the Irish nation: the Catholic question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992), p. 83.

⁹⁰ Catholic relief in England was largely the result of Sir George Saville as the senior ecclesiastics in England and Scotland remained absent from the process. Political involvement by the English clergy was not adequately formulated until after the Act of Union (1800) (Edward Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford, 1985), pp 54-64).

⁹¹ For a biographical account of Charles Grattan's life, see R. B. McDowell, *Grattan: a life* (Dublin, 2001).

⁹² Gerard O'Brien, 'The Grattan mystique' in *E.C.I.*, i (1986), pp 177-94, at p. 178.

granted the right to purchase land on equal terms with Protestants.⁹³ There was opposition from Anglo-Protestants, naturally, but in large part the relief measure ‘was the first step which really emancipated’ Irish Catholics.⁹⁴

The education component of the Relief Act of 1782 was important for Catholics as they now enjoyed the freedom to open schools. However, this concession was conditional as new schools required the permission of the local Church of Ireland bishop⁹⁵ and school founders were required to take an oath of allegiance to the king. Moreover, the education component of the legislation only applied to institutions entrusted with providing education to Catholic youth, institutions resembling universities were not allowed: ‘...nothing herein contained shall be construed to allow the erection or endowment of any Popish university or endowed school within this realm’.⁹⁶

It could be argued that some dioceses proceeded to test these restrictions and conditions. In Kilkenny, St. Kieran’s College was set up in 1782 by Bishop Troy. The stated mission of this ‘Academy’ was to educate young boys in humanities and Christian morals. This meant that it was intended to prepare young men for the professions, trade and for further education. Troy entrusted the leadership of this academy to two priests of the diocese who subsequently succeeded him as bishop. John Dunne, later bishop of Ossory (1787-1789) was educated at Paris where he was ordained in 1769. Upon returning to Ireland he was appointed curate of St. Mary’s in Kilkenny. With the establishment of St. Kieran’s he became co-rector along with James Lanigan, later bishop of Ossory (1789-1812). Lanigan was similarly educated at Nantes as he was chair of mathematics at the University of Mathematics before returning to Ireland. He was briefly appointed curate of St. Canice’s before joining Dunne as co-rector.

Academically, the courses offered at the Academy were classical in scope ranging from Latin, History, Geography, to Natural Philosophy.⁹⁷ For the most part, the students

⁹³ Dáire Keogh, *The French disease: the Catholic Church and Irish radicalism, 1790-1800* (Dublin, 1993), p. 20.

⁹⁴ Keogh, *The French disease*, p. 20.

⁹⁵ This section of the initial relief attempts was repealed in 1792 and Catholics were able to teach without their permission.

⁹⁶ M. Brennan, ‘Bishop Keeffe of Kildare and Leighlin, A. D. 1702-1787’ in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., 1 (1937), pp 113-26, at p. 120.

⁹⁷ By 1789 the institution had expanded to offer courses like trigonometry, navigation and English (Peter Birch, *Saint Kieran’s College Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1951), pp 37-9; Fearghus Ó Fearghail, *St. Kieran’s College Kilkenny 1782-1982* (Kilkenny, 1982), pp 21, 25).

who attended St. Kieran's College in the 1780s were intended to transfer to an Irish seminary on the Continent. Kyran Marum, bishop of Ossory (1814-1827) studied at St. Kieran's where he received a prize in second Greek class (1785) and the following year transferred to the Irish College at Salamanca.⁹⁸ However, with the events spiralling out of control on the Continent following the French Revolution, the college administration decided to add philosophy to the curriculum in 1793, a clear indication that the institution was now expected to function as a seminary as well as a traditional primary or early secondary school. The stated purpose of the school was that of preparing students for holy orders, which was certainly contrary what the framers of the repeal of the penal laws had in mind. The precise date of the introduction of philosophy is unknown, but it has been claimed that by the end of 1793 the number of students entering the seminary had risen to thirty, some of whom may already have been priests.⁹⁹

Similar events were occurring in nearby Carlow. Unlike the Academy in Kilkenny, which saw its 'mission' evolve as a result of the French Revolution, the central object of Carlow College was, from the beginning, to act as a seminary. Like Troy, O'Keefe of Kildare and Leighlin set out to establish an educational institution in his diocese shortly after the passing of Gardiner's Relief Act of 1782. In *Freeman's Journal* an article appeared on 22 September 1785 stating that construction of the college was on-going '...under the direction of Drs Keeffe and Delany, the workmen are employed on the fourth, or attic story, and it is expected that they will have the shell of that great building complete in a few weeks'.¹⁰⁰ Although seemingly completed by the end of 1785, students did not arrive until October 1793, an unexplained delay of eight years. In a letter to Archbishop Troy dated 14 November 1788, Bishop Delany of Kildare and Leighlin (1783-1814) claimed he could not send funds to Paris as the establishment of Carlow College had depleted his resources:

I fear I shall be able to do little or nothing at least for the present in this Diocese for Lombard. In reality the Priests are all perfectly drained by their past, and indeed, daily subscriptions to the Seminary in Carlow; which is still not completely finished

⁹⁸ Marum would have been thirteen when he transferred to Salamanca (Birch, *Saint Kieran's College*, p. 36).

⁹⁹ The students came from three dioceses: Ossory, Waterford and Lismore and Cashel (Birch, *Saint Kieran's College*, pp 63-6).

¹⁰⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 September 1785. The deed for the land was not finalised until 30 September 1786 (Carlow College Archives, Land deeds).

and unfinished, very considerably indebted, besides the yearly growing rent, which they have generously agreed to pay.¹⁰¹

From this letter it is clear that Carlow was being referred to as an ecclesiastical seminary as early as 1788, some years before the situation in France developed into a full-blown revolution. Eventually Carlow College opened its doors on 1 October 1793 and provided an education to two bishops covered in this study: Michael Collins, bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1827-1832) and William Kinsella, bishop of Ossory (1829-1845).

Although both St. Kieran's and Carlow College are significant, the most important element of the emerging domestic seminary network was Maynooth College.¹⁰² Established in 1795 by a government grant, Maynooth quickly became the 'bishop-making' institution par excellence as many of its early students, faculty members and presidents received episcopal preferment. The first in this cohort of Irish-educated bishops was Thomas Coen, who was appointed to Clonfert (1816).¹⁰³ Coen entered Maynooth College the year it opened and undertook a five year programme of studies. He was then twenty-four years old and had already been ordained for his native diocese of Clonfert.¹⁰⁴ Given that he stayed at Maynooth for only five years, it can be assumed that he came to Maynooth with some form of classical training, as he was judged capable of entering directly into the philosophy programme. Following the appointment of Coen the number of Irish-educated bishops increased exponentially, accounting for 63% of the total number of bishops appointed between 1816 and 1829.

The educational programme that many of these Irish-educated bishops followed was similar to the programmes they followed on the Continent. Many of the early nineteenth-century bishops would have received their classical education locally near their home and then matriculated into a course at one of the Irish seminaries, normally either the rhetoric or logic course. For instance, James Browne, bishop of Kilmore (1827-1865) was educated at an academy established by one Patrick Lambert in

¹⁰¹ Bishop Delany to Archbishop Troy, 14 Nov. 1788 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/5/72). After the Council of Trent the term 'seminary' was solely applied to institutions preparing students for ministry (John W. O'Malley, *Trent: what happened at the Council* (London, 2013), p. 213).

¹⁰² For more on the foundation of Maynooth College, see Patrick Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795-1995* (Dublin, 1995).

¹⁰³ Colin Barr erroneously claims that John MacHale, bishop of Killala (1825-1834) and archbishop of Tuam (1834-1881) was the first bishop to be entirely educated in Ireland. However, by his appointment in 1825 there had been eight bishops educated in Ireland (Colin Barr, 'MacHale, John' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish biography* (Cambridge, 2009) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5220>) (13 June 2013)).

¹⁰⁴ Coen was the only bishop of this study who entered Maynooth already ordained as after 1799 Maynooth ceased accepting ordained clergy (Corish, *Maynooth College*, p. 35).

Wexford before matriculating into the rhetoric course at Maynooth (1806). Those students who were deemed sufficiently advanced could matriculate into a higher programme, normally entering the logic course. This was the case with William Abraham, bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1829-1837) who matriculated into the logic course at Maynooth (1813) and was ordained a priest four years later (1817). Students then took two years of philosophy (logic and metaphysics) and four years of theology comprising speculative theology, moral theology and scripture.¹⁰⁵ Although this programme of study appears rather straightforward, clerics were routinely called back to their native diocese without having finished their programme. This appears to have been the case for John Ryan, bishop of Limerick who studied at Maynooth for only two and a half years.¹⁰⁶

Unlike Ryan, a majority of the future Irish-educated bishops remained at these seminaries and entered administrative positions. After Coen of Clonfert completed his studies he stayed on at Maynooth where he served as assistant to the dean and in 1802 was appointed dean. This path was similar to that of Thomas Kelly, bishop of Dromore (1826-1832) and later archbishop of Armagh (1828-1835), who also became dean of discipline and then became professor of dogmatic theology in Maynooth.¹⁰⁷ In a few cases students joined the College administration before they were ordained. These included John MacHale who was later appointed coadjutor bishop of Killala (1825) and subsequently archbishop of Tuam (1835). This practice was not confined to Maynooth as the example of Kinsella of Ossory and Collins of Cloyne and Ross indicate.¹⁰⁸ Kinsella joined Carlow College as a day scholar in 1807 and then joined the College full-time as an ecclesiastical student in 1814. While a student, he was first appointed secretary of the College and then, before ordination, was appointed professor of natural philosophy and later chair of theology. Although he did not continue in academia after completing his studies, Collins also assisted in the College as a lecturer of *belles-lettres*.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Eighth report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, London, 2 June 1827 (House of Commons Papers, 1826-27 (509)), pp 450-1.

¹⁰⁶ Patrick J. Hamell, *Maynooth students and ordinations index, 1795-1995* (Maynooth, 1982), p. 156.

¹⁰⁷ Macaulay, 'The appointment of Patrick Curtis and Thomas Kelly', p. 358.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Collins was coadjutor bishop of Cloyne and Ross from 1827-1830 and bishop from 1830-1832.

¹⁰⁹ John McEvoy, *Carlow College 1793-1993: the ordained students and teaching staff of St. Patrick's Carlow College* (Carlow, 1993), p. 30.

By moving into these administrative positions these talented and ambitious clerics not only enhanced their public profile but they better positioned themselves for eventual episcopal preferment. This is especially evident when one considers the age profile of Irish-educated bishops compared to the continental-educated bishops. On average, Irish-educated bishops received their episcopal promotion at the age of 38.7 whereas continentally-educated bishops received their episcopal promotion at the age of 50.2. Examining these figures further, one notices that there was no difference in the age-profile of those Irish-educated bishops who entered administrative positions at Irish seminaries and those who returned to their diocese serving as parish priests, 38.9 and 37.8 respectively. However, the same cannot be said for those bishops educated on the Continent. The bishops who returned and entered parish work were on average 51.2 years of age and those who went into education were 44.4 years of age. There were notable exceptions to this pattern. For instance, James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin was the youngest bishop appointed between 1801 and 1829; he was thirty-two at the time of his appointment. The reason for his appointment at such a young age was probably the esteem the local clergy had for him and the high profile he had serving as chair of theology at Carlow College.¹¹⁰ What is clear from this is that not only were Irish-educated bishops more likely to receive episcopal preferment at a much younger age than those educated on the Continent, there was also an unmistakable link between having held an administrative position at one of the newly established Irish seminaries and receiving episcopal preferment, a point that will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

The differences between Irish-educated bishops and continentally-educated bishops were also noticeable in the differing episcopal attitudes bishops had towards the ‘quality’ of education these newly established Irish seminaries provided. The institution that received the most scrutiny was Maynooth owing to it being endowed by a royal grant. It was subject to a visitation by government officials every three years. Ultimately this oversight had some impact on the level of education students received as the college administration appears to have been more reticent in their attitudes towards controversial content and/or expression of their political leanings. This point is

¹¹⁰ For more on the life of Bishop Doyle see Thomas McGrath, *Religious renewal and reform in the pastoral ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834* (Dublin, 1999); *ibid.*, *Politics, interdenominational relations and education in the public ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834* (Dublin, 1999).

highlighted in a series of exchanges Bishop Michael Collins and others had following his dismissal from Maynooth College in 1803. Writing to Roche in Fermoy he claimed:

There is considerable difference between this place [Carlow College] and that to which we have left [Maynooth College]. Equal, and to my particular disposition of mind, superior opportunities of improvement because less hampered to particular reading and by the constant inspection of ignorance and zeal. More mildness, and affability of manners in authority arising perhaps from difference of establishments. There the pride of national endowment swells their gait and dignity of power. Here those who superintend have not the temptation nor believe the disposition to inflate their fancied dignity.¹¹¹

Moreover, the restrictions placed on reading material alluded to by Collins were elaborated on by a Maynooth College student named Tim McCarthy who probably had an axe, or two, to grind:

You have heard before of the exclusion of all English Books. Particularly those on history, poetry &c. As yet they are not fully prohibited, but we expect every day a bull from his holiness the president;¹¹² wherein he will thunder out his anathemas against such and their readers. The principal reason which he alleged in support of his assertion...[was]...reading hinders students from performing their duties with the alacrity and cheerfulness which are the greatest steps to perfection.¹¹³

McCarthy further stated that Cicero and Virgil were banished along with Greek, ‘...[i]f the new testament was not originally written in it I am sure it would be expulsion to speak of it.’¹¹⁴ McCarthy claimed that ‘...the only sign of orthodoxy was French; and you may use any French books excepting Voltaire and Rousseau.’¹¹⁵ Although their assessment of Maynooth might be skewed by Collins’ ‘unfair’ dismissal by college

¹¹¹ M. Collins, Carlow to J. Roche, Fermoy, 1 March 1804 (C.D.A., Cobh, Bishop Michael Collins, Box A, 1792.04/1/1804).

¹¹² Andrew Dunne was president of Maynooth College from 1803-1807. He was a priest from Dublin and was educated at Bordeaux. He was appointed secretary to the Maynooth Trustees (1795) and librarian and treasurer (1800). Following his tenure as president he was re-appointed secretary to the Trustees and parish priest of St. Catherine’s, Meath Street. He resigned as parish priest and acted as librarian at Maynooth College until his death, 17 June 1823 (Corish, *Maynooth College*, p. 453).

¹¹³ Tim McCarthy, Maynooth to M. Collins, Cork, 22 October 1803 (C.D.A., Cobh, Bishop Michael Collins, Box A, 1792.04/3/1803).

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. Another complaint McCarthy had was that the ‘...reading of newspapers was absolutely prohibited too [sic.] enquiring for news. Tho since the prohibition I am more curious than ever all politics are absolutely prohibited’ (ibid.).

administrators, the curriculum at Maynooth came under constant scrutiny for being focused on divinity and logic as the *unum necessarium*¹¹⁶ and its perceived rigidity.¹¹⁷

Moreover, the attitudes detailed by Collins and McCarthy were expanded upon by some of the bishops themselves. When Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin was asked to provide his opinions on the ‘quality’ of education received at Irish seminaries he offered a qualified reply: ‘I feel a partiality for education at a regular university, because I have been educated at such a place myself. ...[For] a certain classes of persons, an education at a university, where there is more emulation and more zeal, a longer time allowed for study, greater rewards and distinctions held out, would be far preferable to that of a private seminary or college, such as Carlow or Maynooth’.¹¹⁸ His opinion was shared by another continentally-educated bishop, James Magauran, bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise (1815-1829). Magauran stated ‘I think there is a sort of feeling in favour of continental education; but much depends upon the manner in which they discharge their duties how far that feeling may continue or not.’¹¹⁹ Juxtaposed with the opinions of those bishops educated on the Continent, bishops like William Crolly, bishop of Down and Connor (1825-1835) and archbishop of Armagh (1835-1849) educated at Maynooth offered a significantly different viewpoint. In his testimony before the parliamentary commission set up to investigate education in Ireland (1826), Crolly stated that he believed priests trained at Maynooth received a better education than those educated on the Continent:

I think they are much better. In the first place, they are better acquainted with the language of their own country than those who studied abroad; and as all explanations on difficult subjects can be given occasionally in the English language, I think that those who study in Maynooth are better acquainted with theology and philosophy than those who come from colleges on the continent. ...[T]he clergymen educated in Maynooth are much better informed; that they are better theologians; better philosophers, and better prepared for the instruction of the people in general.¹²⁰

Comparing Crolly’s assessment with those of continentally trained bishops like Doyle and Magauran, it appears that whatever their perceived or real educational deficiencies,

¹¹⁶ Upon hearing that Collins was accepted into Carlow College, McCarthy wrote, ‘I was sorry to hear you were disappointed in making Lisbon the seat of your studies; but I believe Carlow will be more agreeable; and the professors there are more liberal-minded than those you would meet with in Lisbon 2 make no doubt of...’ (T. McCarthy, Maynooth to M. Collins, Carlow, 21 December 1803 (C.D.A., Cobh, Bishop Michael Collins, Box A, 1792.04/5/1803)).

¹¹⁷ This ‘rigidity’ at Maynooth was mentioned in the parliamentary inquiry into Irish education (1826) (Eighth report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, pp 13, 60-1).

¹¹⁸ *Report from the select committee on the state of Ireland*, p. 200.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

¹²⁰ Eighth report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, pp 373-4.

the Irish-educated episcopate was more likely to have an interest in pastoral activities and service rather than academic questions and theology.

Conclusion

When Propaganda Fide re-engaged with the Irish Church in 1657 the clerical corps was divided between those educated on the Continent and those educated in Ireland, a divide that re-emerged in the nineteenth century with the arrival of an Irish-based seminary system. At the end of the seventeenth century the Irish bishops, Propaganda Fide and the nuncios at Brussels used the network of Irish colleges to bring about the ‘rebirth’ of Irish Catholicism. Initially Irish bishops tended to be educated on the Iberian Peninsula or Flanders, but following the re-organisation strategy orchestrated by O’Molony II in the 1670s and the increased importance of the Stuart Court in the nomination of Irish bishops, Irish colleges in France took a leading role in forming eighteenth-century Irish bishops. Even with this proportional increase, the Jacobite generation of bishops were the most diverse of the episcopal generations covered in this study, both in terms of where they were educated and the degrees they were awarded. Moreover, the changed political circumstances on continental Europe at the end of the eighteenth century obliged the Irish episcopate to face the pressing necessity of providing for priestly formation at home, given that the old Irish colleges network was effectively closed down by the French Revolution and the continental wars. By establishing a seminary network in Ireland, bishops gained a stronger role in the formation of their clergy. Although these newly established Irish seminaries developed a reputation of being highly regimented, almost monastic in their discipline, they did codify and standardise clerical formation programmes. It can be argued that this codification, for all its faults, allowed a version of the Tridentine reforms to put down roots in Ireland, which ultimately flourished and spread to the four corners of the world.

The focus of this chapter was on clerical formation, particularly education. However, for Irish bishops educated on the Continent, their programme of study was often accompanied by experience of ministry, either in local convents, parishes or hospitals. These ministerial functions enabled them to come into contact with local patrons and with members of the Irish diaspora. From Portugal to the eastern edge of the Holy Roman Empire, Irish clerics actively engaged in their ministry and, for a few, this ministry brought with it rewards and recommendations for their advancement within the Irish Catholic hierarchy.

Chapter four: Professional profile of the Irish episcopate

One of the central reforms of the Council of Trent concerned the role of the bishop in his diocese. In a sense the Council drew up a clear episcopal ‘job description’ that was responsive to contemporary needs and faithful to tradition. Naturally, bishops were obliged to preach but also to establish seminaries and make annual visitations of the institutions within their diocese.¹ Underlining this reform initiative was the desire to have continuity and consistency in episcopal administration and solidify the relationship between bishops and their dioceses. As shown in the previous chapter, members of the Irish episcopal corps learned to tailor their educational programme in response to political and economic conditions at home and abroad. In the late eighteenth century and very early nineteenth century, they finally gained control over the seminaries that produced their clergy, from which they recruited to their own ranks. Over the two centuries covered by this study, candidates for episcopal promotion were at all times expected to respond to contemporary pastoral needs and to align themselves with the new Tridentine dispensation. In this chapter we will attempt to identify career patterns of ecclesiastics destined for high office.

Career profiles of Irish bishops (1657 – 1829)

Creating a ‘career profile’ of senior Irish ecclesiastics is a complex task. To begin with, the term ‘career profile’ is problematic because it ‘suggests a certain continuity of activity and purpose sustained over a sufficiently long period of time.’² Prior to the foundation of an Irish-based seminary system at the end of the eighteenth century, Irish bishops educated on the Continent moved between many social and professional spheres. These spheres were often dictated by patronage within, but not exclusive to the Irish émigré community. As such, there was no single, patterned *curriculum vitae* that typify Irish ecclesiastics destined for episcopal office. As shown in chapter three, by 1669 the Irish episcopal corps was generally continentally educated. Given the poverty of the Irish Catholic community, many ecclesiastics relied on the patronage of the Irish émigré community and other wealthy Catholic elites for financial support. Taking this into account, it could be argued that the pre-episcopal ‘activities’ of Irish Catholic

¹ John W. O’Malley, *Trent: what happened at the Council* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 259.

² Joseph Bergin, *The making of the French episcopate 1589-1661* (London, 1996), p. 258.

bishops were at this stage perhaps more important to advancement than their educational background.

Developing a profile of the pre-episcopal activities of Irish bishops is premised on many significant variables. To assist in identifying patterns, it is useful to break pre-episcopal activities into five general categories: diocesan roles, educational roles, advocacy roles, chaplaincy and regular governance. Those senior ecclesiastics who do not fit into the five categories presented, or whose pre-episcopal activities are not known, are treated under the heading ‘unknown’. It is important to note that vicars apostolic and coadjutor bishops with the right of succession do not appear in this table as they will be analysed later on in the chapter. Finally, the percentages listed along with the numerical data represent the total percentage of the hierarchy for that timeframe. For instance, the twenty-six senior Irish ecclesiastics appointed from 1657-1684 who held a pre-episcopal diocesan role prior to their appointment represent 51% of the entire number of bishops appointed for that timeframe. Given that many of the bishops held positions within more than one category, they are represented accordingly.

The five categories represented in Table 4.1 are broad in their scope and comprise of subcategories that need to be detailed prior to drawing conclusions. A pre-episcopal diocesan role is taken to encompass the following administrative roles within diocesan structures: vicar general, vicar forane, dean and vicar capitular. Other minor roles within the diocesan chapter are also represented, such as chancellor and archdeacon. However, as will be shown, the most significant position within this administrative structure, in relation to clerical mobility, was the administrative role of vicar general. The second category covers the various administrative roles connected with educational activities. These included: membership of lecturing staff, formation (rector, dean of students and master of novices) and president. The third category, advocacy, broadly represents those successful episcopal candidates who held important advocacy positions both within and outside of the church, for instance, those who acted as agents for other bishops and/or agents for secular authorities. Closely related to advocacy is the fourth category covering bishops who served as chaplains, either in the army and/or to private individuals or families. The final category represented covers those active in ‘governance of regular clergy’. Although regulars comprised only 16% of the total number of appointments between 1657 and 1829, their pre-episcopal activities are still important. In this regard, administrative roles included are: master of novices, guardian, definitor and provincial.

| <i>Table 4.1: Pre-episcopal activities, 1657-1829</i> | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| | Pre-episcopal diocesan role | Education role | Advocacy | Chaplaincy | Governance of regular clergy | Unknown |
| 1657-1684 | 26 (51%) | 15 (29%) | 7 (14%) | 14 (27%) | 7 (14%) | 6 (12%) |
| 1685-1766 | 56 (49%) | 32 (28%) | 7 (6%) | 17 (15%) | 18 (16%) | 1 (1%) |
| 1767-1800 | 27 (57%) | 12 (26%) | 3 (6%) | 6 (13%) | 4 (9%) | 0 (0%) |
| 1801-1829 | 17 (36%) | 23 (49%) | 0 (0%) | 2 (4%) | 2 (4%) | 0 (0%) |

Turning to the data presented in Table 4.1, analysis shows that prior to the nineteenth century a majority of those ecclesiastics who achieved episcopal promotion held administrative positions within a diocese, either domestic or foreign, or both. After the nineteenth century there was a decline in the number of bishops coming from this administrative background. Reasons for this decline are complex. Certainly a larger number of parish priests were henceforth directly promoted to the episcopacy without administrative experience within the diocese. This was connected with the establishment of diocesan seminaries which provided a greater domestic pool of talent directly under the existing bishop's supervision.³

From 1657-1800 the number of bishops having experience in education administration remained level ($\pm 3\%$). As more dioceses established seminaries in Ireland, those entrusted with administering these newly established institutions were often made bishops. For instance, the two ecclesiastics who were entrusted with governance of the newly established seminary in Kilkenny became successors to Troy in Dublin. John Dunne was co-rector there and later bishop of Ossory, (1787-1789). James Lanigan, also co-rector, then bishop of Ossory, (1789-1812). The appointment of these two bishops started a pattern in the diocese of Ossory: every bishop appointed to Ossory prior to Catholic Emancipation had experience in academic administration.

³ Parish priests were purposely omitted from the category, 'pre-episcopal diocesan role', as their inclusion would have skewed the data. The majority of the bishops had experience at parochial level and this datum is therefore statistically insignificant.

Likewise, the first presidents of St. Jarlath's College in Tuam, Oliver Kelly, archbishop of Tuam (1815-1834) and St. Peter's College in Wexford, Myles Murphy, appointed bishop of Ossory (1828-1829)⁴ were promoted in recognition of their role in establishing Catholic education in their dioceses.⁵ Moreover, the first president of Maynooth College, Thomas Hussey, bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1796-1803), started a long tradition of Maynooth alumni and administrators donning the mitre. From its foundation to Catholic Emancipation in 1829, there were eight episcopal appointees who had previously served on the staff of Maynooth College.⁶

Those bishops who had held advocacy and chaplaincy roles earlier in their careers represented only a small percentage of the Irish hierarchy. In many respects this goes counter to the narrative of the previous chapters, in which ecclesiastical career was seen as closely related to political and family loyalties. However, breaking down the figures further, this narrative remains valid. To illustrate this, one can examine the Irish episcopal cohort appointed between 1657 and 1684. Although advocacy and chaplaincy roles are represented at a smaller percentage, they were the most important route used in gaining episcopal promotion. Roman re-engagement with the Irish church resulted in sixteen new appointments in 1657: fourteen vicars apostolic and two bishops.⁷ Of the newly appointed senior Irish ecclesiastics, twelve served as vicars general of their dioceses prior to the Interregnum. The only vicar general to receive an appointment in 1657 and had also remained in Ireland during the Interregnum was John Burke, appointed vicar apostolic of Cashel (1657-1670).⁸ For Burke, his tenure as vicar apostolic was short as Gerald Fitzgerald replaced him in 1665, although Fitzgerald never returned to Cashel and Burke remained vicar general. The other vicars general appointed in 1657 resided on the Continent. Some of these were appointed to parishes,

⁴ Myles Murphy was appointed bishop of Ossory, but he resigned as bishop on 9 May 1829 and was subsequently appointed bishop of Ferns on 19 November 1849 (Benignus Millett and C. J. Woods, 'Roman Catholic bishops from 1534' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland* (9 vols, Oxford, 1984), ix, 378; 373).

⁵ See Appendix VI for a complete list of bishops who held academic posts in the newly established seminary system in Ireland.

⁶ Patrick Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795-1995* (Dublin, 1995), pp 443-83.

⁷ Donal Cregan states that of the twenty-seven bishops residing in Ireland in 1648, only eleven were still alive in 1655 ('The social and cultural background of the Counter-Reformation episcopacy' in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish history* (Dublin, 1979), pp 86-7). However, the number of bishops was twelve with one vicar apostolic. The only appointments in the 1650s prior to the 1657 appointments were the appointments of Philip Crolley as vicar apostolic of Clogher (1651) and John Hussey as vicar apostolic of Kerry (1654), bringing the total number of bishops and vicars apostolic to fifteen by 1657.

⁸ SC Irlanda, vol. 2, ff 475-476 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 2 (1669-71) of "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda"' in Propaganda Archives: part 2, ff 402-803' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 17 (1974-5), pp 19-70, at p. 24.

like Eugene MacEgan who was appointed curate of Nagis in France. Others ministered to the Irish émigré community, as Patrick Hackett did at St. Malo in France. Edmund O'Reilly, archbishop of Dublin (1657-1669) acted as the agent for Eugene Sweeney, bishop of Kilmore (1629-1669) and Burgat of Cashel acted as agent to the Irish clerics in Rome.

After the papacy of Alexander VII (1655-1667), a pontiff who preferred candidates residing in Ireland,⁹ the number of vicars general receiving episcopal preferment declined. Of the twenty-six senior ecclesiastics attaining episcopal rank from 1670 to 1684, only nine held the administrative role of vicar general. Reasons for this shift appear to centre on the greater influence of external forces in the appointment of Irish bishops during this timeframe. In particular, a stronger emphasis was placed on bishops having political connections and educational résumés. This is not to say that a vicar general functioning in Ireland was not politically well-connected as Ronin Maginn, vicar apostolic of Dromore (1671-1680) would disprove. However, it remains true that the preferred *curriculum vitae* for episcopal promotion had changed.

The post-1669 appointments were unmistakably tied to the shared political and educational résumé of the bishops appointed. Advocacy and chaplaincy were two important pre-episcopal activities that encapsulated this shift. Under the advocacy category there are two main subcategories: those who acted as agents for authorities within the church and those who acted as agents for secular authorities. Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin (1669-1680) provides the best example of a cleric as secular advocate. He held many important positions within the exiled Stuart Court during the Interregnum.¹⁰ In many respects, Talbot attempted to continue his secular advocacy after his appointment to Dublin which earned him a rebuke from Plunkett of Armagh: 'the Primate told him [Talbot] ... he had a reputation of meddling too much in affairs of state and yet he was commanded by the pope to let him know, and he did absolutely forbid him or anyone of their clergyman to meddle in state affairs...'¹¹ Plunkett

⁹ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 260-261 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 1 (1625-68) of the collection "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 6-7 (1963-4), pp 18-211, at pp 83-4.

¹⁰ For the most extensive source on Peter Talbot's advocacy activities to the exiled Stuart Court see M. R. F. Williams, 'Between king, faith and reason: Father Peter Talbot (SJ) and Catholic royalist thought in exile' in *English Historical Review*, cxxvii (2012), pp 1063-99.

¹¹ Letter without signature or address, 17 May 1670 (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 45, f. 381).

attempted to rein in Talbot and gained the upper hand, given his strong influence over episcopal appointments. Nevertheless, Talbot was a force to be reckoned with.¹²

Following the appointment of Plunkett, who had a distinctly ‘Roman’ résumé, the most influential bishops appointed in the 1670s came from similar pre-episcopal backgrounds. The most notable of these were: Brenan of Cashel, Creagh of Dublin and finally James Cusack, coadjutor bishop of Meath (1678-1679) and later bishop of Meath (1679-1688). All three were educated in Rome and served as agents to the Irish hierarchy in Rome during the 1670s when Irish Catholicism appeared poised for a political and educational renaissance. Brenan entered the Irish hierarchy after a distinctly ‘Roman career’ having been professor of philosophy and theology at the Collegio Urbano of Propaganda Fide. Following the promotion of Plunkett to Armagh, Brenan replaced him as agent to the Irish hierarchy. After his appointment, he, like Plunkett, continued to avail of the Roman network he had developed and became an important figure within the hierarchy that Roman ecclesiastics could turn to for information and advice.

The course of Peter Creagh’s academic career is obscure. He came from a distinguished Limerick family and was first educated by his uncle, Edward Creagh, at the Jesuit College at Poitiers. He then completed his studies at Rome under another uncle, Dr. John Creagh. After spending only three years in Ireland after ordination, he was summoned to Rome, following Brenan’s episcopal appointment, to become the new agent in Rome for the Irish hierarchy. His impact on the Irish hierarchy was more pronounced during the reign of James II as he was dispatched by James in October 1690 to negotiate with Louis XIV for assistance. James rewarded Creagh by nominating him to Dublin and during his exile he resided in Strasbourg where he served as auxiliary bishop.¹³

The succession of Roman agents receiving episcopal appointments to the Irish church continued with the appointment of James Cusack to Meath. Cusack’s rise within the Irish hierarchy can be attributed to his close association with the archbishops of Armagh, O’Reilly and Plunkett. A native of the diocese of Dublin, on completion of his

¹² See chapter one for further details on the primatial controversy that developed in the 1670s between Talbot and Plunkett.

¹³ For biographical details see Éamonn Ó Ciardha, ‘Peter Creagh (‘Piers Crevens’)’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish biography* (Cambridge, 2009) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a2172>) (11 December 2012); C. Mooney, ‘The library of Archbishop Piers Creagh’, *Reportorium Novum*, i, no. 1 (1955), pp 117-39.

studies in Rome, he returned to Dublin (1662) where he quickly established himself as a trusted informant to Propaganda Fide in matters concerning the Irish mission. In this capacity, he was a vocal opponent of Peter Walsh's 'Remonstrance' (1661) and became an active participant in the attempt by Irish clerics to curb abuses in parish administration. Shortly after arriving he complained about clerics holding more than one parish. In a letter addressed to Propaganda Fide (1664) by ten Dublin clerics they outlined seven propositions to curb abuses in the Irish mission, the most notable of which was abuses in parish administration.¹⁴ It is not clear when Cusack left Dublin for the diocese of Meath, but he was pastor of Duleek as early as 30 December 1670¹⁵ and styled himself as 'procurator of the clergy of Meath' in an appeal to Clement X written on 24 May 1671.¹⁶ With the appointment of Plunkett to Armagh, Cusack was routinely recommended to Propaganda Fide for episcopal promotion. Thus, when Creagh was appointed to Cork and Cloyne Plunkett appointed Cusack to act as Roman agent for the Irish hierarchy. Cusack's term as agent in Rome was brief as he was quickly summoned back to Ireland to assist as coadjutor bishop with right of succession to Patrick Plunkett, bishop of Meath (1669-1679). In his recommendation to Propaganda Fide, Oliver Plunkett alludes to the esteem these Roman agents were held in: '... [Rome] will find him nowise inferior to the agents (at Rome), his predecessors...'¹⁷

Similarly, those senior ecclesiastics who served as chaplains frequently entered the hierarchy. Two of the seven chaplains attaining episcopal promotions had served as military chaplains: Maurice Durcan, vicar apostolic of Achonry (1677-1683) and John Burke, vicar apostolic of Killala (1671-1674). During the Interregnum, both Durcan and Burke were exiled on the Continent. Durcan was chaplain to Spanish soldiers in Flanders prior to his return to Ireland (c.1665).¹⁸ He was appointed vicar general of Achonry,¹⁹ but in the various lists compiled by senior ecclesiastics in Ireland, his career as chaplain overshadowed his service as vicar general. Burke took a slightly different

¹⁴ FV, vol. 13, ff 128-129 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of Irish material in vols 12 and 13 (ff 1-200) of "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 24 (1982), pp 45-80, at p. 65; FV, vol. 16, ff 283-284, cited in *ibid.*, 'Calendar of volume 16 of the "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 43 (2001), pp 13-33, at pp 13-14.

¹⁵ Anthony Cogan, *The diocese of Meath, ancient and modern* (3 vols, Dublin, 1867), ii, 129.

¹⁶ SC Irlanda, vol. 2, ff 688-689 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 2 (1669-71) of the "Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives: part 2, ff 402-803' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 17 (1974-5), pp 19-70, at p. 54.

¹⁷ Cogan, *The diocese of Meath*, ii, 132.

¹⁸ SC Irlanda, vol. 13, ff 454-463 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 13 of the "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives: part 3, ff 402-522' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 26 (1984), pp 20-45, at p. 28.

¹⁹ FV, vol. 16, ff 279-280 cited in *ibid.*, 'Calendar of volume 16 of the "Fondo di Vienna" in Propaganda Archives: part 3, ff 217-80' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 41 (1999), pp 10-35, at p. 34.

path as he had served as vicar general for three years to the bishop of Killaloe, John O'Molony I (1630-1651) before his exile in 1653. He was then recommended to Propaganda by Cardinal Alphonsus Litta owing to his work as senior chaplain to the Spanish army in Milan.²⁰ Another significant characteristic of this group was the number of regulars (four of seven) who were able to enter the services of wealthy Catholic elites. Patrick Duffy OFM, bishop of Clogher (1671-1675) was *custos* of the Irish province, provincial of Scotland, definitor general of the Franciscans and served as the confessor to the duke of Medina.²¹ Likewise, Dominic Burke OP, bishop of Elphin (1671-1704) served as chaplain to the Venetian ambassador after having served as master of novices at three Dominican houses in Italy.²²

The similar *curricula vitae* of these four regulars indicate a significant pattern amongst regulars receiving episcopal promotions at this time. The previous chapters detailed the various political and ecclesiastical divisions within the Irish hierarchy, including that between the regular and secular clergy. Given that regulars were omitted from diocesan chapters, they were not often the preferred candidates amongst the local clergy.²³ Table 4.2 illustrates the distribution of regulars receiving episcopal appointments and denotes the percentage of the episcopate they comprised. For instance, during the house of Stuart's right of nomination, twenty-five regulars became bishops, accounting for 22% of the entire number of clerics raised to the Irish episcopate (114). This share was significantly higher than the decades after the Stuart's lost their right of nomination, but it is only slightly higher than the decades prior to that.²⁴

²⁰ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 502rv, 505rv cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 1 (1625-68) of the collection "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 6-7 (1963-4), pp 18-211, at pp 156-7. Cardinal Alphonsus Litta was born and educated in Spain where he was ordained in 1648 and elected archbishop of Milan in 1652. He was created cardinal in 1664 and died near Rome in 1679 (Salvador Miranda, 'Litta, Alfonso (1608-1679)' (www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1664.htm#Litta) (22 August 2012)).

²¹ See chapter five for more information on the relationship between Bishop Duffy and the duke of Medina.

²² Hugh Fenning, 'Irish Dominicans at Rome, 1570-1699: a biographical register' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 44-5 (2002-03), pp 13-55, at p. 31.

²³ There were exceptions to this like James Doyle, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1819-1834).

²⁴ From 1600 to 1656 the number of regulars receiving episcopal appointments was slightly higher at 25% than the bishops appointed during the Stuart right of nomination. For a listing of these bishops see Millett and Woods, 'Roman Catholic bishops', ix, 333-91.

| <i>Table 4.2: Distribution of regulars receiving episcopal appointments</i> | | | | |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | 1657-1684 | 1685-1766 | 1767-1800 | 1801-1829 |
| Augustinians | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Cistercians | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dominican | 3 | 12 | 2 | 1 |
| Franciscan | 4 | 11 | 2 | 1 |
| Jesuits | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 9 (18%) | 25 (22%) | 5 (11%) | 3 (6%) |

The reasons for the increased number of regulars securing a royal nomination were largely political. As shown in previous chapters loyalty to the Stuarts was a significant determinant in obtaining episcopal promotion during the period of the Stuarts' right of nomination. This was particularly true for regulars who relied on the extensive Jacobite network for patronage and, in return, tried to provide intelligence and/or support to continental and Irish Jacobites. The reasons for regulars exerting influence on behalf of the exiled Stuart Court were largely due to the political and financial rewards. Arguably the most influential regular during the reign of James II was Dominic Maguire OP, archbishop of Armagh (1683-1707). During his exile, Maguire was supported by Mary of Modena, from whom he received a yearly pension of 1,200*li*. Likewise, Mary of Modena further provided a pension of 950*li*. to the Dominican bishop of Elphin, Dominic Burke (1671-1704) and both the Franciscan and Dominican houses at Leuven were supported, to the tune of 3,000*li*. each.²⁵

Mary of Modena's generosity and esteem for regulars was rooted in astute political manoeuvring. Regulars provided the Stuart Court access to an ecclesiastical network that stretched across continental Europe and it was through this network that many regulars acted as agents in promoting the Stuart cause. It is undeniable that the English Parliament held regulars in particular disdain, given their perceived loyalty to 'foreign powers'. New penal legislation enacted at the end of the seventeenth century legally enforced this distrust of regulars. In a real way this drove a thicker wedge between regulars and seculars in Ireland.²⁶ For the Stuart Court this obvious disdain for regulars by the English Parliament only facilitated a greater degree of loyalty by regulars for the

²⁵ A note of the queen's charity, 24 January 1699 (Bodl., Oxford, MS Carte 209, f. 463).

²⁶ Joseph MacMahon, 'The silent century, 1698-1829' in Edel Bhreachtach, Joseph MacMahon OFM and John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990* (Dublin, 2009), pp 77-101, at pp 94-6.

Stuart Court and, as a result, accounted for the larger number of regulars receiving episcopal appointments.

For the most part, the regulars receiving episcopal promotion were held in high esteem by their confrères. Most held administrative positions within their province acting as either provincial, vice provincial or definitors.²⁷ Provincials were of particular importance to the Stuart cause as the visitations of the province often took them around to every diocese in Ireland. For instance, Ambrose O'Connor, nominated bishop of Ardagh (1709) acted as secret agent for James III during his tenure as provincial of the Irish Dominicans. During his visitation the summer of 1708 he provided extensive details to Mary of Modena regarding the Jacobite movement in Ireland and met with the leading Irish Catholic families in Ireland: 'When I went over to Ireland, the king my master ordered me to inform myself exactly of the state of affairs in that kingdom. I have acquitted myself of that commission to the utmost of my power...'²⁸ In 1726, when the provincial of the Irish Augustinians, Peter Mulligan, prepared for general chapter in Perugia (1726), James III wrote to him asking for his support for the Stuart cause:

Hearing you are soon to have a general Chapter of your order I write this to you to let you know that it will be agreeable to me, if you and my other subjects of your order, unite yourselves to, and act in concert with the Spanish Fathers...I shall take your so doing as a mark of your zeal for my service.²⁹

Mulligan's loyalty earned him an episcopal promotion four years later to Ardagh.³⁰ Moreover, at the request of James III, Pope Clement XII (1730-1740) restored San Matteo to the Irish Augustinians. A few regulars undertook important advocacy roles for the Stuart Court of their own accord. Two of the most notable examples were the lobbying efforts in opposition to the proposed Popery Bill of 1723 by Sylvester Lloyd, bishop of Killaloe (1728-1739) and later bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1739-1747)

²⁷ Definitors are those regulars chosen to represent their order in general or provincial chapters. For example, Patrick Duffy OFM, bishop of Clogher (1671-1675) was definitor general of the Irish Franciscans and owed his episcopal promotion, amongst other reasons, to his opposition to the 'Remonstrance' of Peter Walsh (SC Irlanda, vol. 2, ff 402-403 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 2 (1669-71) of the "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives: part 2, ff 402-803' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 17 (1974-5), pp 19-70, at p. 17).

²⁸ Hugh Fenning, *The Irish Dominican province, 1698-1797* (Dublin, 1990), pp 52-3.

²⁹ James III to Fr. Peter Mulligan OSA, Rome, 1 October 1726 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, vol. 97/124, MFR 764) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 87.

³⁰ It is unclear what level of support Mulligan offered the Stuart Court at Perugia as in the general chapter records there is no mention the Stuart Court (*Acta Capituli Generalis anno 1726 Perusiae celebrati* cited in *Analecta Augustiniana*, xii (1927-28), pp 307-20).

and Ambrose O'Callaghan, bishop of Ferns (1729-1744).³¹ O'Callaghan also spent time in France where he kept the Stuart Court abreast of events taking place at the Congress of Soissons between June 1728 and July 1729.³²

Age profile of the Irish episcopate, 1657-1829

Pre-episcopal activities provide a rather one-dimensional profile of senior Irish ecclesiastics. To their analysis needs to be added a profile of lifespan and mobility trends within the hierarchy. 'Lifespan' is a broad term used here to refer to the age of the bishop at the time of his episcopal promotion and the length of his episcopacy. Creating an accurate age profile of the Irish episcopal corps is a bit of a challenge. An important source useful for determining the approximate age of an Irish bishop was the date of their priestly ordination, where it can be established. For the Irish episcopate in question, the ordination dates have been ascertained for 117 of the senior Irish ecclesiastics entering the Irish hierarchy after 1657, comprising 45% of the total number of senior Irish ecclesiastics entering the hierarchy for the same timeframe. Another source that assists in establishing the date of birth for Irish bishops are accounts written by the bishops themselves and/or their contemporaries. These are not always reliable.

Overall, when difficulties arise in determining the date of birth for bishops, this study employs the simplest possible method. For example, in the case of Edward Comerford, archbishop of Cashel (1695-1710),³³ an enquiry was conducted into his suitability in Rome on 16 September 1695, with testimonies provided by Michael Moore³⁴ and Edward Butler.³⁵ In Moore's testimony he stated that Comerford was forty-five and a priest for about twenty years. This would mean that Comerford was born *c.* 1650 and ordained *c.* 1675. Comparing this testimony with other primary source material, this date does not seem plausible. As prescribed by 'An Act for registering the popish clergy' (2 Anne *c.* 7), Comerford registered as parish priest of St. Mary's at Thurles where he stated that he was ordained at Rouen, France by Andrew Lynch, bishop of Kilfenora

³¹ In the case of Sylvester Lloyd and his efforts in this capacity see Patrick Fagan, *An Irish bishop in penal times: the chequered career of Sylvester Lloyd, OFM, 1680-1747* (Dublin, 1993), pp 47-73.

³² MacMahon, 'The silent century', p. 95.

³³ Using Comerford as an example is important for another reason, namely, his age was the cause of controversy when he was nominated by James II for Cashel. In reply to these complaints, Comerford was depicted as '...one of the main priests in the principal parish of the dioceses of Cashel and Emly, and over fifty years of age' (Objections made at Rome against the nomination of James II, undated (B.L., London, Add. Mss. 31248, f. 55)).

³⁴ For more on the life of Michael Moore, see Liam Chambers, *Michael Moore, c.1639-1726: provost of Trinity, rector of Paris* (Dublin, 2005).

³⁵ *Processus Datariae*, vol. 73, ff. 68-74 cited in Cathaldus Giblin 'The *Processus Datariae* and the appointment of Irish bishops in the 17th century' in The Franciscan Fathers (eds), *Father Luke Wadding: commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), pp 508-616, at pp 608-10.

(1647-1681) in 1669.³⁶ If Comerford's ordination date provided at the time he registered is compared to the testimony provided by Moore, Comerford would have been ordained at nineteen, a full six years under the canonical age of twenty-five. Instead, the age provided by Comerford establishes his date of birth *c.* 1644, which better corresponds to the age he would have been when he earned his degrees at Paris: a Master of Arts degree 1 August 1665 at twenty-one, licentiate in theology in 1676 at thirty-two and a doctorate the following year in 1677.³⁷

Before looking at the age profile of the Irish episcopal corps from 1657 to 1829, it is important to establish a framework for comparison. As such, when comparing the age profile of the various Catholic hierarchies of Europe there are surprising similarities. For instance, in the post-Westphalian Catholic hierarchy from 1648-1803, 6% of the bishops were under the canonical age at the time of their appointment with the remaining bishops having a median age of forty-five.³⁸ Under the Trent inspired reforms of Philip II (1554-1598), the Castilian bishops had a median age of fifty-two or fifty-three; by 1650, the median age for French bishops was thirty-nine.³⁹ The historiographical 'profile' of a post-Tridentine French bishop was that of a young, inexperienced and politically well-connected individual who owed his nomination to his family's strong connection to the monarchy. However, as demonstrated by Joseph Bergin, the French episcopate was not confined to a narrow group of families or individuals. Instead, membership was largely the result of 'countervailing pressures whose objective was to ensure that incoming bishops conformed to the changing image of the episcopate.'⁴⁰ Whereas the age profile of Catholic bishops from the Continent generally increased over the course of the eighteenth century, the age profile of the Irish

³⁶ William J. Walsh (ed.), 'An Act of Registering the Popish Clergy' in *I.E.R.*, 2nd ser., xii (1876), pp 512-50, at p. 522.

³⁷ L. W. B. Brockliss and Patrick Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', in *Archiv. Hib.*, lviii (2004), pp 7-166, at p. 47; *ibid.*, 'Irish clerics in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: a statistical study' in *R.I.A.*, lxxxviiC (1987), pp 527-572, at p. 569.

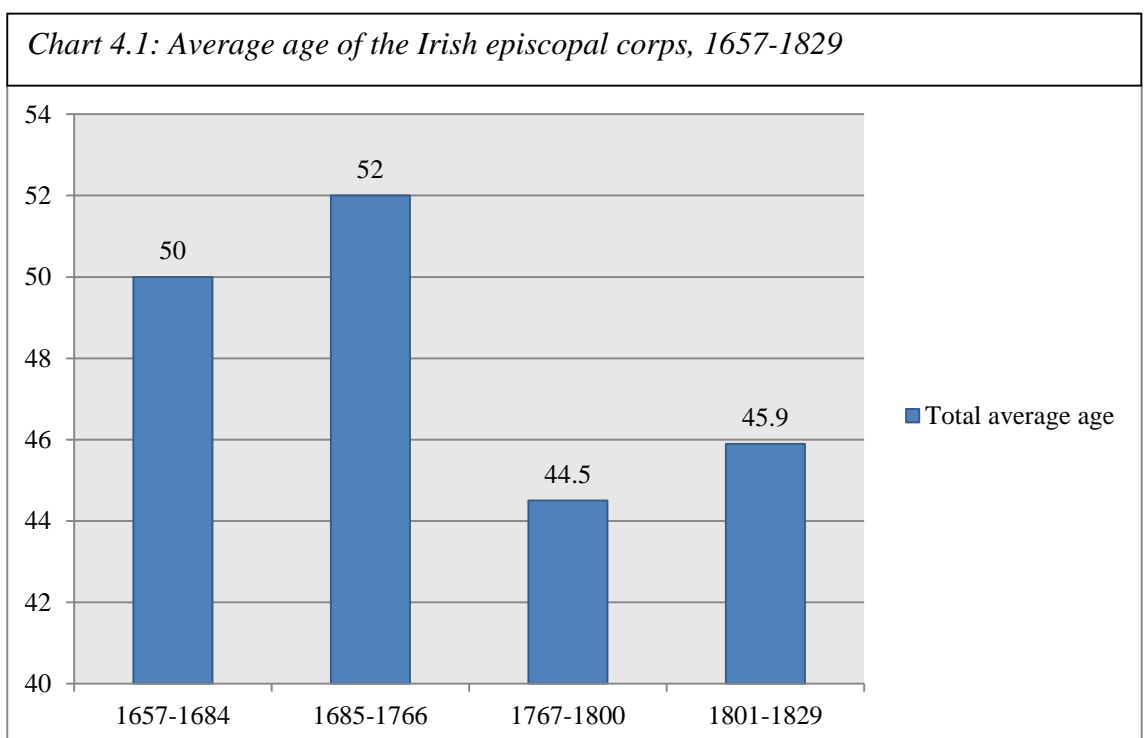
³⁸ Joseph Bergin, 'The Counter-Reformation church and its bishops' in *Past & Present*, no. 165 (Nov. 1999), pp 30-73, at pp 61-2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62. This age profile slightly increased to 41.9 year of age for the episcopal corps nominated by Louis XIV (1661-1715) (Joseph Bergin, *Crown, church and episcopate under Louis XIV* (London, 2004), p. 311).

⁴⁰ Bergin, *The making of the French episcopate*, p. 332. To complement Bergin's analysis on the prosopographical makeup of the French episcopal corps, see Alison Forrestal's *Fathers, pastors and kings: visions of episcopacy in seventeenth century* (Manchester, 2004), pp 144-70 to gain insight into how the conception of episcopacy evolved in seventeenth-century France, particularly regarding the Church/State dichotomy.

bishops decreased. This was no doubt connected to the changing system by which Irish bishops were appointed.

Between 1657 and 1829, Irish bishops on average were 48.9 at the time of their appointment. Significantly the average age of the Irish bishops for the four main timeframes analysed never reached a ± 4.5 from this base point, demonstrating surprising continuity given the significant changes to the legal status of the Irish Catholic hierarchy over that timeframe. Chart 4.1 shows that the Jacobite bishops appointed from 1685 to 1766 were on average 52 years old at the time of their appointment whereas the bishops appointed from 1767 to 1800 were on average 44.5 years of age. One reason for this shift may be the changes in the process of appointment of Irish bishops. Loyalty to external entities like the exiled Stuart Court often prolonged pre-episcopal careers, a point that is demonstrated by overall age profile of the Restoration episcopate (1657-1684) and Jacobite episcopate (1685-1766). Exceptions to this pattern were due to Roman influence and/or domestic factors. For instance, Michael MacDonagh, bishop of Kilmore (1728-1746) was twenty-nine at the time of his appointment and was the youngest Irish bishop appointed. He owed his appointment



to his close association with Benedict XIII (1724-1730)⁴¹ and his chaplaincy role at the Stuart court.⁴² Seven Jacobite bishops attained episcopal rank before the age of forty. Four of these were Butlers and MacMahons: Christopher Butler, archbishop of Cashel (1711-1757); John Butler, bishop of Cork (1763-1787); Bernard MacMahon, bishop of Clogher (1718-1737)⁴³ and archbishop of Armagh (1737-1747); Ross MacMahon, bishop of Clogher (1738-1747) and archbishop of Armagh (1747-1748).

The age profile in Chart 4.1 broken down further is illustrated by Tables 4.3 and 4.4. Table 4.3 provides a breakdown of the bishops' age-group at the time of their appointment. From this vantage point it takes Chart 4.1 a step further by providing the numerical data for each of the four main timeframes in question. The late seventeenth-century episcopal corps (1657-1684) had the largest number of senior ecclesiastics whose ages at appointment are unknown, standing at 37.3%. This percentage decreased for the Jacobite episcopal corps (1685-1766) to 21% and by the end of the eighteenth century it had again significantly decreased to 8.5%. For the first decades of the nineteenth century it remained 8.5%. Even with these unknowns, a few significant points can be made. The number of bishops appointed under the age of fifty remained

| Period | Total entering episcopal corps | Age unknown | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | 71-80 |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1657-1684 | 51 | 19 | 1 | 3 | 12 | 10 | 5 | 1 |
| 1685-1766 | 114 | 24 | 1 | 8 | 36 | 31 | 12 | 2 |
| 1767-1800 | 47 | 4 | 1 | 14 | 18 | 8 | 1 | 1 |
| 1801-1829 | 47 | 4 | 0 | 15 | 16 | 7 | 4 | 1 |
| Total | 259 | 51 | 3 | 40 | 82 | 56 | 22 | 5 |

⁴¹ Benedict XIII was Pietro Orsini, archbishop of Benevento, prior to his election as pope and he was notorious for appointing associates from Benevento after his election (Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Behind locked doors: a history of the papal elections* (New York, 2003), p. 171). MacDonagh was ordained a priest by Orsini at Naples in 1723.

⁴² Hugh Fenning, 'Michael MacDonogh, O.P., bishop of Kilmore, 1728-46' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cv (1966), pp 138-53.

⁴³ Bernard MacMahon was appointed vicar apostolic of Clogher 16/27 August 1718 as his appointment was protested by the local clergy.

relatively stable prior to 1767 comprising 36.9% of new appointees. After 1767, 68.1% of the newly appointed bishops were under the age of fifty, accounting for an increase of 83.7%. Remarkably, just under one-third of the bishops appointed between 1767 and 1800 were under the age of forty at the time of their appointment, a proportion that held up for the bishops appointed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The practice of appointing younger bishops to the Irish episcopal corps began prior to Stuart loss of its right of nomination, a point that is illustrated by Table 4.4 which shows the changing age profile on a per-decade basis. As shown in the previous chapters, the 1740s and 50s were a time of significant growth for the Irish church as by 1750 the Irish episcopal corps was effectively fully re-established. The data presented in Table 4.4 shows that after 1741 over 50% of the newly appointed bishops were younger than fifty at the time of their appointments. By the last two decades of the eighteenth century the percentage

| Period | Total entering episcopal corps | Age unknown | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | 71-80 |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1700-1710 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1711-1720 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| 1721-1730 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1731-1740 | 20 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 1741-1750 | 18 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 1751-1760 | 19 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1761-1770 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 1771-1780 | 18 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| 1781-1790 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1791-1800 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 145 | 26 | 2 | 20 | 49 | 30 | 14 | 2 |

of bishops appointed younger than fifty increased significantly to 84.6% of all new appointees.

When analysing patterns in episcopal tenure further to take into account their pre-episcopal activities, some intriguing insights can be derived. Table 4.5 correlated the average age of newly appointed bishops and their pre-episcopal activities. The first conclusion that can be drawn is that those bishops who held advocacy positions entered the episcopal corps at a consistently younger age than those who had a pre-episcopal diocesan role. This is best exemplified when looking at the new bishops appointed after 1670 when appointments of candidates from an advocacy background reached its peak. The bishops appointed in 1657 came primarily from the pre-episcopal diocesan role category and had an average age of fifty-five. After 1670, the average age of new appointees was 47.5, a decrease that corresponds with the decrease in the number of bishops who held the ecclesiastical rank of vicar general prior to their appointment. Only in the case of eight bishops appointed after 1670 can their episcopal promotion be correlated with tenure as vicar general of a diocese in Ireland. Compared to those entering the episcopal corps from other career paths, they were slightly older with an average age of 52.7 at the time of their appointment, the oldest of which was John Dooley, vicar apostolic of Killala (1671-1673), who was appointed at the age of seventy-five and was the only appointee after 1669 that had remained in Ireland

Table 4.5: Average age of bishops in relation to pre-episcopal activities, 1657-1829

| | Pre-episcopal diocesan role | Education role | Advocacy | Chaplaincy | Regular governance |
|------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1657-1684 | 53.7 | 50.8 | 49.2 | 51.4 | 50 |
| 1685-1766 | 55.8 | 51.5 | 47 | 50.6 | 51.9 |
| 1767-1800 | 44.3 | 45.9 | 41.6 | 46.9 | 44.3 |
| 1801-1829 | 50.3 | 41.7 | 0 | 55.5 | 44.5 |

throughout the Interregnum.⁴⁴

As previously pointed out, the Stuarts loss of the right of nomination altered the process by which bishops were appointed. Significantly, candidates seeking episcopal preferment no longer had to manoeuvre through the bureaucracy of both the exiled Stuart Court and Propaganda Fide, two entities that did not always operate in unison. Instead, after the Stuart Court lost its nominating right, existing Irish bishops played an enhanced role in the nominating process, which in turn gave them important leverage in having their preferred candidates appointed. Their influence was further enhanced as the seminaries came under their control at the end of the eighteenth century. This changing dynamic facilitated bishops in positioning potential candidates of their choosing in diocesan leadership roles that potentially enhanced their ecclesiastical *curriculum vitae*. By the end of the eighteenth century, the composition of the Irish episcopal corps had undergone significant changes. Illustrated earlier by Table 4.1, 57% of those attaining episcopal rank from 1767-1800 appear to have owed their appointment to the role they played within the diocesan leadership structure. As shown by Chart 4.1, the average age of these appointees was 44.5, on average a ten year decrease from the average age of the Jacobite episcopate. However, with the establishment of a diocesan seminary network, this trend changed and the quickest ‘path’ to the mitre was henceforth by means of an administrative position at one of the newly established seminaries. In Table 4.5, one sees that the average age of the bishops entering the episcopal corps the first decades of the nineteenth century who had, or once held, academic positions was 41.7 or, on average, eight years younger than those who held leadership positions within their respective diocese. This change in the age profile of the Irish bishops is significant as it corresponds to the changing profile of the Irish bishops in general, a bishop who was increasingly appointed on grounds of merit rather than dynastic loyalty.

Patterns in episcopal tenure, 1657-1829

Analysis of the age profile of Irish bishops has shown that the later decades of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of a younger episcopate. However, the question remains whether or not this translated into a more stable episcopate as expressed in length of episcopal tenure. The three principal factors that impacted episcopal tenure

⁴⁴ Dooley’s age is derived from two reports made to Propaganda regarding possible candidates for vacancies in the Irish church. In a memorandum dated c.1664, John Dooley was listed as a ‘sexagenarian’ (FV, vol. 13, ff 192-195 cited in Millett, ‘Vols 12 and 13’, p. 77). In a document sent to Cardinal Altieri by Bishop Dominic Burke of Elphin in 1675, Burke stated Dooley was the ‘son of a low-born cobbler aged about eighty’ (SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 486, 488 cited in *ibid*, ‘Calendar of volume 3 (1672-5)’, pp 70-1).

were mortality, suspension and resignation. Episcopal suspensions and resignations were rare in the Irish context, with only three bishops suspended in the entire eighteenth century: Eustace Browne, bishop of Killaloe (1712-1723), Thomas Flynn, bishop of Ardagh (1718-1730) and Anthony Blake, archbishop of Armagh (1758-1787).⁴⁵ Browne was suspended on 23 September/4 October 1723 for his inability to effectively govern his diocese and his tendency to ordain unsuitable candidates.⁴⁶ Likewise, Flynn was suspended in 1729 for ‘ordaining all who had a few words of Latin and a few pence to offer’.⁴⁷ Flynn died before his appeal could be addressed by Propaganda Fide. Blake was suspended on 10 April 1775 for failures in governance and his high handed treatment of the diocesan chapter. Unlike Browne, who was never restored, Blake came back as archbishop of Armagh on 31 July 1777.⁴⁸ Resignations, like suspensions, rarely occurred. For the most part they happened when an appointee refused the episcopal provision from the pope. John Brullaughan was appointed to Derry on 26 April/7 May 1749 but the Irish bishops refused to consecrate him and he was forced to resign on 30 May/10 June 1750.⁴⁹ His replacement, Patrick Brullaughan OP was provided on 18/29 January 1751 but resigned on 10/21 March 1752 after finding the diocese unsatisfactory. He returned to London where he served as chaplain to the Sardinian ambassador.⁵⁰ The most significant example of a bishop resigning his diocese was John Butler, bishop of Cork (1763-1787) who resigned his diocese on 3 June 1787.⁵¹

As might be expected, mortality was the most important factor in determining length of episcopal tenure. In ascertaining the age of death to help calculate duration of episcopal tenure, a methodology similar to that used to ascertain the average age of bishops at the time of their provisions was employed. Table 4.6 looks at four key data-sets used to establish episcopal tenure: average age at provision, average length of episcopal tenure, average age at death and median age at death.

⁴⁵ Patrick Brady OFM, bishop of Dromore (1770-1780) was not suspended but summoned to Rome to explain alleged misconduct. While in Rome he died on 4 July 1780.

⁴⁶ Ignatius Murphy, *The diocese of Killaloe in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1991), pp 48-50.

⁴⁷ James Kelly, ‘The Catholic church in the diocese of Ardagh, 1650-1870’ in Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran (eds), *Longford: essays in county history* (Dublin, 1991), pp 63-91, pp 73-4

⁴⁸ Patrick Whelan, ‘Anthony Blake, archbishop of Armagh 1758-1787’ in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, v, no. 2 (1970), pp 289-323, at p. 317.

⁴⁹ Millett and Woods, ‘Roman Catholic bishops from 1534’, ix, 344.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; W. Mazierre Brady, *The episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland: A.D. 1400 to 1875* (3 vols., Rome, 1876), i, 321; Hugh Fenning, *The Irish Dominican province, 1698-1797* (Dublin, 1990), p. 231.

⁵¹ See chapter two for further details regarding the resignation of John Butler, 12th Baron Dunboyne.

| <i>Table 4.6: Averages of episcopal tenure and their determinants</i> | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|---------------------|----------------------------|
| | Age at provision | Episcopal tenure (average duration of tenure) | Age at death | Median age at death |
| 1657-1684 | 50 | 14.9 | 67.8 | 67.5 |
| 1685-1766 | 52 | 17.3 | 70.6 | 72 |
| 1767-1800 | 44.5 | 22.6 | 68 | 70 |
| 1801-1829 | 45.9 | 18.9 | 65.5 | 68.5 |
| Total Average | 48.8 | 18.6 | 68.5 | 69 |

Significantly, the Jacobite episcopal corps appointed at the end of the seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century, on average, had the highest life expectancy rate of all the bishops studied (70.6). This figure is rather surprising given that the classic historical narrative portrayed this group of bishops as suffering the hardships of the penal laws. However, as shown in previous chapters, these rigours were often avoided by living in seclusion either on the Continent and/or with wealthy family members or Irish Catholic elites. Upon closer inspection, one notes that the episcopal cohort appointed between 1711 and 1780 had a life expectancy rate above 70, with the greatest numbers of deaths (twenty-two) occurring between 1731 and 1740. However, the decade that saw the lowest life expectancy for Irish bishops was the 1740s with a life expectancy rate of 63.5, with a median age of 67.⁵² This low life expectancy should not come as a surprise given that a severe famine occurred in 1740-1741, which carried off more than 10 per cent of the Irish population.⁵³ The peak in life expectancy for Irish bishops was the 1770s, standing at 79 and a median age of 73. After this high point the average age for Irish bishops at the time of their death steadily decreases, bottoming out at 64.4 the first decade of the nineteenth century and 65.7 the second decade of the nineteenth century. The remaining eight years of this study (1821-1829) saw a slight

⁵² The reason for denoting the difference between the average age at death and median age at death is to provide a more nuanced picture of the data. Numerical averages can sometimes provide a skewed picture and by providing an alternative average, the median age, the data becomes more precise. The median is the mid-way numerical value in a list of values.

⁵³ S. J. Connolly, *Religion, law and power: the making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992), p. 48; Michael Drake, 'The Irish demographic crisis of 1740-41' in J. L. McCracken (ed.), *Historical Studies*, vi (1968), pp 101-24.

increase in terms of average age at the time of death to 69.9. However, the median age of these bishops at the time of death demonstrates surprising continuity: 69.5 (1801-1810); 69 (1811-1820) and 69 (1821-1829).

Patterns in episcopal tenure have not been well analysed by Irish historians.⁵⁴ Comparing the Catholic episcopate to that of the Church of Ireland reveals that the Church of Ireland bishops had an average episcopal tenure of 8.3 years compared to 14.4 years for their Roman Catholic counterparts.⁵⁵ The primary reason for the shorter duration of episcopal tenure of the Church of Ireland episcopate was economic: the wealthier dioceses were filled by translations and the less wealthy dioceses were filled by consecrations.⁵⁶ Mobility within the Irish Catholic episcopate was rare and when translations did take place bishops were often translated to another diocese within the same province. With that said, there are patterns regarding episcopal tenure that might be analysed and these tend to support the conclusions presented throughout this prosopographical study.

When Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) re-engaged with the Irish church he did so by cautiously appointing a limited number of bishops supported by vicars apostolic. The practice of appointing vicars apostolic continued throughout the seventeenth century, especially during periods when the *modus operandi* for nominating and/or appointing senior Irish ecclesiastics was not well established or disrupted. This occurred, for instance, in the years prior to the four archiepiscopal appointments in 1669, in the years following the death of archbishops Plunkett and Talbot (1681-1684) and during the years at the end of James II's reign when questions were raised regarding the Stuarts' right of nomination. Assessing the episcopal tenure of vicars apostolic is difficult as their stewardship of the diocese to which they were appointed was often characterised by absenteeism and/or ecclesiastical rivalries that severely limited their ability to govern effectively. The thirty-five senior Irish ecclesiastics entering the Irish episcopal corps as vicars apostolic between 1657 and 1718 had a collective average episcopal tenure of 6.1

⁵⁴ Nigel Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland, 1770-1850* (Oxford, 2006), pp 63-133; J. H. Whyte, 'The appointment of Catholic bishops in nineteenth century Ireland' *Catholic Historical Review*, xlviii (1962), pp. 12-32. At the diocesan level, Ignatius Murphy (*The diocese of Killaloe in the eighteenth century*, pp 253-265) is the only diocesan historian who attempts to analyse patterns in episcopal tenure.

⁵⁵ Data is based on those bishops appointed in the eighteenth century and tenure per diocese to demonstrate the average duration bishops stayed in one diocese (Brendan Bradshaw, J. G. Simms and C. J. Woods, 'Bishops of the Church of Ireland from 1534' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Byrne and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland: maps, genealogies, list of companion to Irish history, part II* (9 vols, Oxford, 1989), ix, 392-438).

⁵⁶ Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland*, pp 63-4.

years. However, this figure can mislead as many of the senior ecclesiastics appointed vicars apostolic never actually returned to Ireland. Even when they did return, the point at which they ceased to govern the diocese they were appointed to is unknown. Only five of these vicars apostolic were later elevated to the episcopacy.⁵⁷ James Dooley, first appointed vicar apostolic of Limerick on 7/17 April 1757, remained on the Continent for fourteen years before he finally returned to his diocese in 1671. He was later appointed bishop of Limerick on 19/29 January 1677, nineteen years and nine months after first being made vicar apostolic. Like Dooley, Hugh MacDermot was appointed vicar apostolic of Achonry on 11/21 December 1683 and had to wait twenty-three years and three months before he received his episcopal promotion to Achonry on 31 March/11 April 1707.

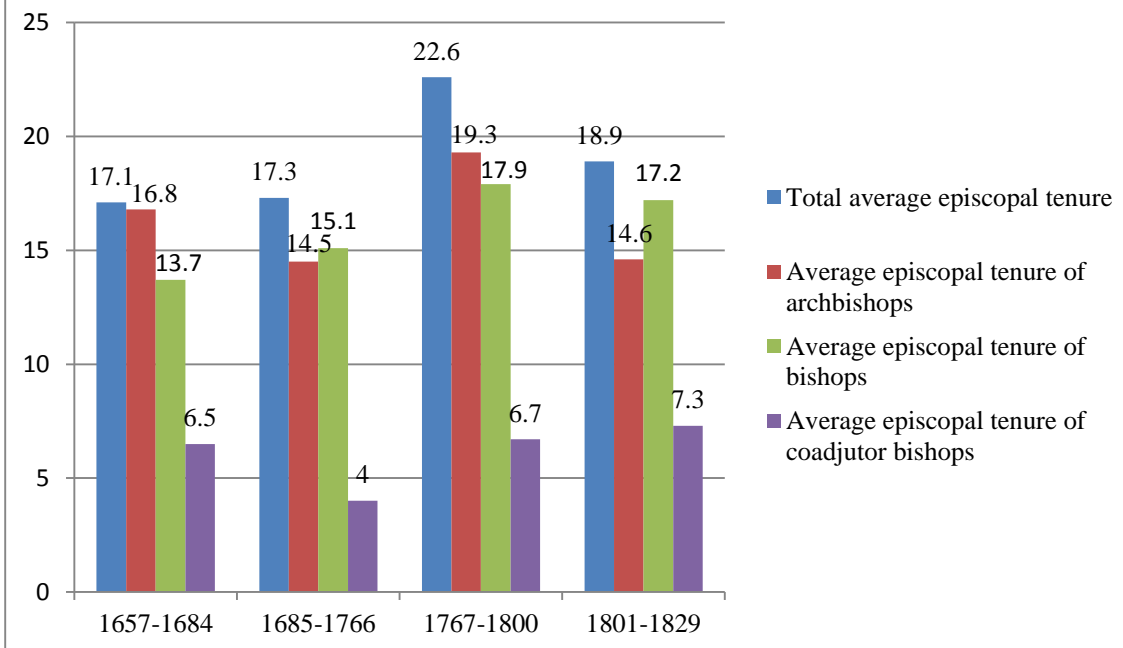
Episcopal tenure for the other episcopal ranks, like coadjutor bishops, bishops and archbishops, is illustrated in Chart 4.2. The total average of episcopal tenure is derived from the entire episcopal tenure of the bishop rather than the episcopal tenure of each diocese the bishop held. For instance, Philip Phillips was appointed bishop of Killala on 24 November 1760, a position he held for fifteen years, six months and twenty-three days until his translation to Achonry on 16 June 1776. Phillips was bishop of Achonry for nine years, three months and nine days before being translated to Tuam, a position he held for one year and eleven months before his death in September, 1787. The figure presented in Chart 4.2 for Philip Phillips' total episcopal tenure is twenty-seven. However, the data for the other ecclesiastical ranks uses the number of years of their episcopal tenure for that rank. Using Phillips' episcopal tenure as the example, one notes that his tenure for the various ecclesiastical ranks he held as bishop of Killala and Achonry and archbishop of Tuam is 15.5 years, followed by 9.25 years and two years respectively. This method was used to derive length of service for every bishop detailed in this table.

Returning to figures illustrated in Chart 4.2, the total average length of episcopal tenure remained relatively unchanged from the seventeenth-century episcopate and the early eighteenth-century episcopate at 17.1 and 17.3 years respectively.⁵⁸ This figure

⁵⁷ James Dooley, bishop of Limerick (1677-1685); William Burgat, archbishop of Cashel (1699-1675); Hugh MacDermot, bishop of Achonry (1707-1725); Terrence O'Donnely, bishop of Derry (1719/20-1727) and Bernard MacMahon, bishop of Clogher (1726-1737).

⁵⁸ The episcopal tenure for vicars apostolic were excluded from the total average of episcopal tenure but the five vicars apostolic who were later appointed bishop or archbishop were figured in the date for the appropriate ecclesiastical rank.

Chart 4.2: Average duration of total episcopal tenure by episcopal rank, 1657-1829



demonstrates surprising stability given the delicate state the Irish episcopal corps found itself in during much of this timeframe. No doubt this relatively healthy figure is explained by some impressively long episcopal tenures like that of Christopher Butler's forty-six years as archbishop of Cashel (1711-1757) and Peter Donnellan's forty-four years and nine months as bishop of Clonfert (1733-1778). The highest total average of episcopal tenure is found among the post-Jacobite episcopal corps with an average tenure of 22.6 years. This figure corresponds to the decrease in the average age at which ecclesiastics entered the episcopal corps and the peak of average age of death in the 1770s. When one looks at the duration of episcopal tenure according to each appointment individually it emerges that the bishops appointed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century had a higher average of episcopal tenure: 1657-1684, 14.5; 1686-1766, 14.5; 1767-1800, 12.3 and 1801-1829, 12.7. Reasons for this shift correspond with the practice of appointing coadjutor bishops which was less frequent in the seventeenth century and became more frequent in the eighteenth century.

When analysing the duration of episcopal tenure of the Irish episcopal corps it becomes apparent that as the eighteenth century progressed and the Irish episcopal corps became more established, bishops gained greater control over succession. There were only two coadjutors appointed from 1657-1685 and seven appointed by the Stuarts (1685-1766). However, from 1767-1800 there was a total of twenty-one coadjutor

appointments⁵⁹ and for the first twenty-nine years of the nineteenth century there were eighteen coadjutors appointed. Eighteenth-century coadjutors were appointed with the right of succession and were often provided to assist bishops advanced in age or suffering from a health related complication. Thomas Kelly, bishop of Dromore (1826-1833) was the only bishop to be appointed coadjutor bishop to another bishop, on the occasion of his appointment as coadjutor bishop to the aged Patrick Curtis, archbishop of Armagh (1819-1832). Upon the death of Curtis, Kelly succeeded as archbishop of Armagh and stayed on in Dromore as administrator until the appointment of Michael Blake, bishop of Dromore (1833-1860). For the most part, bishops used the appointment of coadjutor bishops as a means of safeguarding their legacy, hand-picking the candidates whom they favoured. There were cases where this practice was not applied. Michael Peter MacMahon OP, bishop of Killaloe (1765-1807) sought to have his nominees appointed on three occasions: John Connolly OP, prior of St. Clement; Luke Concanen OP, Roman agent; James O'Shaughnessy, vicar general of Killaloe. As Roman agent, Concanen desired to have a regular appointed to Killaloe to keep a regular bishop in the province of Cashel. However, both he and Connolly rejected MacMahon's overtures to relocate to Killaloe and this resulted in O'Shaughnessy's appointment. Arguably the most contentious refusal of a coadjutor bishop was engineered by Matthew MacKenna, bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1769-1791). At the request of newly appointed bishop of Cork, Francis Moylan (1787-1815), William Coppinger was appointed coadjutor bishop with right of succession to Cloyne and Ross succeeding MacKenna on 4 June 1791. Coppinger's appointment as MacKenna's coadjutor was strongly opposed by MacKenna who wanted his nephew, Patrick Donworth, appointed.⁶⁰

There were three cases where late eighteenth-century coadjutors did not succeed as bishop due to their premature death. These do not include the case of, Owen (Eugene) Geoghegan (1771-1778), coadjutor bishop of Meath. Geoghegan had served Augustine Cheevers OSA, bishop of Meath (1756-1778) as vicar general and was parish priest of Tubber, but by the time of his appointment he was already in his seventies. The other three coadjutor bishops who did not succeed as bishop include John Stafford (1772-1781) who was appointed coadjutor bishop of Ferns with right of succession at the

⁵⁹ Richard O'Reilly was provided coadjutor first to Kildare and Leighlin (1781) and then to Armagh (1782).

⁶⁰ Hostilities between MacKenna's supporters and Coppinger continued with Coppinger's strong opposition to Patrick Donworth's appointment as dean of the diocesan chapter.

recommendation of his uncle, Nicholas Sweetman (1745-1786), bishop of Ferns. His premature death raised the possibility of foul play given the tense political situation concerning the Oath of Allegiance.⁶¹ In Sweetman's correspondence with Troy there is no mention of foul play and contemporary historians have stated that he died as a result of falling from his horse.⁶² The second coadjutor bishop to die before he succeeded as bishop was Simon Quinn of Cloyne and Ross.⁶³ The final coadjutor bishop to die prematurely was Florence MacCarthy, coadjutor bishop of Cork (1803-1810).

As shown in Table 4.8, the average tenure for coadjutor bishops was rather short, in fact, for the entire timeframe it was only 6.6 years. Tenure for coadjutor bishops was, more than any other ecclesiastical rank, uniquely tied to the health of their bishops. Given that their average age at appointment was 45.4, they often took on significant roles within the day-to-day governance of the diocese, largely determined by their bishop. Daniel Murray, coadjutor bishop of Dublin (1809-1823) played a significant role within the Irish hierarchy, chief of which was the presidency of Maynooth College (1812-1813) and procurator for the Irish bishops in 1814 with John Murphy, bishop of Cork (1815-1847) to discuss the veto question with Pope Pius VII (1800-1823).⁶⁴ Like Murray, when Michael Collins was appointed coadjutor bishop to William Coppinger on 24 April 1827, he took on an expanded role in the governance of the diocese. Collins remained parish priest of Skibbereen and was entrusted with jurisdiction of the diocese of Ross by Bishop Coppinger.⁶⁵ Moreover, he often represented Coppinger at episcopal meetings where he acted as secretary and conducted episcopal visitations for Coppinger.⁶⁶

In comparison to coadjutor bishops, those senior Irish ecclesiastics appointed bishops were slightly older at the time of their appointment (49.3 years old) and were less likely

⁶¹ W. H. Grattan Flood, *History of the diocese of Ferns* (Waterford, 1916), p. 215; Pádraig de Brún, 'A lament in Irish for John Stafford coadjutor bishop of Ferns' in *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, no. 8 (1970), pp 43-51, at p. 46.

⁶² John V. Gahan, *The secular priests of the diocese of Ferns* (Dublin, 2000), p. 400.

⁶³ Quinn's date of death is not certain, but an account found in the Cloyne diocesan archives indicates that Quinn attended the Synod of Bishops (1786) in Thurles and died as a result of a severe wetting on his return home (C.D.A., Cobh, Matthew MacKenna Box, 1789.00/2/). This is supported by Bishop Matthew MacKenna's visitation register of 1785 whereby he listed Quinn as pastor of the parish of Castle Lyons in 1785 and subsequently altered the register for Castle Lyons in 1786 stating that Quinn had died (Matthew MacKenna's visitation register (1785) (C.D.A., Cobh, Matthew MacKenna Box, 1789.00/2/1785)).

⁶⁴ Murphy and Murray secured this responsibility on 26 August 1815 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 30/2/69).

⁶⁵ W. Coppinger, Cove to M. Collins, Skibbereen, 18 August 1828 (C.D.A., Cobh, Michael Collins, Box E, 1792.02/7/1828).

⁶⁶ Michael Collins' 1828 episcopal visitation (C.D.A., Cobh, Michael Collins, Box E, 1792.06/7/1828).

to be translated to another diocese and/or promoted to archbishop. For instance, there were only five bishops appointed between 1767 and 1800 and two bishops appointed between 1801 and 1829 who were later translated to another diocese. In terms of episcopal tenure, the tenure of those entering the episcopal corps as bishops was the most stable with a steady increase in duration of episcopal tenure from 13.7 years in the seventeenth century to 17.9 years at the end of the eighteenth century. This steady increase in length of episcopal tenure corresponds with that of their age-profile when they entered the episcopal corps. This cohort entered the episcopal corps with an average age of: 52.1 (1657-1684); 52 (1685-1766); 44.6 (1767-1800) and 47.2 (1801-1829). Thus, aside from the late seventeenth-century bishops, those bishops who entered the episcopal corps younger tended to enjoy longer episcopal tenures. For instance, those bishops appointed under the age of forty from 1767-1800 averaged an episcopal tenure of nearly thirty years. It should be noted that bishops receiving their first appointment after the age of sixty became rare after 1767. There were only five in this category: Matthew MacKenna, aged sixty-three; Fergal O'Reilly, bishop of Kilmore (1806-1829), aged sixty-five; Charles Tuohy, bishop of Limerick (1814-1828), aged sixty; Peter Waldron, bishop of Killala (1814-1834), aged sixty-three and Hugh O'Kelly, bishop of Dromore (1820-1825), aged seventy.

Patterns regarding the appointment of archbishops differed slightly from that of coadjutors and bishops. Those who were appointed archbishops normally had prior episcopal experience. The post-Jacobite episcopal corps (1767-1800) saw the youngest group of archbishops appointed with an average age of 45.5 years old. This cohort was arguably the most experienced group of archbishops with 78% having held the rank of coadjutor bishop or bishop prior to their appointment as archbishop. In contrast to this group of archbishops, the archbishops appointed from 1657-1684 had the least episcopal experience. Only 25% held the ecclesiastical rank of vicar apostolic or bishop prior to their appointment. On a regional basis, the archbishops from the northern provinces of Armagh and Tuam had the most episcopal experience at the time of their appointments. From 1715-1819 every archbishop appointed to Armagh had held another position within the Irish episcopal corps, albeit that Richard O'Reilly was coadjutor bishop of Kildare and Leighlin for only nine months. Slightly less experienced were the archbishops of Tuam, but they too enjoyed a strong background in church governance as every bishop from 1749-1809 had prior episcopal experience. The archbishops from the southern provinces were slightly different. Like the MacMahon family, the Butler

family had a monopoly over the archbishopric of Cashel and Emly. However, their method at securing that monopoly was different. Whereas the MacMahons secured the diocese of Clogher as their ‘training ground’ the Butler archbishops appointed their ‘heir apparent’ coadjutor with right of succession. Unique were the archbishops of Dublin who did not generally enjoy the benefit of influential family connections within the diocese. Instead, the archbishops came from the Dublin clerical ranks: John Linegar (1734-1757), Richard Lincoln (1757-1763), Patrick Fitzsimons (1763-1769) and John Carpenter (1770-1786).

Mobility within the Irish episcopal corps was limited and was mostly a feature of more senior bishops. Between 1685 and 1766 there were only twenty bishops who received an episcopal translation to another diocese, ten archbishops and ten bishops.⁶⁷ Of the ten bishops, seven were translated to another diocese prior to the reforms of Propaganda Fide in 1750/51 which altered the process of nominating Irish bishops. Moreover, after 1750 membership to the Irish episcopal corps became firmly established and translations to another diocese became rare unless it was to one of the four archiepiscopal sees. When evaluating the circumstances for mobility between dioceses, it becomes clear that economic considerations were of primal importance, a point that will be expanded upon in the next chapter. Outside of the archiepiscopal sees, the diocese of Meath received the most inward mobility from other dioceses: Patrick Tyrrell OFM from Clogher (1689), Stephen MacEgan OP from Clonmacnoise (1729) and Augustine Cheevers OSA from Ardagh (1756).⁶⁸ It is important to note that all three of these bishops were members of mendicant orders, a point that is made more significant by the fact that six of the ten bishops receiving episcopal translations were from these orders.⁶⁹

After the Stuarts officially lost their nominating right of Irish bishops in 1766, the number of translated bishops decreased further between 1767 and 1829, totalling five archbishops and six bishops. Episcopal mobility during this timeframe was largely confined to dioceses located in the provinces of Armagh and Tuam. Although this mobility affected a limited number of bishops, it does offer an insight into the level of

⁶⁷ These figures do not include those bishops who were also appointed administrators of another diocese and/or were promoted from vicar apostolic to bishop within the same diocese.

⁶⁸ Owing to poverty, the dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise were united in 1756 when Bishop MacEgan died and Cheevers was translated to the diocese of Meath.

⁶⁹ The other three mendicant bishops who received translations were: Sylvester Lloyd OFM to Waterford and Lismore (1739), John Brett OP to Elphin (1748) and Peter Killikelly OP receiving the diocese of Kilfenora in administration (1750).

diocesan organisation that existed within these two provinces; bishops from the more developed dioceses experienced little, if any, mobility. Indeed, episcopal mobility in the provinces of Dublin and Cashel ceased after Troy was translated to Dublin (1786) and Moylan was translated to Cork (1787),⁷⁰ a pattern that continued until 1850.⁷¹ These patterns in episcopal tenure and, to a lesser extent, episcopal mobility show that the Irish episcopal corps was becoming more stable at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. If episcopal reform was one of the defining reform initiatives of the Council of Trent, stability within the Irish episcopal corps is a key indicator that Tridentine reforms were beginning to take hold in Ireland.

Conclusion

By analysing the shared *curriculum vitae* of its members, and by charting patterns in their episcopal tenures, the process and the quality of the so-called re-emergence of Irish Catholicism in the eighteenth century can be evaluated. Through analysis of their pre-episcopal activities it becomes clear that membership to this cohort stabilised after the middle decades of the eighteenth century and underwent a distinct evolution. Senior Irish ecclesiastics entering the episcopal corps after the 1770s had more pastoral experience than the episcopal cohort that came before them, both at the parochial and the diocesan level. Over 80% of this episcopal cohort had experience in diocesan administration and/or experience in clerical formation, either at institutions abroad or in Ireland. By the end of the eighteenth century Irish bishops conformed more than ever to the ‘job’ description outlined by the Council of Trent. They had re-focused their efforts at diocesan re-organisation which increased their financial support for diocesan enterprises like church building and the establishment of schools and seminaries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the cohort of senior Irish ecclesiastics entrusted to administer these newly established institutions were often rewarded with episcopal preferment. This is especially evident in the significant number of Irish bishops having had experience in clerical formation at the newly established seminaries.

Part and parcel to evaluating the *curriculum vitae* and the episcopal tenure of the Irish episcopal corps in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the examination of how economic factors limited or enhanced their ability to bring the Irish Church in line with the Council of Trent. The early chapters of this prosopographical study have

⁷⁰ Gerard Teaghan, bishop of Kerry (1787-1797) was provided to Cashel in 1791 but refused to accept the translation preferring to remain in Kerry.

⁷¹ Yates, *The religious condition in Ireland*, p. 100.

focused primarily on the political networks, and machinations, utilised by Irish bishops to obtain and enhance their profile within the Irish Church and the Church abroad. However, as illustrated at various points in this chapter, political and economic factors are interrelated as many of the networks utilised by senior Irish ecclesiastics to enhance this profile, were also utilised to circumvent the economic limitations placed of them by the penal regime. We can now turn to evaluate how economic conditions impacted the relationship between bishop and diocese.

Chapter five: Sourcing episcopal income

The central focus of the last chapter was the creation of a prosopographical profile of the Irish episcopal corps, evaluating how their pre-episcopal activities shaped their episcopal tenure and their activities. However, as will be illustrated in this chapter, the networks used by members of the Irish episcopal corps to obtain episcopal preferment were also used to sustain their economic situation and provide the resources for the exercise of their episcopal mission and influence. Given the complex economic, political and legal challenges Irish Catholics faced between 1657 and 1829, it is unsurprising that the Irish episcopal corps relied heavily on family and ecclesiastical networks, at home and abroad, to ensure their economic security. It was through these networks that the episcopal corps acquired supplements to the meagre income derived from their diocese. This supplementary income came in many forms, sometimes as patronage from wealthy patrons, sometimes as pensions from the *Assemblée du Clergé de France* or sometimes from Propaganda Fide or other overseas organisations. By utilising their networks, both at home and abroad, members of the Irish episcopal corps were able to achieve the degree of economic stability necessary to their mission. From the mid-eighteenth century, with the development of the so-called catholic ‘middle class’, the bishops proved adept at adapting to take advantage of new domestic income sources. Although the old style ‘gentry’ bishop of the eighteenth century was gradually superseded by the ‘middle-class’ bishop by the end of the period, when compared to the other Irish Catholic ecclesiastical ranks, episcopal preferment still offered ambitious clerics important opportunities for upward social mobility and associated social status enhancement.

Sustaining bishops in a ‘resettled’ community, 1657-1684

Following the collapse of the Confederate Association and the subsequent defeat of royalists by Parliamentary forces, institutional Irish Catholicism underwent a drastic transformation. The ravages of war depressed property values, with land losing as much as 96% of its value from 1640 to 1654.¹ Irish towns suffered significant physical damage from both military activities and were impoverished by the quartering of troops. Running congruently to the depressed economic situation in Ireland was dramatic

¹ Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland: making Ireland modern* (Dublin, 2006), p. 183.

internal migration, due to confiscations and population decline due to wars, want and epidemics.

Faced with these dire circumstances, the new government's primary task was to create a system of law and order that pacified the island so that it could be brought under control.² To achieve this aim they implemented a programme of land reform which rewarded Parliamentary supporters with Irish land to the detriment of royalists, many of whom were Irish Catholics. In March 1642 the English Parliament passed the Adventurers' Act which expropriated 2,500,000 acres of Irish land and offered it to Protestant land speculators. The following year they extended the terms of the Adventurers' Act to English soldiers. However, truly radical land reform, in the shape of ownership change, only took place under the Act of Settlement (1652) which 'represented the most ambitious attempt to plant Ireland at any point in the island's history.'³ The Act identified five classifications for the defeated Irish royalist and mostly Catholic population. All were forced to forfeit their land and could only reclaim up to two-thirds back if they could demonstrate they had never supported the Irish rebellion and/or royalists. Legally clause five proved significant as it stipulated that every Irish Catholic was assumed guilty and the onus of proving one's innocence was on the individual landowner, not the government. This inevitably strengthened the government's and its supporters' position.⁴ For those Catholics who wished to reclaim confiscated land, the process was complex. In total, only twenty-six Catholic landowners owning about 40,000 acres could demonstrate their 'constant good affection' towards government.⁵ For the English settlers who received the confiscated land resulting from the Act of Satisfaction (1653), the parameters of the Act of Resettlement were continuously changed in their favour and consequently the area historically known as the Pale was effectively cleared of landowning Catholics. The latter were moved first beyond the rivers Boyne and Barrow (January 1652) and then to Connaught and Co. Clare beyond the river Shannon.⁶ Although the situation on the ground was enormously complicated, with catholic landowners sometimes managing to stay on as tenants, this was a hugely significant set of changes.

² Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, p. 185.

³ Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: the Irish aristocracy in the seventeenth century* (London, 2012), p. 287.

⁴ William Francis Thomas Butler, *Confiscation in Irish history* (Port Washington, 1917), p. 136.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶ Pádraig Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest: Ireland 1603-1727* (Essex, 2008), p. 136.

These changes in Irish landholding severely affected the traditional income of those bishops returning to Ireland at the end of the 1650s. None of the bishops who were exiled prior to the 1650s returned to Ireland and they continued to rely on the financial support they had eked out from continental sources. The two most eloquent examples are those of Robert Barry, bishop of Cork and Cloyne (1647-1662) and Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns (1645-1678). Barry received financial assistance from the bishop of Nantes, Gabriel de Beauvau de Rivarennes (1636-1668), and was able to continue carrying out his episcopal duties until his death in 1662.⁷ French received support from the bishop of Compostella from 1659 to 1666 and then from the bishop of Ghent from 1666 to his death in 1678.⁸ Those bishops and priests who chose to stay in Ireland lived under extreme conditions. Heber MacMahon, bishop of Clogher (1643-1650), Arthur Magennis, bishop of Down (1647-1653), Terence O'Brien, bishop of Emly (1647-1651) and Boetius MacEgan, bishop of Ross (1647-1650) fell into this category. Aside from the bishops, many vicars general were arrested and later banished from Ireland. These included Eugene MacEgan, vicar general and later vicar apostolic of Ross (1657) and Edmond O'Reilly, vicar general and later archbishop of Dublin (1657-1669). There were senior ecclesiastics who remained in Ireland and managed to evade government officials. A good example is John Burke, vicar general and later vicar apostolic of Cashel (1657). Burke was sheltered by Lady Thurles, who was the duke of Ormond's Catholic mother.⁹ She was exempted from transplantation due to her advanced age and '...that the said Lady did, several times, in the year 1641, harbour, entertayne, and preserve from murther and famine, divers English families whom the Irish had plundered and robbed, and attempted to murder.'¹⁰ Regarding the conditions

⁷ Patrick Hurley, 'Robert Barry, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, 1647-1662' in *I.E.R.*, 3rd ser., viii (1887), pp 702-11.

⁸ For the most concise narrative of Nicholas French's career see Jason McHugh, 'Catholic clerical responses to the Restoration: the case of Nicholas French' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 99-122; *ibid.*, 'Soldier of Christ: the political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French, Catholic bishop of Ferns (1603-78)' (Ph.D. thesis, NUI-Galway, Galway, 2005).

⁹ Thomas Butler, viscount Thurles married Elizabeth Poyntz, known widely as Lady Thurles. In 1619 they moved from England to Ireland but on 15 Dec. 1619 Thomas Butler was shipwrecked and drowned. Upon his death the heir to Butler title and estate fell to their son, James Butler, 12th earl and 1st duke of Ormond (1610-1688); Lady Thurles married George Matthew *a.* 15 June 1626 (Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'Butler, James' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish biography* (Cambridge, 2009) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1259>) (29 July 2013)). For reference to John Burke being sheltered by Lady Thurles see William Burke, *The Irish priests in the penal times, 1660-1760* (Waterford, 1914), p. 348.

¹⁰ James Graves, 'Anonymous accounts of the early life and marriage of James, first duke Ormonde' in *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, new ser., iv, no. 2 (1863), pp 276-92, at p. 283. Lady Thurles also purportedly provided harboured Major Henry Peisley when he was besieged by the Irish (*ibid.*).

these senior ecclesiastics endured during the Interregnum, their letters preserved in Roman sources speak of severe and impoverished living conditions.¹¹

The Restoration of Charles II brought renewed hope that the fortunes of Irish Catholics would be improved. In particular, there was expectation that the Act of Settlement (1652) would be overturned by the restored monarch given the strong support he had received from exiled Irish Catholics. However, Charles II's support for dismantling the Cromwellian settlement was tempered by his fear of those who had benefitted from it. Their influence was too great to permit anything except minimal changes. Only thirty-six members of the Irish nobility received the full restoration of their estates and two hundred Irish officers were listed for 'grace and favour'.¹²

For the bishops returning to Ireland, a central concern was the provision of priests and the means to support them. There was no shortage of candidates. Archbishop O'Reilly of Dublin ordained twenty-nine priests during his brief eighteen-month return to Ireland in 1660 and Anthony MacGeoghegan, bishop of Meath (1657-1664) ordained thirteen priests over the same period and a further eight more in 1661. Patrick Plunkett O. Cist., bishop of Ardagh (1647-1669) wrote to Propaganda Fide claiming to have ordained 200 priests between 1664 and 1669 throughout Ireland.¹³ In reports to Propaganda Fide the total number of clergy in Ireland was estimated to be 1,000 seculars and 600 regulars for a Catholic population of 2,000,000.¹⁴

Thus, with a significant increase in the number of clergy being ordained and returning to Ireland from the Continent during the 1660s, providing for the clergy and organising their government proved a priority for the bishops. There was a real need for more bishops to meet the demands of the growing number of priests and to assist in healing the deep divisions that existed between regulars and seculars, differences exasperated by Peter Walsh's 'Remonstrance'. Indeed, surviving sources suggest that

¹¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 79-80 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 3 (1672-5) of the "Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda" in Propaganda Archives: part 1, ff 1-200' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 18-19 (1976-7), pp 40-71, at p. 51. In this particular letter written by James Lynch, archbishop of Tuam (1669-1713), he stated it was offensive that the Capuchins had postulated a letter espousing their heroism during the Cromwellian persecution: '...the Capuchins are not entitled to claim exclusively for themselves the heroism which in those trying times was common to all clerics in Ireland...' (ibid.).

¹² *His Majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the severall interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there* (London, 1660) cited in *Stat. Ire.*, ii, 264-348.

¹³ For a complete statistical breakdown regarding the expansion in the number of clergy in Ireland see Benignus Millett, 'Survival and re-organisation 1650-1695' in Patrick Corish (ed.), *A history of Irish Catholicism* (7 vols, Dublin, 1968), iii, 1-63.

¹⁴ Millett states that the 1,000 seculars is a 'generous representation' and a more accurate number should be 800 (ibid., 30).

most episcopal concern was with the appointment and support of bishops rather than lower clergy. Episcopal opinion differed. There was resistance to expanding the Irish episcopal corps on the grounds that appropriate economic resources for their support were lacking. A central figure in opposing episcopal expansion was Plunkett of Armagh. His opposition was complex but included two basic components: there was a problem with resources at the diocesan level and support from Propaganda Fide was hopelessly stretched by the bishops already in office. In a letter to Propaganda Fide Plunkett proposed that if '[bishops] are appointed, it is necessary that the sacred congregation give them an income as it gives to bishops whom it sends to the Indies or to the infidel countries in the east.'¹⁵ This was a startling admission of the reduced state of the Catholic Church establishment and testimony to the effectiveness of the Cromwellian settlement in marginalising it. Without this financial provision, Plunkett insisted the Irish episcopal corps was doomed to perpetual financial misery with attendant inconveniences: '[i]n my humble opinion a metropolitan with just one suffragan would be enough in each province, all the more because if afterwards they are compelled by some edict to leave the country the sacred congregation will have to support them.'¹⁶

Plunkett's pessimism was based on an astute assessment of the economic realities of the time. Anti-Catholic laws and poor infrastructure made it difficult for the local churches to support bishops. The primary income Irish bishops received came in the form of a clerical contribution, of £1 per cleric per year.¹⁷ However, because according to the law, Protestant clergy were entitled to stole fees and other income, the clergy had difficulty in accessing their traditional income, such as it was. This practice essentially created a scenario where Catholic clergy were initially double taxed. Thus, the collection of this yearly income was sporadic and depended on the economic situation of the laity, which was extremely poor:

...the lay Catholics are so much afraid of losing their property that no one with anything to lose will give refuge to either ordinary or regulars, and although the regular clergy have some connivance to remain, yet the Catholics dread almost to admit them to say Mass in their houses. The priests give nothing to the bishops or ordinary...¹⁸

¹⁵ SOCG, vol. 447, ff 311-312 cited in John Hanly (ed.), *The letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett, 1625-1681* (Dublin, 1979), pp 391-5, at p. 394.

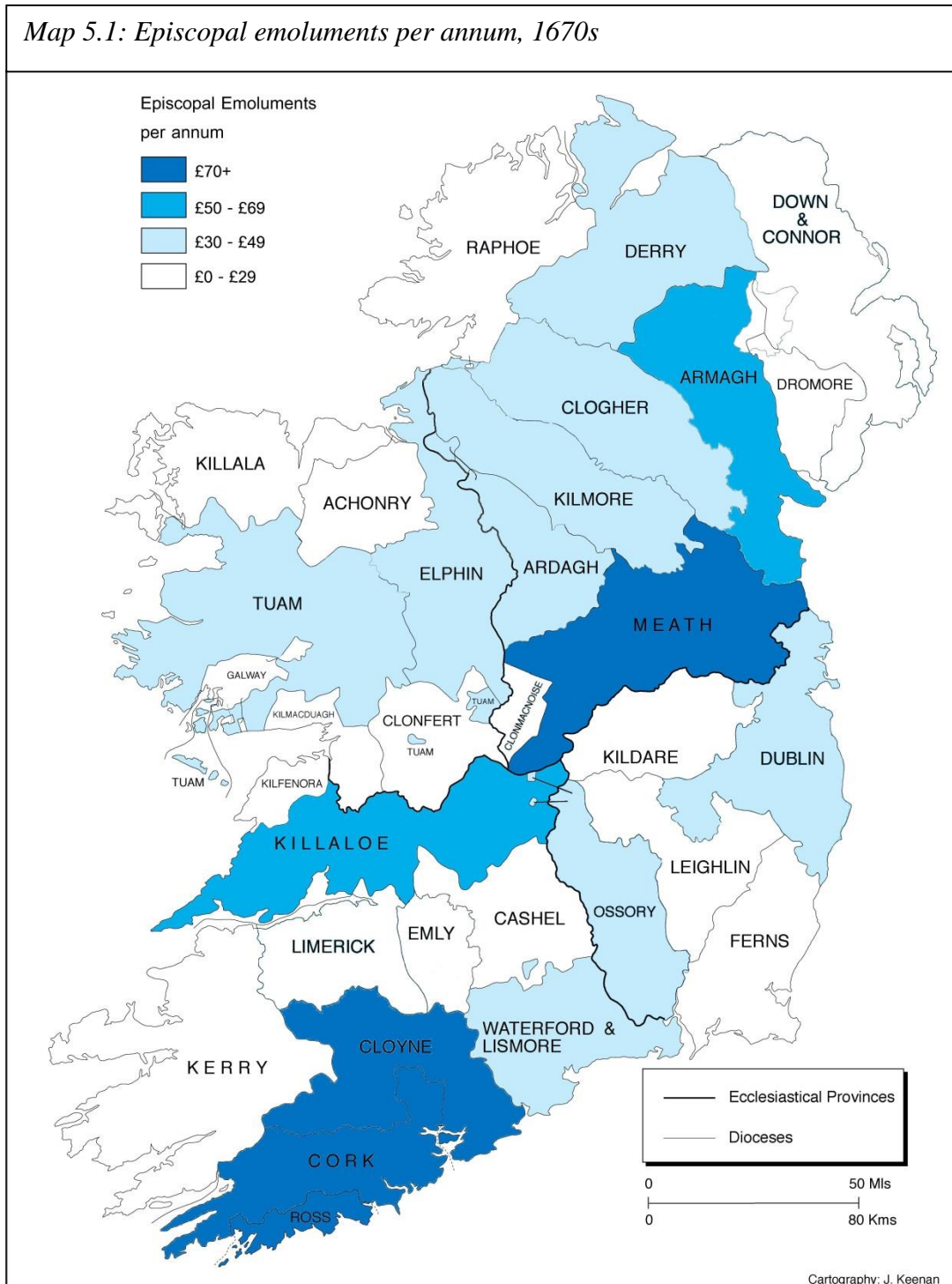
¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ In his letter to the Internuncio, Ottavio Falconieri, Archbishop Plunkett provided a conversion of £1 as follows: twenty shillings or four *scudi* (ibid.)

¹⁸ Edward MacLysaght, *Irish life in the seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1950), p. 304.

Aside from the province of Armagh, for which Archbishop Plunkett provided an estimate of the bishops' yearly income, in the other three provinces only an approximate figure can be derived, based on the number of clergy. These figures are speculative but the regional variation is interesting.

Map 5.1 illustrates an approximate distribution of income bishops received from the



clergy of their dioceses.¹⁹ From this it appears that Peter Creagh, bishop of Cork and Cloyne (1676-1693) had the largest income at £80 per annum, a figure that was only possible by having three dioceses under his administration.²⁰ After his translation to the diocese of Meath in 1669, Bishop Patrick Plunkett would have received the largest income from a single diocese of £70 per annum, an increase of £50 from what he probably earned as bishop of Ardagh. 'Second tier' dioceses included the dioceses of Killaloe which appears to have provided the bishop with £55 per annum and Armagh which provided the archbishop with an estimated income of £62 per annum. Dioceses falling in the 'third tier' included the archdioceses of Dublin and Tuam, both providing about £38 per annum. At the bottom end were smaller dioceses like the diocese of Clonmacnoise which would have provided a bishop with a meagre salary of £8 per annum or the diocese of Kilfenora which provided Andrew Lynch, bishop of Kilfenora (1647-1681), with a paltry £7 per annum.

It would appear from these calculations and inferences that the dioceses in the southern third of Ireland received the lowest income from their clergy.²¹ This may be attributed, at least in part, to the disruption to economic life caused by the Cromwellian resettlement and the exodus of the Catholic clergy from the area. For instance, we know that the archbishop of Cashel, prior to the Cromwellian re-settlement, received a salary of £1,000.²² By 1671 it would appear that his salary amounted to a mere £20.²³ On his translation to Cashel in 1677, John Brennan requested permission to retain Waterford and Lismore in administration owing to the fact that the clergy of Cashel were so impoverished that they could not provide him with a salary of 80 *scudi* (£20) per annum, '...would it be fair to leave one who taught philosophy for nine years and theology for five years in Propaganda...with eighty *scudi* per year with the pallium?'²⁴

¹⁹ Figures presented denoting episcopal emoluments (per annum) can be found at: SOCG, vol. 447, ff 311-312 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, pp 391-95; SOCG, vol. 462, ff 191-192 cited in *ibid.*, pp 473-6; SOCG, vol. 469, ff 165-166 cited in *ibid.*, pp 493-5; SOCG, vol. 470, ff 257 cited in *ibid.*, pp 499-500; SC Irlanda, vol. 4, f. 194 cited in *ibid.*, pp 497-499; Benignus Millett, 'Rival vicars: disputed jurisdictions in Limerick, 1654-1671' in Rynne Etienne (ed.), *North Munster Studies* (Limerick, 1967), pp 279-307, at p. 290; Patrick Corish, *Irish Catholic experience* (Dublin, 1985), pp 116-17.

²⁰ SOCG, vol. 462, ff 191-192 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, pp 473-6.

²¹ For a detailed account of Catholic support for priests in the south-east of Ireland prior to the Interregnum see Áine Hensey, 'A comparative study of the lives of Church of Ireland and Roman Catholic clergy in the south-eastern dioceses of Ireland from 1550 to 1650' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2012), pp 253-317.

²² MacLysaght, *Irish life in the seventeenth century*, p. 298.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ SOCG, vol. 462, ff 191-192 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, p. 476.

Brenan was provided the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore as administrator which gave him 200 *scudi* (£50) per annum.

Propaganda Fide's willingness to provide Brenan with the diocese of Waterford and Lismore along with Cashel appears to have signalled a change in policy at Propaganda Fide, in line with Plunkett's recommendation, although not to the extent that he might have hoped when he requested that Propaganda Fide subsidise the Irish bishops with a stipend of 300 *scudi* (£75) so they could 'carry on without shame to the mitre, and without being reduced almost to begging...'²⁵ Mark Forestal OSA was provided to the diocese of Kildare in 1676 with strong support from both the Irish bishops and the court in Vienna. It could be said that it was the support received from the Imperial Court that permitted his promotion. He was initially recommended to Killaloe in 1671 but was overlooked in favour of Killaloe native John O'Molony II. Although Kildare had a vicar apostolic in Patrick Dempsey (1671), who was still in France serving as the president of the Irish College at Lille, pressure was applied to secure Kildare for Forestal. Crucial to Forestal's promotion to Kildare was the fact that he was in receipt of a yearly allowance, thanks to the emperor's patronage.²⁶ Although never stated, the yearly allowance from the emperor appears to have been 200 florins as denoted in his will, 'I leave to my cossen Robert fforstall...ye two hundred fflorence due to me in Vienna...'²⁷ Following his appointment, Forestal returned to Ireland where he resided at the Augustinian friary in Fethard. As the income from Kildare was a meagre 56 *scudi* (£14), Plunkett petitioned the Internuncio at Brussels on Forestal's behalf to have the diocese of Leighlin in administration, which also provided an income of about 50 *scudi* (£12 20s.10d.).²⁸ Propaganda Fide agreed and Forestal was given the diocese of Leighlin in administration in 1678. Only in this ad hoc fashion could the bishop of Kildare be supported, a vivid testimony to the straits to which ecclesiastical structures were reduced.

As might be expected, the meagre income coming from the lower clergy obliged the bishops to rely more heavily on family members and patrons to help subsidise their ministry. For Roman officials, episcopal applicants' access to wealth was an important criterion when considering their suitability for appointment. The preoccupation with financial concerns only increased with the regular reports sent to Brussels and Rome by

²⁵ CP, vol. 19, ff 95-96 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, p. 455.

²⁶ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 276-277 cited in Millett, 'Calendar of volume 3 (1672-5)', p. 23.

²⁷ Prerogative Court will book, 1664-1684 (N.A.I., Dublin, microfilm, PRCT/1/1).

²⁸ SC Irlanda, vol. 4, 178-179 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, pp 196-7.

Plunkett and others, repeatedly detailing the hardships and poverty of the bishops. It was only by accessing foreign networks that senior Irish ecclesiastics managed to support their ministry and provide minimal security during periods of increased persecution. At the time of his appointment to Killaloe, John O'Molony II (1671-1689) was on a relatively secure financial footing having been promoted to a canonry in the cathedral of Rouen. He also enjoyed access to considerable family wealth. As early as 1658 he was recommended to Killaloe, due primarily to the fact, it would seem, that he 'possessed the benefices and means to sustain his rank and give alms to the poor'.²⁹ O'Molony was not alone in taking advantage of the benefices granted to him. Two other newly appointed bishops in 1671 used patronage from the Continent to enhance their profile. Daniel Mackey, the bishop of Dromore (1671-1673), was strongly recommended by Pedro de Aragón,³⁰ the viceroy of Naples who was a strong patron of his. In a memorandum drafted for Mackey in 1671, Cardinal Altieri stated that the Irishman was brought up by the viceroy and supported by him while he attended the University of Alcalá where he earned his doctorate in theology. Following his studies he became the viceroy's confessor and at the time of his appointment was residing with the viceroy in his residence.³¹

Another bishop who astutely used patronage to secure his appointment and for personal economic benefit was Patrick Duffy OFM, bishop of Clogher (1671-1675). Like O'Malony, Duffy's appointment was due to both family connections in the diocese of Clogher and continental patronage. Duffy was the nephew of the celebrated Bishop Heber MacMahon of Clogher who was killed by parliamentary forces in September 1650 and had enjoyed strong family links in the diocese. Among his papers of recommendation, drawn up on behalf of the duke of Medina,³² is a legal document drafted in Madrid on 24 March 1667. It confirms, in the hand of Nicolas Paules y

²⁹ Patrick Boyle, 'John O'Molony, bishop of Killaloe (1672-89) and of Limerick (1689-1702)' in *I.E.R.*, 4th ser., xxxii (1912), pp 547-589, at p. 576.

³⁰ Pedro de Aragón (1611-1690) served under Philip IV and Charles II of Spain. He was Spanish ambassador in Rome (1664-1666) and was viceroy of Naples (1666-1671). His brother was Cardinal Pascual de Aragón who was appointed archbishop of Toledo (1666-1677) and viceroy of Naples (1664-1666) (Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, 'Royal and viceregal art patronage in Naples (1500-1800)' in Tommaso Astarita (ed.), *A companion to early modern Naples* (Leiden, 2013), pp 383-404, at p. 396).

³¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 2, ff 784, 787 cited in Benignus Millett, 'Calendar of volume 2 (1669-71) of the "Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda"' in Propaganda Archives' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 17 (1974-5), pp 19-70, at p. 67.

³² The duke of Medina, Don Ramiro Felípez Núñez de Guzmán, was a confidant of Philip IV (1605-1665) of Spain and following the death of Luis de Haro in 1661 became, in effect, Philip's chief minister. For further information regarding the career of the duke of Medina see R. A. Stradling, 'A Spanish statesman of appeasement: Medina de las Torres and Spanish policy, 1639-1670' in *The Historical Journal*, xix, no. 1 (Mar. 1976), pp 1-31.

Merode, that Duffy was entitled to ‘1,000 silver ducats every year all the days of his life whenever the Pope provides Duffy to one of the vacant bishoprics in the kingdom of Ireland.’³³ Duffy’s support from the duke of Medina is significant given his close relationship to Spanish king, Philip IV (1605-1665) and the high esteem they both had for the Irishman.³⁴ Following his appointment, Duffy encountered difficulties returning to Ireland as his episcopal brief demanded that he travel to Flanders to be consecrated. He feared his close association with the Spanish Court might make that destination problematic.³⁵ Thus, he requested the Spanish nuncio, Galeazzo Marescotti,³⁶ to write to Frederico Cardinal Borromeo,³⁷ the Cardinal secretary of state requesting that he instead be consecrated in Madrid and then travel to Ireland from Bilboa. The change, in addition to shortening his voyage to Ireland with an estimated twenty packages of books, also accommodated the fact that he had been promised a gift of episcopal robes on condition that his consecration took place in Madrid.³⁸

In addition to the political and religious state of Irish Catholicism in the 1660s and 1670s, availability of resources proved a decisive factor as the number of bishops grew. For bishops residing in Ireland, like Plunkett and Brennan, any increase meant a further reduction in the auxiliary income they received from continental sources like Propaganda Fide. No matter how legitimate their opposition was, the likes of Plunkett and Brennan were no match for the political manoeuvrings in Rome and foreign courts of senior Irish ecclesiastics who had spent years abroad, and in all likelihood knew very little of the economic situation in Ireland. These attempts centred on patronage from the Continent and assurances from their patrons that they would not pose a financial burden to their flock or Rome. This was the financial basis on which bishops were appointed in greater numbers in the 1670s. Unfortunately, with more bishops and a higher public

³³ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 305-306 cited in Millett, ‘Volume 1 (1625-68)’, pp 96-7.

³⁴ SC Irlanda, vol. 1, ff 308-309 cited in *ibid.*, p. 97.

³⁵ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 69-69A cited in Millett, ‘Volume 3 (1672-1675)’, p. 50.

³⁶ Marescotti was born on 1 October 1627 in Vignanello (Italy) and following his education he was educated titular archbishop of Corinth (1668). He was nuncio in Poland (1668-1670) and Spain (1670-1675). He was elevated to the college of Cardinals (1675) where he held many prominent positions within the Roman curia until his death on 3 July 1726 (Salvador Miranda, ‘Marescotti, Galeazzo (1627-1726)’ in *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church* (www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1675.htm#Marescotti) (23 July 2013).

³⁷ Cardinal Borromeo was born in Milan (1617) and following his education went to Rome where he was appointed chamberlain to the Pope (1643) and elected patriarch of Alexandria on 19 October 1652. He served as nuncio in Switzerland (1654-1665), governor of Rome (1666-1668), Spanish nuncio (1668-1670) and secretary of State (1670-1673); he died on 18 February 1673 (Salvador, ‘Borromeo, iuniore, Federico (1617-1673)’ in *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church* (www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1670.htm#Borromeo) (23 July 2013).

³⁸ SC Irlanda, vol. 2, ff 674-675 cited in Millett, ‘Volume 2 (1669-71)’, pp 51-2.

profile, the Irish episcopal corps became exposed to government and local attention, a factor that ultimately brought episcopal expansion to a shuddering halt.³⁹

Support networks to circumvent the penal laws, 1685-1800

Following the Restoration of Charles II (1660) the English crown's policy towards Irish Catholics might be described as, for the more part, duplicitous. Publically, any increase in the number of Irish Catholic bishops was seen as a threat to the dominance of the established religion. Privately, the Stuart Court actively sought to influence episcopal nominations and even went so far as to offer patronage to a limited number of Irish bishops. Under the viceroyalty of Berkley, for instance, Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin (1669-1680) received a pension under the alias Henry Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough for three years valued at £300 per annum.⁴⁰ Likewise, Archbishop Plunkett was 'half-promised' a pension, which never materialised, from Charles II.⁴¹ Ultimately, when James II ascended to the throne, private overtures to the Irish episcopal corps became public overtures, resulting in what has been called the policy of re-Catholicisation in Ireland.

Financial support for the Irish episcopal corps proved to be an important component of James II's re-Catholicisation policy in Ireland. From a historiographical standpoint, James' reign has been the subject of much debate amongst historians especially regarding his religious policies.⁴² In the Irish context, the so-called 'Catholic revolution' implemented in Ireland under James II was largely due to the influence Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell⁴³ and accelerated by James when his political situation began to deteriorate.⁴⁴ As shown in chapter one, the nomination of Irish bishops was a centrepiece in James' Irish policy and he actively promoted senior ecclesiastics who were supportive of his religious policy, which some historians have assessed as

³⁹ For two accounts of the 1670s and the economic barriers members of the Irish episcopal corps faced see Patrick Moran (ed.), *Memoirs of the most reverend Oliver Plunkett, archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland who suffered death for the Catholic faith in the year 1681* (Dublin, 1861) and John Brenan, *A bishop of the penal times: being letters and reports of John Brenan, bishop of Waterford (1671-93) and archbishop of Cashel (1677-93)*, ed. P. Power (Cork, 1932).

⁴⁰ Anne Creighton, "Grace and favour": the cabal ministry and Irish Catholic politics, 1667-73' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Hampshire, 2008), pp 141-60, at p. 157. Talbot's pension ceased when the earl of Essex took over as viceroy to Ireland (ibid.).

⁴¹ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 166-167 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, p. 331.

⁴² Steven Pincus, *1688: the first modern revolution* (London, 2009), pp 119-21.

⁴³ For a detailed account of Richard Talbot see John Miller, 'The earl of Tyrconnell and James II's Irish policy 1685-1688' in *Historical Journal*, xx (1977), pp 803-23.

⁴⁴ For a detailed account of James' policy in Ireland see D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742: politics, politicians and parties* (Suffolk, 2004), pp 14-30; S. J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom, Ireland 1603-1800* (Oxford, 2008), pp 173-82.

designed to create a Gallican Catholic state.⁴⁵ Another important way of facilitating this policy was to provide political and economic leverage to Irish Catholics, which prior to the birth of his son, James Francis Edward (1688), meant giving Catholics enough political leverage to bargain with a Protestant successor.⁴⁶ However, after the birth of a Catholic heir, the question of a Catholic succeeding James on the throne was no longer an issue and the Catholic revolution in Ireland accelerated.

James began to make changes in central and local government from 1686. Where Catholic clerics were concerned, he mandated Edward Hyde, the second earl of Clarendon to order that Protestant bishops, sheriffs and justices of the peace were not to 'molest' Catholic clergy in their exercise of pastoral responsibilities. He further allowed Catholic bishops to wear their clerical robes, aside from their pectoral cross, and provided them with an annual salary.⁴⁷ The money for these salaries was available because James did not fill episcopal vacancies in the Established Church. This was precarious and contested income. However, it enabled him to use the resulting monies to pay an annual salary to Catholic bishops. In total, £2,190 was set aside from these funds and were distributed as follows: Dominick Maguire OP, archbishop of Armagh (£300); Patrick Russell, archbishop of Dublin (£200); John Brenan (£200); Patrick Tyrrell (£200); Dominick Burke OP, bishop of Elphin (£150); John O'Molony II (£150); James Phelan (£150) and Edward Wesley, bishop of Kildare (£150).⁴⁸

Catholic interests were put on a stronger footing when Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell became Lord Deputy in 1687. The chapels in Dublin Castle and the Royal Hospital Kilmainham were re-consecrated for Catholic worship. His most significant act was the appointment of Archbishop Maguire as Chaplain-General of the Army, a position that solidified the perception of Catholic control of the military and caused great concern in England.⁴⁹ However, the good fortunes of Catholics took a significant change for the worse when James II was forced into exile and the articles initially agreed to in the Treaty of Limerick between Jacobite sympathisers and representatives of William III were significantly altered, to the detriment of Irish Catholics.

⁴⁵ Pincus, *1688: the first modern revolution*, pp 118-42.

⁴⁶ James Maguire, 'James II and Ireland, 1685-1690' in W. A. Maguire (ed.), *Kings in conflict: the revolutionary war in Ireland and its aftermath, 1689-1750* (Belfast, 1990), pp 45-57, at p. 46.

⁴⁷ Connolly, *Divided kingdom, Ireland*, p. 174.

⁴⁸ Anthony Cogan, *The diocese of Meath, ancient and modern* (3 vols, Dublin, 1867), ii, 150; Hugh Fenning, 'Dominic Maguire, O.P. archbishop of Armagh: 1685-1707' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, xviii, no. 1 (1999-2000), pp 30-48, at p. 40.

⁴⁹ Maguire, 'James II and Ireland', pp 46-8, 52-3.

By the beginning of the 1690s, a large number of Irish bishops had left for the Continent. For many, this obliged them to rely on foreign patronage. Papal strictures did not help. In his brief *Credita nobis coelitus* (1670), Clement X (1670-1676) forbade Irish bishops to exercise episcopal functions outside of Ireland.⁵⁰ This shut off a source of income used by a previous generation of exiled Irish bishops like French. By 1691 it had become apparent that the situation in Ireland was too dangerous for bishops. On 13 July 1691 Innocent XII (1691-1700) decreed that Irish bishops could exercise episcopal functions with the permission of the local bishop in whose diocese they resided. This decree made it easier for Irish bishops to maintain a living abroad, but they still relied heavily on other sources of patronage.

Sources of economic support: Irish-based networks

Once the Treaty of Limerick was finally ratified in 1697, the Protestant elites were poised further to curtail Catholicism in Ireland using a two-pronged approach: banishment of senior Catholic ecclesiastics and regular clergy and, conversion of Catholics by economic inducements. The Act of Banishment (1698) was significant in that it forced the Irish bishops to the Continent. After John Baptiste Sleyne, bishop of Cork and Cloyne (1693-1712) was exiled to Portugal in March 1703, only three bishops remained in Ireland: Edward Comerford, archbishop of Cashel (1695-1710), Michael Rossiter, bishop of Ferns (1697-1709) and Patrick Donnelly, bishop of Dromore (1697-1728).⁵¹ The re-emergence of a 'resident' episcopal corps was long and arduous, taking over a half century to be fully realised. Evaluating the sources of episcopal wealth during the first decades of the eighteenth century must focus on two factors: the laws implemented to economically marginalise Irish Catholics and the networks in Ireland utilised by Irish bishops to evade this economic marginalisation.

The penal legislation introduced during the first decades of the eighteenth century were exclusively concerned with depriving Catholics of landed wealth.⁵² Its basic function was to exclude Catholics from accessing landed wealth and was implemented with the passing of 2 Anne c.6 of 1704, 'an act to prevent the further growth of popery'. This act had the singular object to 'make Popery not illegal, but expensive, inconvenient and socially unrewarding; and above all, to destroy the Catholic landed interests, the

⁵⁰ SC Irlanda, vol. 2, f. 464 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I., p5338).

⁵¹ Other senior Irish ecclesiastics who resided in Ireland were the following vicars apostolic: Bernard Donoghue, vicar apostolic of Ardagh (1699-1709) and Aeneas O'Leyne, vicar apostolic of Kerry (1700).

⁵² W. N. Osborough, 'Catholics, land and the popery acts of Anne' in T. P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1990), pp 21-56, at p. 22.

ownership of land being the source of all political power.⁵³ The strength of this act lay in preventing Catholics from taking out leases longer than thirty-one years. Also inheritance was equal between all male and female heirs.⁵⁴ From a generational perspective, this meant the parcelling of Catholic land ownership became more fragmented with every generation. Designed in conjunction with legislation intended to curtail Catholic land ownership was another body of legislation aimed at encouraging conversion through economic inducements.⁵⁵

Following the 1704 Act, loopholes became obvious and Parliament passed 8 Anne c.3 of 1709, 'an act for explaining and amending an act intituled an act to prevent the further growth of popery'. The central aim of this act was to prevent Catholics from circumventing the existing legislation. In particular this act established '...formal requirements that governed conformity to the established church...[and]...recast the enforcement machinery for the entire code.'⁵⁶ The most controversial section of the act was the creation of a 'discoverer' clause, or Section 27. The discoverer clause allowed for any Protestant to contest in court a property arrangement involving Catholics. If the case was judged to have merit, the Protestant 'discoverer' was entitled to the property in question.⁵⁷ Although enacted to facilitate conversion, the acts appear to have provided rather poor incentive, from 1703-1800 there were only 5,797 converts certified by the Chancery Office.⁵⁸ A number of reasons may be suggested to explain their relative ineffectiveness, but the most likely was the ability for Catholics to circumvent the law. In particular, Catholic landed families relied on trustees, collusive 'discoveries' and conformities to protect their landed interests.⁵⁹

Although the Irish Parliament remained firmly committed to the penal legislation passed in the first decades of the eighteenth century, new legislation passed after 1714 'sought to merely strengthen or renew existing statutes.'⁶⁰ Thus, without any significant alterations to the law, Catholic families were sometimes able to manipulate the legal

⁵³ Charles Chenevix Trench, *Grace's Card: Irish Catholic landlords 1690-1800* (Dublin, 1997), p. 55.

⁵⁴ Osborough, 'Catholic, land and the Popery Acts of Anne', pp 23-5.

⁵⁵ Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest*, pp 213-4; Osborough, 'Catholics, land and the Popery Acts of Anne', p. 25.

⁵⁶ Osborough, 'Catholics, land and the Poperty Acts of Anne', pp 25-6.

⁵⁷ Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest*, p. 214.

⁵⁸ *The Convert Rolls* that were made public in 1981 detail only those converts who were certified in chancery. The 5,797 does not represent converts who never enrolled or were officially recorded. For a complete statistical breakdown of the *The Convert Rolls* see Thomas P. Power, 'Converts' in T. P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and Emergence, Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1990), pp 101-27.

⁵⁹ Louis Cullen, 'Catholics under the Penal Laws' in *E.C.I.*, i (1986), pp 23-36, at p. 27.

⁶⁰ David Dickson, *New foundations, Ireland 1660-1800* (2nd edn, Dublin, 2000), p. 97.

system to retain their bid to retain their landed wealth. Thomas Power noted that by the 1720s a large percentage of converts entered the legal profession and operated as crypto-Catholic lawyers ‘...to reduce the compulsion of the laws inducing conformity and to challenge actions taken against Catholic property.’⁶¹ Moreover, branches of families that conformed to the Established Church often protected those branches of the family that remained Catholic. A clear example of this was the Dalys of Carrownekelly and the Frenches of Monivea who conformed to the Established Church but continued to shelter the Catholic branches of the family, the Dalys of Dalysgrove and the Frenches of Caslefrench.⁶²

Conforming Catholic families sometimes offered protection to family members who were Catholic bishops. Networks formed on this type of understanding were important to members of the episcopal corps as they allowed them to operate securely, at least within a limited geographical area. Shortly after being appointed to the diocese of Kilmacduagh in 1707, Ambrose Madden asked Propaganda Fide for permission to retain the parish of Loughrea in the diocese of Clonfert because the parish is ‘...but a short distance from the diocese of Kilmacduagh and [I] would have no difficulty in filling both offices.’⁶³ Although it appears Madden was able to keep Loughrea,⁶⁴ he was not consecrated for Kilmacduagh. Instead, he was translated to his native diocese of Clonfert and received episcopal consecration on 4/15 April 1714.⁶⁵

Madden’s desire to remain at Loughrea was significant as it afforded him protection from the civil authority and financial security, both largely the result of his close affiliation with the Daly family of Ratford. The Dalys of Ratford conformed to the Established Church at the turn of the eighteenth century but continued to collude with and protect Catholic interests.⁶⁶ As he neared death, Bishop Madden drafted a will on 21

⁶¹ Power, ‘Converts’, p. 110. Attempts to curtail crypto-Catholics from entering the legal profession was sought in I Geo.II c.20 (1727) and 7 Geo.II c.5 (1733) (ibid., p. 122).

⁶² Karen J. Harvey, *The Bellevs of Mount Bellew: a Catholic gentry family in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), pp 48-9.

⁶³ NF, vol. 101, f. 674 cited in Cathaldus Giblin, ‘Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection “Nunziatura di Fiandra”, Vatican Archives: part 3, vols. 81-101’ in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 4 (1961), pp 7-130, at p. 127.

⁶⁴ NF, vol. 150, ff 130-132 cited in ibid., ‘Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection of “Nunziatura di Fiandra”, Vatican Archives: part 9, vols. 148-52’ in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 17 (1970), pp 61-99, at p. 82; FV, vol. 150, f. 145 cited in ibid., p. 87.

⁶⁵ W. Mazierre Brady, *The episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland: A. D. 1400 to 1875* (3 vols, Rome, 1876), ii, 166.

⁶⁶ By 1741 the Dalys had 4,000 profitable acres of land and with the marriage of Denis Daly the younger to Lady Anne, daughter of Michael Burke, 10th earl of Clanricarde, the families were able to consolidate their wealth (Settlement by Denis Daly, the elder, in trust for his son Denis Daly the younger (N.L.I., Dublin, Ms. Deeds 11,096-11,099)). The Clanricarde family are of particular note given they

May 1715 and appointed Denis Daly of Ratford as one of the executors of his estate.⁶⁷ Madden stated that he was ‘parish priest of Loughrea’ and his identity was well known to the local authorities. In 1711 Madden was arrested by the High Sherriff of Galway, David Power, who later wrote to Dublin Castle that Madden was:

looked upon to be the chief of them (the papists) in the country. ...If it were not for the assistance of the Dragoons at Loughrea, I should be stoned to death by the mob on account of Madden, for there was two or three hundred comeing [sic.] at me by night.⁶⁸

As Madden did not have any heirs, the thirty-three acres of land he held in trust at Coolegarrane were left to Daly and his descendants to be sold at the highest price.⁶⁹ All ‘rents and arrears of rent dew [sic.] to me or to any in trust for me out of the above lands of Collegarrane...and all my rights, title, claim, trust or demand to the same and every parcel of the same’ were to be given to his nephew, Ambrose Madden.⁷⁰ Moreover, his house at Loughrea was to be re-leased by Daly to his nephew, Ambrose Madden, for a term of twenty-one years.⁷¹ Significantly, his will contained no mention of a diocesan endowment, unsurprising given the organisational dislocation of the local Catholic Church.

Like Madden, another western bishop who received significant assistance from conforming relatives was Carbry O’Kelly, bishop of Elphin (1718-1729). O’Kelly was closely aligned with the earls of Clanricarde and was mentioned at a grand jury in 1715 as travelling to France with Ulicke Burke, son of Sir John Burke, the 9th earl of Clanricarde.⁷² Three years prior to this, Sir Festus Burke, the son-in-law to the earl of Clanricarde was accused of protecting Carbry from the civil authorities.⁷³ This relationship is further detailed in O’Kelly’s will dated 23 Feb./6 Mar. 1729. From his will we learn that he resided in Glinsk, County Galway on land owned by Sir Festus

were patrons of many vicarages in the diocese of Clonfert (John Lodge and Mervyn Archdall, *Peerage of Ireland: or, a genealogical history of the present nobility of the Kingdom* (7 vols, Dublin, 1789), i, 141-2).

⁶⁷ Collusion with Catholics did not end with Madden as in a letter to a government agent dated 3 March 1731 Stratford Eyre accused Denis Daly and his brother-in-law of leasing land to friars in Kinallehin and Loughrea rent-free in violation of the Act of Banishment (Burke, *The Irish priests in the penal times*, p. 253).

⁶⁸ Gerard Madden, *History of the O’Maddens of Hy-Many* (Tuamgraney, 2004), p. 104.

⁶⁹ This passage of the will indicates that Madden and members of his family leased the land at Coolegarrane directly from Daly. The practice of family members leasing land on a town land was not uncommon as it ensured less financial risk to the landowner as each the tenants were responsible for defaulters (Dickson, *New foundations*, p. 123).

⁷⁰ Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), pp 232-5.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Burke, *Priests in the penal times*, p. 169.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

Burke who was married to Lady Letitia Burke, daughter of 9th earl of Clanricarde.⁷⁴ Moreover, he instructed that Sir Festus Burke and his brothers bury his remains in a manner they would think fit and provide a ‘simple white marble fixed in the wall over my grave with such an inscription as [they] shall think proper.’⁷⁵

It was not only conforming Catholics who provided members of the episcopal corps with protection and financial assistance. Wealthy Catholic families like the Brownes of Kerry, the Butlers of Tipperary and Kilkenny, the Coppingers of Cork and Plunketts of Meath continued ‘to enjoy formal and informal rights of presentation to particular parishes’ well into the eighteenth century.⁷⁶ With strong Jacobite leanings, the Ballyvolane branch of the Coppinger family was exiled to the Continent following the defeat of James II and the patriarch of this Coppinger family, Thomas Coppinger, had his lands forfeited to William III. Returning in 1716, Thomas’ eldest son, Stephen, petitioned Chichester House⁷⁷ laying claim the estates of Ballyvolane and Ballincurrig. In addition to the roughly twenty acres comprising the Ballyvolane estate, he rented land from the earl of Barrymore, another ardent Jacobite sympathiser. Although Protestant, the Barrymores held the Coppingers in high esteem and actively colluded with them to expand their family’s wealth. In 1729 Stephen Coppinger’s youngest son, John Coppinger, travelled with the earl of Barrymore to England with the sole purpose of finding him a ‘well-dowered bride among the old English north country Catholic families.’⁷⁸ John Coppinger was successful as he married Mary Blundell of Crosbie receiving a dowry of £3,000.⁷⁹ In 1733, both Bishop Thaddeus MacCarthy of Cork and Cloyne (1727-1747) and the future bishop of Cork and Cloyne, Richard Walsh (1748-1763), attested to Stephen Coppinger’s patronage of St. Mary’s, Shandon.⁸⁰ Following

⁷⁴ Following the death Sir Festus Burke’s father, Sir Edmund Burke, the sons began the process of paying off the debt on their land, which amounted to £8,000, by selling portions of their estate. In doing so, he set out to protect the interest of his wife Lady Letitia by securing for her natural life 563 acres in Glinsk and thirty-nine acres in Ballyin. The yearly rents from these estates produced an annual income of £500 (*A bill for the sale of part of the estate of Sir Festus Burke, baronet, towards discharging the debts and incumbrances, affecting the same, and for making a provision for the Lady Letitia his wife, eldest daughter of the Right Honourable John, late Earl of Clanricarde, in the Kingdom of Ireland* (N.L.I., Dublin, ILB 333 p(5)).

⁷⁵ Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), pp 235-8.

⁷⁶ S. J. Connolly, *Religion, law and power: the making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 2002), p. 153.

⁷⁷ Chichester House at College Green in Dublin was home to the Irish Parliament until the new Irish House of Parliament was built (1729).

⁷⁸ Walter Arthur Copinger, *History of the Copinger or Coppinger family of county Cork* (London, 1884), p. 193.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁸⁰ John O’Brien’s induction to SS Peter and Paul in Cork City (C.D.A., Cobh, Bishop John O’Brien, 1786.00/1/1747).

the death of Bishop MacCarthy, Walsh succeeded him and was presented to the parish by William Coppinger, son of the deceased Stephen Coppinger.⁸¹

The right of presentation extended to other Catholic families like the Brownes, viscounts Kenmare. The Brownes of County Kerry held land in excess of 130,000 acres in extent the eighteenth century owing largely to the fact that their land was not subdivided between sons.⁸² They were active promoters of Catholicism in County Kerry and between 1765 and 1895 they made charitable bequests to Catholic religious institutions totalling a little over £39,200.⁸³ In a papal grant dated 7 April 1725, Pope Benedict XIII gave Valentine Browne, 3rd viscount Kenmare and his descendants, right of presentation to the parishes of Killarney and Kilcummin.⁸⁴ When Owen O’Sullivan, bishop of Kerry (1739-1743) was recommended to the vacant diocese of Kerry following the death of Denis Moriarty, bishop of Kerry (1720-1738), he was described as being ‘...a mere chaplain at the home of my Lord Kilmare...’⁸⁵ In fact O’Sullivan was the parish priest of Killarney.⁸⁶

The Irish financing networks used by members of the Irish episcopal corps significantly curtailed the effect of the penal laws on them. This is not to suggest that the members of this episcopal cohort were not apprehended or did not face persecution. However, the historical narrative of bishops living in constant fear and deprivation must be re-evaluated and nuanced. Members of the Irish episcopal corps had a clearly defined network with which they operated. These networks, normally comprised of members of the Catholic landed gentry, but also of Catholics conforming to the Established Church, provided them with much needed protection and economic support. However, for many bishops, support at the local level was not sufficient and they turned to continental networks for financial assistance.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² There were two points in the eighteenth century when the Kenmare estate came close to being subdivided between sons, in 1720 and 1736. In both instances only one son was living at the time their father died, thus avoiding subdivision (Edward MacLysaght (ed.), *The Kenmare manuscripts* (Dublin, 1942), xi).

⁸³ MacLysaght, *The Kenmare manuscripts*, p. 410.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp 410-6.

⁸⁵ Abbé Robert Fitzmaurice, Cambrai, to Henry Fitzmaurice, Rome, 9 Jan. 1739 (Royal Archives, Windsor, Stuart papers, 212/145, MFR 816, French) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 283-4.

⁸⁶ MacLysaght, *The Kenmare manuscripts*, p. 275. Following the death of Lord Kenmare (1736), O’Sullivan became embroiled in a dispute with Bishop Moriarty which resulted in O’Sullivan leaving the diocese of Kerry for the diocese of Cork where he was named parish priest of Macroom. Although this letter is significantly biased against O’Sullivan, it appears to have merit as demonstrated by O’Sullivan’s appointment to Macroom (Robert Fitzmaurice to Henry Fitzmaurice, 9 Jan. 1739 cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 283-4).

Sources of economic support: continental networks

The archival evidence suggests that Irish bishops benefited from foreign financial assistance, sourced primarily in and around Paris, Brussels and Rome.⁸⁷ Through these channels Irish bishops obtained pensions, grants and benefices which in turn provided them with enough financial support to maintain and, in some cases, grow their personal wealth, a phenomenon that will be addressed in chapter six. For our purposes here, it is important to understand what sources of income Irish bishops had available to them on the Continent. It will also be useful to ascertain whether or not there existed an organised, standardised way of accessing this income.

At the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century the exiled Stuart Court acted as an important intermediary in securing financial support for Irish Catholic bishops. Following their exile from Ireland in 1691, six Irish bishops resided at St. Germain-en-Laye with the exiled Stuart Court. From here they were able to obtain a meagre grant from Propaganda Fide in 1692, amounting to 300 *scudi*. In reply to Propaganda Fide's generosity six bishops wrote: '*nos hic die 24^a mensis Novembris proxime elapse accepimus atque inter nos sequaliter partiti sumus illud peropportunum trecentorum scutorum subsidium...*'⁸⁸ Mary of Modena proved especially sympathetic to the plight of the exiled bishops and on 24 January 1699 she distributed 12,000*li.* to aid them.⁸⁹ Among the recipients were Bishop Burke OP of Elphin, who received 950*li.*, and Archbishop Maguire OP of Armagh who received 1,250*li.* Compared to these two bishops, William Daton, bishop of Ossory (1696-1712) was less generously treated, receiving just 300*li.* '...to set him out being now provided in other ways.'⁹⁰ Daton initially resided at Paris but then spent the remaining years of his life with the Benedictines of Couture in the diocese of Mans where he received an annual salary of '12,000 francs (£480) from the French clergy and 1,000 francs (£40) from the royal treasury.'⁹¹

Mary's charitable donations in some ways express the esteem in which the Stuart Court held Archbishop Maguire. At the end of her '*etat de la distribution des 12,000li.*' she gave Maguire authority to distribute the remaining sum of 1,500*li.* '...to such

⁸⁷ Although an important political and financial source in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the turn of the eighteenth century internal circumstances in Spain prevented it from having an active role in Irish political and religious affairs (Óscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600-1825* (Dublin, 2010), pp 169-70).

⁸⁸ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, ii, 311-2.

⁸⁹ A note of the Queen's charity (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 209, f. 463).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ William Carrigan, *History and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905), i, 129.

banished friars who had not as yet'.⁹² Moreover, like Daton, Maguire was also in receipt of financial assistance from the royal treasury but was still able to secure a charitable donation from Mary, to the tune of 1,200*li.*, considerably more than Daton's 300*li.* Maguire's assistance from the royal treasury came in the form of a French government order for the amount of 900*li.*⁹³ It appears that Maguire received other forms of financial assistance the remaining years of his life: 1,200*li.* in 1699 and in 1704 he secured a yearly pension directly from Louis XIV.⁹⁴

At this juncture, France proved to be an exceptionally important financial source for Irish bishops, especially in the form of grants from the *Assemblée du Clergé de France*. The *Assemblée* was the representative meeting of the Catholic clergy of France, which came together every five years with the principal task of apportioning the various financial charges imposed on the Church by the French kings. Irish clerics appealed to the *Assemblée* for financial assistance through two avenues: the exiled Stuart Court and/or the Papal Nunciature at Brussels. Table 5.1 presents the twelve Irish bishops who were in receipt of pensions denoting the duration of their pension and the annual sum of the pension.⁹⁵ Pensions were paid in two instalments. For those bishops non-resident in France, a priest in France was usually granted power of attorney. Unsurprisingly, many of these priests had strong Jacobite connections or were prominent figures within the Irish émigré community in Paris. For example, Bishop Donnelly's annual pension of 600*li.* was handled by John Farrelly, Ulster provisor at the Collège des Lombards.⁹⁶ Farrelly also acted as attorney for Luke Fagan, archbishop of Dublin (1729-1733), who in the 1730s invested 20,000*li.* with an annual *rente* of 500*li.*⁹⁷

Although twelve bishops receiving a pension from the French clergy represents a relatively small proportion of the Irish episcopal corps (10% of the bishops appointed between 1685 and 1766), their experience offers some insight into how active the Stuart Court was in securing rewards for senior Irish ecclesiastics loyal to their cause. The first cohort of bishops to receive a pension from the French clergy were those bishops exiled

⁹² A note of the Queen's charity (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 209, f. 463).

⁹³ Archives de la Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Correspond, Politique, Angleterre, 173, f. 176 (A.N., Paris).

⁹⁴ Fenning, 'Dominic Maguire, O.P.', p. 47.

⁹⁵ Undoubtedly more Irish bishops received a pension from the French *Assemblée*. The records illustrated in Table 5.1 only denote those pensions originating from Paris. A more extensive search of the ninety-seven department archives in France should yield more pensions.

⁹⁶ Dromore, évêque de Irlande (A.N., Paris, G/8/227).

⁹⁷ Priscilla O'Connor, 'Irish clerics and Jacobites in early eighteenth-century Paris, 1700-1730' in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp 175-90, at pp 182-3.

| <i>Table 5.1: Bishops in receipt of a pension from the Assemblée du Clergé de France</i> | | | | |
|--|----------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| Bishop | (Arch)diocese | Years | Value | Country of residence |
| John O'Molony II | Killaloe & Limerick | 1686-1697 | 600 <i>li.</i> | Ireland/ France |
| William Daton | Ossory | c.1698-1707 | 12,000 francs | France |
| Edward Comerford | Cashel | 1706-1710 | 600 <i>li.</i> | Ireland |
| James Lynch | Tuam | 1710-1712 | 600 <i>li.</i> | France |
| Christopher Butler | Cashel | 1716-1740 | 600 <i>li.</i> | Ireland |
| Patrick Donnelly | Dromore | 1716-1722 | 600 <i>li.</i> | Ireland |
| Richard Piers | Waterford & Lismore | 1716-1739 | 1,000 <i>li.</i> | France |
| James Dunne | Kildare & Leighlin | 1724-1733 | 600 <i>li.</i> | Ireland |
| Hugh MacMahon | Armagh | 1732-1737 | 400 <i>li.</i> | Ireland |
| James Augustine O'Daly | Kilfenora | c.1733 | Unknown | France |
| Ambrose O'Callaghan O.F.M. | Ferns | 1734-1742 | 400 <i>li.</i> | Ireland |
| James Butler I | Cashel | 1759-1767 | 600 <i>li.</i> | Ireland |

in 1691, the notable exception being Bishop O'Molony of Killaloe, who had first received a pension in 1686.⁹⁸ Unfortunately the pension receipts contained in the

⁹⁸ For documents related to the years 1686-1696 see Killaloe, évêque de Irlande (A.N., Paris, G/8/233). For documents related to the years 1696-1697 see Limerick, évêque de Irlande (A.N., Paris, G/8/236).

Archives nationales do not include supporting documentation, other than details of payment.⁹⁹ One can surmise that O'Molony's ability to obtain a pension prior to the Glorious Revolution was in large part owing to his role in the re-organisation of the Irish colleges in France. The reason for the cessation of his pension in 1697, when other Irish bishops began to obtain a pension, is unclear. Perhaps it was retribution for his opposition to the Stuart Court having the right to nominate Irish bishops, a position that he freely expressed throughout the 1690s. Whatever the reason was, he was arguably the wealthiest of the Irish émigré bishops at the time of his death in 1702. He donated 1,200*li.* for the construction of a new chapel at the Collège des Lombards and 50,000*li.* to the Jesuit Collège Louis-le-Grand, in rue St. Jacques, to fund six bourses at 2,500*li.* per annum.¹⁰⁰

Three bishops listed in Table 5.1 require further comment: Hugh MacMahon, archbishop of Armagh (1715-1737), James Augustine O'Daly, bishop of Kilfenora and Ambrose O'Callaghan OFM, bishop of Ferns (1729-1744). These three were in receipt of a pension from the French clergy from around the same time but each provide different insights into how financial assistance was obtained from continental networks. As mentioned in chapter four, Hugh MacMahon was the only Irish bishop to promote the reform initiatives in the Irish College (Paris) championed by John Bourke, Munster provisor, in the 1730s. Perhaps MacMahon's motives stemmed from his dealings with Thomas Flynn, bishop of Ardagh (1717-1730) who was accused of 'ordaining as many as presented themselves to him regardless of their conditions, so long as they had a few words of Latin and a few pounds for the bishop.'¹⁰¹

The pension enjoyed by Bishops O'Daly and O'Callaghan are interconnected as both originated from their 'perceived' financial predicament. In their justification for being absent from their dioceses, bishops often cited the oppressive nature of the penal laws. However, beneath the rhetoric of persecution one senses financial considerations too. The two most notorious absentee bishops in the eighteenth century were Bishops Piers of Waterford and Lismore and O'Daly of Kilfenora. In the case of O'Daly, he spent his

⁹⁹ In the file for Bishop Piers of Waterford and Lismore there is supporting documentation concerning his will and notice of death (Waterford and Lismore, Richard Piers, évêque (A.N., Paris, G/248/13-14).

¹⁰⁰ For a detailed account of O'Molony's *fondations* see Liam Chambers, 'Irish "fondations" and "boursiers" in early modern Paris, 1682-1793' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxxv (2008), pp 1-22; John Boyle, 'John O'Molony, bishop of Killaloe (1672-89) and of Limerick (1689-1702)' in *I.E.R.*, 4th ser., xxxii (1912), pp 587-8.

¹⁰¹ Laurence J. Flynn, 'Hugh MacMahon bishop of Clogher 1707-1715 and archbishop of Armagh 1715-1737' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, vii, no. 1 (1973), pp 108-75, at p. 161.

early ecclesiastical career as first chaplain to the widowed Queen of Spain, Louise Elisabeth d'Orléans.¹⁰² Shortly after his appointment to Kilfenora, one of the canons of Tournai died prompting the bishop of Tournai, Johann Ernst of Löwenstein-Wertheim (1713-1731), to appoint O'Daly as canon and treasurer of the diocese. The primary reason Ernst appointed O'Daly was that he himself was an absentee bishop who had health problems and believed O'Daly could fill in for him at confirmations and ordinations.¹⁰³ However, given that O'Daly was a foreigner, Ernst had first to receive royal consent for his appointment from the duke of Brussels. This proved difficult as opposition quickly formed against O'Daly due to his French education and close ties to the house of Orléans. Ernst was told that he had to choose someone from the Spanish provinces to act as his coadjutor.¹⁰⁴

The refusal by the royal household to approve O'Daly's nomination was just the beginning of his problems. In a letter to Rome dated 19 March 1728, the Internuncio in Brussels, Cardinal Spinelli, asked for clarification from the pope as to whether or not O'Daly had sought permission to have a diocese in Ireland and a canonry in Flanders. It appears that previous correspondences on the matter gave the impression that the pope was not in favour of such an arrangement, but Spinelli wanted explicit guidance as it was his belief that O'Daly would seek the aid of the Spanish Court to pressure the duke of Brussels into accepting him as a canon of Tournai.¹⁰⁵ Before Rome responded, Spinelli wrote a letter a month later that O'Daly '...boasts he, although a foreigner, has obtained the consent of the court to enjoy quietly the benefits of the canonry and of the other dignities conferred on him by the bishop of Tournai.'¹⁰⁶ At issue for Spinelli was the fact that O'Daly had produced documentation that he claimed had been signed by the pope granting approval for the arrangement.

In correspondences Rome indicated that such an arrangement would not be accepted under any condition.¹⁰⁷ Although it appears O'Daly's appointment to a canonry of

¹⁰² NF, vol. 122, ff 61-62 cited in Cathaldus Giblin, 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection of "Nunziatura di Fiandra"', Vatican Archives, part 4, vols 102-122' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 5 (1962), pp. 7-125, at p. 123; Ritzler and Sefrin, *Hierarchia catholica*, v, 202.

¹⁰³ NF, vol. 122, ff 61-62 cited Giblin, "Nunziatura di Fiandra", vols 102-122', p. 123.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ NF, vol. 122, f. 227 cited in *ibid.*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁶ NF, vol. 137, ff 170-171 cited in Giblin, 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection of "Nunziatura di Fiandra"', Vatican Archives, part 7, vols 135Hh-137' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 11 (1968), pp 53-90, at p. 85.

¹⁰⁷ Spinelli makes it clear in this letter that he does oppose the arrangement, rather, '...seeing that O'Daly is never going to spend much of his time in Ireland,...it would be a good thing if bishop had a benefice in Flanders so that he could live respectably...' (*ibid.*, p. 85).

Tournai was accepted by Rome, he was strongly urged to return to Ireland. For the next year Rome continuously enquired why O'Daly remained in France and on the 23 May 1729, O'Daly informed James III that he was leaving for Ireland. In this letter O'Daly defended his absence from Kilfenora arguing that with only seven parishes the diocese was too small to support him.¹⁰⁸ By October, James received a letter from his agent Fr. John Ingleton that O'Daly was returning to Tournai from Ireland.¹⁰⁹

O'Daly took up residence in Paris where he continued to attract criticism for his absenteeism. In 1730 his attempts to obtain a pension from the French clergy were opposed by James III.¹¹⁰ Three years later the new bishop of Tournai, Franz Ernst of Salm-Reifferscheid (1732-1770), began to question why O'Daly was still in receipt of income as a canon of Tournai when he did not reside in the diocese. The papal nuncio Valenti sought Rome's guidance and was instructed to '...treat the chapter of Tournai in a friendly way and inform it that Kilfenora has received an indult from the pope granting him permission to be absent for four years, and asking them to grant him the fruits of the prebend during his absence...' ¹¹¹ Valenti went to the chapter of Tournai but opposition continued as the chapter believed the pope had been misled by O'Daly as to the reasons for his absenteeism. After a series of discussions between Valenti and the chapter, they agreed to provide O'Daly with:

...all the emoluments to which he was entitled to as a canon of the chapter not alone for four years but as he lived provided he went to Ireland and resided in his diocese; they declared, however, that they had no authority to grant him his concession should he absent himself from the chapter to live as he pleased and wherever he liked... ¹¹²

Whereas Rome was willing to support O'Daly's cause in obtaining benefices from Tournai, his refusal to accept this arrangement caused Rome to question his reasons for remaining absent from Ireland. In Valenti's opinion O'Daly could not claim poverty as he was in receipt of a pension from the French clergy and was entitled to money as a canon of Tournai. Thus, O'Daly would be the wealthiest bishop in Ireland if he were to

¹⁰⁸ James Dally, bishop of Kilfenora, to James III, 23 May 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor, Stuart papers, 128/81, MFR 777, French) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 149.

¹⁰⁹ Fr. John Ingleton, to James III, 18 October 1729 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart Papers, 131/85, MFR 778) cited in *ibid.*, 155.

¹¹⁰ James III to Col. Daniel O'Brien, Paris, August 1730 (Royal Archives, Windsor, Stuart papers, 138/176, MFR 782) cited in *ibid.*, 161.

¹¹¹ NF, vol. 129, f. 242 cited in Giblin, "Nunziatura di Fiandra", vols 123-132', pp 30-1.

¹¹² NF, vol. 129, ff 332-333 cited in *ibid.*, pp 31-2.

return.¹¹³ Attempts to persuade O'Daly to return failed. Following O'Daly's death in 1749, the diocese of Kilfenora was administered by the bishop of Kilmacduagh.¹¹⁴

O'Daly's ability to manipulate the system in order to remain absent on the Continent had aroused hostility amongst his brethren, especially when it hindered their own chances of a pension. Following his appointment to Ferns in 1729, O'Callaghan obtained a pension from the French clergy using his strong links with the Stuart Court.¹¹⁵ Shortly after receiving his appointment to Ferns, James III asked his secretary of state, Colonel Daniel O'Brien, to influence the archbishop of Paris to procure a pension for O'Callaghan. A few months later when this was unsuccessful, O'Callaghan blamed it on Bishop O'Daly of Kilfenora and his reputation. O'Callaghan kept trying, 'I think it deserves to see how I missed and how I may hit another time and especially whereas I'm to take a jaunt to Brussels next May.'¹¹⁶ Ultimately, O'Callaghan did procure a pension from the *Assemblée* due to his 'forced' exile in 1734 when he wrote to the Stuart Court claiming that the Irish government was poised to banish him for being '...an enemy to the country and a very bad man...the said bishop [is] obnoxious to the Government...'¹¹⁷ The receipt denoting the first instalment of his pension for 400*li.* was processed on 14 August 1734 by his acting attorney, James Wogan, priest and doctor of the Sorbonne.¹¹⁸

Although the French clergy proved an important economic source for the Irish episcopal corps, financial assistance from Rome also proved significant. The protocol for seeking and receiving patronage from institutions in Rome was managed from the papal nunciature in Brussels. Through this intermediary, Irish bishops requested financial assistance and then this assistance was directed to the appropriate authorities. After receiving word on the funds to be allocated, the nuncios were normally allowed to distribute those funds in a manner they thought fit. In the case of Bishop Cornelius O'Keefe of Limerick (1720-37), his grant of 500 *scudi*¹¹⁹ in 1735 was to be paid in instalments to '...ensure...appeals to the nunciature and Holy See will not become more

¹¹³ NF, vol. 131, ff 490, 494 cited in *ibid.*, pp 55-6.

¹¹⁴ After 1750 the dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora were put under the care of one bishop.

¹¹⁵ See chapter one for further information regarding O'Callaghan's 'quest for the mitre'.

¹¹⁶ Ambrose O'Callaghan, Dublin, bishop of Ferns, to James Edgar, 7 October 1730 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 140/71, MFR 782) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 162.

¹¹⁷ Ambrose O'Callaghan, bishop of Ferns, to James Edgar, 9 January 1734 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 167/101, MFR 795) cited in *ibid.*, 192.

¹¹⁸ Ferns [Irlande] évêque (A.N., Paris, G/8/229).

¹¹⁹ NF, vol. 153A, f. 296 cited in Giblin, 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection "Nunziatura di Fiandra"', Vatican Archives: part 10, vols 153-153D' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 14 (1971), pp 36-81, at p. 51.

frequent.¹²⁰ O’Keeffe’s reason for claiming the alms was the heightened persecution that had taken place in the spring of 1734, which forced him to leave Ireland for France.

While in France, O’Keeffe established a *fondation* in the Irish College at Paris to be allocated to family members and students from his diocese.¹²¹ The establishment of this *fondation* highlights that although politically, socially and economically marginalised by penal legislation, Catholic bishops continued to have access to some wealth. Although these foundations are evidence of a concern for their dioceses, many of the *fondations* established for education on the Continent by Irish bishops stipulated that family members were to be given first preference followed by students from the particular diocese in question. The most significant of the foundations was that of the MacMahons established by Archbishop MacMahon from a principal amount of 31,000*li.* with a yearly *rente* of 1,240*li.* This money was bequeathed by his paternal uncle, Augustine MacMahon¹²² and was to be used for the education of Irish clerics from the dioceses Clogher and Kilmore.¹²³ Determining the real value of the nine shares in the Indian Company donated by O’Keeffe is difficult, but the dividends were to be paid twice a year at six month intervals.¹²⁴ The most interesting of the Paris *fondations* was that established by the estate of Bishop Moriarty of Kerry. In his will he left £38 to family members and directed his executor to dispose of his ‘cash, plate, goods, chattles and worldly substance whatsoever...as Melchoir Moriarty shall think fitt...’¹²⁵ Moriarty’s episcopal will was never probated and the significant time lapse in establishing a *fondation* may suggest that the executors had themselves expired. In the establishment of the *fondation*, Blaise Moriarty is mentioned as executor, but his name does not feature in the original will. In any case, the Munster provisor and prefect of

¹²⁰ NF, vol. 131, f. 473 cited in Giblin, ‘Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection “Nunziatura di Fiandra”, Vatican Archives: part 5, vols 123-132’ in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 9 (1966), pp 7-70, at p. 45.

¹²¹ O’Keeffe established three bourses for *clercs et écoliers* Collège des Lombards to be ‘provided with bread, meat, wine or beer, laundry and heat, to be dressed modestly and decently, with suits, shoes, stockings, hats, to be given linen, books, paper etc...’ (Liam Swords (ed.), ‘History of the Irish College, Paris, 1578-1800, calendar of the papers of the Irish College, Paris’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxxv (1980), pp 3-233, at p. 36).

¹²² Augustine MacMahon was the brother of Colla Dubh MacMahon, the father of Archbishop Hugh MacMahon of Armagh. He studied at Leuven and was a chaplain to James II in 1690. Following the exile of the Stuart Court, he returned to Flanders where he was appointed canon in Cassel. Later he was named provost of St. Peter’s at Leuven and died in 1710 (Jeroen Nilis, *Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797* (Leuven, 2010), p. 126).

¹²³ Swords, ‘History of the Irish College, Paris’, p. 36.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹²⁵ Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 181-3.

| <i>Table 5.2: Foundations created by Irish bishops, 1700-1769</i> | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| College | Foundations | Year established | Principle | Yearly rente | Number of bourses | Diocese(s) prioritised |
| Paris | O'Molony | 1702 | 50,000 <i>li.</i> | | | Limerick |
| Paris | Lynch | 1711 | | | | Tuam |
| Paris | MacMahon | 1714 | 31,000 <i>li.</i> | 1,240 <i>li.</i> | 6 | Clogher & Kilmore |
| Paris | MacCarthy | 1729 | 2,600 <i>li.</i> | 65 <i>li.</i> | 1 | Cork & Cloyne |
| Paris | Fagan | 1733 | 1,430 <i>li.</i> | Unknown | 4 | Meath & Dublin |
| Paris | O'Keeffe | 1734 | Nine shares in the Indian Company | Unknown | 3 | Limerick & Cork |
| Paris | Moriarty | 1753 | 14,150 <i>li.</i> | 353 <i>li.</i> | 1 | Kerry |
| Paris | MacKenna | 1760 | | | | Cloyne & Ross |
| Paris | O'Brien | 1760 | Unknown | Unknown | 2 ¹²⁶ | Cloyne & Ross |
| Leuven ¹²⁷ | O'Brien | 1769 | 217 <i>fl.</i> | Not stipulated | 2 | Cloyne & Ross |

studies of the Collège des Lombards, David Henegan, reconstituted the Moriarty *fondation* to provide a bursary of 450*li.* per annum.¹²⁸

Aside from providing members of the Irish episcopal corps with alms, the Holy See was also in the habit of providing foreign benefices to help supplement episcopal income. For some bishops, these benefices were obtained while they were parish priests residing on the Continent. O'Keeffe of Limerick was named parish priest of St. Simlilen in Nantes (1720) and when he returned to Ireland he was provided with a pension of

¹²⁶ A stipulation placed on the students in receipt of the bourses was that they were able to read and speak Irish (Patrick Boyle, 'The Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901: Gleanings-Language', *I.E.R.*, 4th ser., xi (1902), pp 195-201, at p. 198).

¹²⁷ O'Brien's endowment for bourses was not technically a scholarship. Instead, priest-students were obliged to celebrate Mass daily in the chapel of the College and were granted a yearly grant for doing so (Jeroen Nilis, *Irish Students at Leuven University, 1548-1797* (Leuven, 2010), xxxvi).

¹²⁸ Swords, 'History of the Irish College, Paris', p. 131.

400*li.* from the parish of Machecoul, also in the diocese of Nantes.¹²⁹ Other bishops received benefices after their appointment like the above mentioned Bishop Piers of Waterford and Lismore and Bishop O'Daly of Kilfenora. Shortly after the Franciscan, Peter Archdekin was appointed to the diocese of Killala in 1735, agents for the Imperial Court asked Pope Clement XII (1730-40) to grant him a papal benefice in the Austrian Netherlands.¹³⁰ Francis Goddard, agent to Cardinal Giuseppe Firrao (1731-1744),¹³¹ believed that foreign benefices would curtail abuses in the Irish Church: '...it would be very desirable to provide them [Irish bishops] with benefices abroad as they would then have a definite means of support.'¹³² Another bishop to receive a foreign benefice was Michael MacDonagh OP, bishop of Kilmore (1728-1746). MacDonagh was exiled from Ireland in 1739 and over the course of the following year travelled to the Continent where he obtained a private audience with newly elected pope, Benedict XIV (1740-1758). Following his meeting he was granted a papal benefice, the church of St. Andrew's in Liège.¹³³

Networks, both at home and abroad, proved to be the most important source of financial support members of the eighteenth-century episcopal corps. Through these networks they were able to evade some of the financial hardships consequent on the enforcement of penal laws while at the same time increasing, in some cases, their financial and material wealth. Moreover, these networks were not only well organised; members of the Irish episcopal corps knew how to navigate and manipulate them for financial gain. Successfully navigating these networks enabled bishops to receive pensions, papal alms and foreign benefices which in turn enabled them to relieve the financial burden they imposed on the even more hard pressed lower clergy and the laity.

¹²⁹ John Begley, *The diocese of Limerick: from 1691 to the present time* (Dublin, 1938), p. 183

¹³⁰ NF, vol. 132, f. 195 cited in "Nunziatura di Fiandra", vols 123-132', pp 59-60.

¹³¹ Cardinal Firrao Cardinal Giuseppe Firrao was born 12 July 1670 to a Neapolitan patrician family in Luzzi, Italy. He was ordained a priest on 2 September 1714 and the same day he was provided titular archbishop of Nicea. Firrao served as papal nuncio to Switzerland (1716) and Portugal (1720) and then translated to the archiepiscopal see of Aversa (1731). He was created a cardinal-priest on 24 September 1731 and served as secretary of state for the Holy See (1733-1740); he died on 24 October 1744 in Rome (Salvador Miranda, 'Firrao, Giuseppe (1670-1744)' in *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church* (<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1731.htm#Firrao>) (20 August 2013).

¹³² NF, vol. 132, f. 195 cited in "Nunziatura di Fiandra", vols 123-132', pp 59-60.

¹³³ Hugh Fenning, 'Michael MacDonogh, O.P., bishop of Kilmore, 1728-1746' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., cv (1966), pp 138-53, at p. 149.

Pastoral emoluments under the penal regime

The eighteenth-century Irish church was often depicted by eighteenth-century contemporaries as a mission rather than a Church. Eamon O’Flaherty qualified this depiction by stating:

...the Irish Catholic church in the first half of the eighteenth-century had enormous problems, and it is difficult to describe it unequivocally as Church rather than mission. Although the Penal Laws were not enforced in detail to the extent of decapitating, depopulating and gradually extinguishing the ecclesiastical structure, there is ample evidence that it confronted the Church with problems which struck at the heart of its ability to sustain a Tridentine structure in Ireland in the eighteenth century—or at least up to 1750.¹³⁴

By mid-century, traditional strains on the Irish Church began to lessen, permitting more bishops to take a more active role in administration of their dioceses. Prior to the 1730s many dioceses were still without a resident bishop, but over the next two decades Irish bishops in greater numbers began to reside in their dioceses and began to exercise greater influence there.¹³⁵ For the first time in many years, bishops were in a position to access diocesan sources of income in an organised, standardised way. In this way, the diocese became more tightly linked to the bishop and episcopal loyalty to the diocese, rather than to his family, began to strengthen.

Episcopal emoluments largely based on three sources: the *cathedraticum*, stole fees and revenue from mensal parishes. Evaluating how much income these sources actually yielded is difficult, especially for the early eighteenth century. However, it is clear that resources at parochial and diocesan level were very limited. In particular, this caused competition between the secular and regular clergy. Hugh Fenning remarked that ‘[u]ndoubtedly the extreme poverty of the clergy was, if not the chief cause of this regrettable antagonism, at least the principal factor in inflaming the latent hostility between the two groups.’¹³⁶ Such hostility was not confined to members of the lower clergy, and extended to relations between clergy and their bishop. Throughout the eighteenth century there are examples of priests resisting episcopal collations or laying claim to a parish with a collation directly from the Datary in Rome.¹³⁷ In other cases priests processed their grievances against bishops before the local magistrate, in the

¹³⁴ Eamon O’Flaherty, ‘Clerical indiscipline and ecclesiastical authority in Ireland, 1690-1750’ in *Studia Hibernica*, xxvi (1992), pp 7-29, at pp 9-10.

¹³⁵ Patrick Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience* (Dublin, 1985), pp 124, at p. 130.

¹³⁶ Hugh Fenning, *The undoing of the friars of Ireland: a study of the novitiate question in the eighteenth century* (Leuven, 1972), p. 47.

¹³⁷ John Brady, ‘The church under the Penal Code’ in Patrick Corish, *A history of Irish Catholicism* (7 vols, Dublin, 1971), iv, 1-88, at 28-9.

knowledge that the bishops were exercising episcopal authority in violation of the civil law.¹³⁸ Thus, although the Irish parochial and diocesan structure may have been ‘post-Counter-Reformation’ in theory,¹³⁹ poverty greatly affected how well this structure operated.

Returning to the sources of episcopal income, information regarding income derived from the *cathedraticum* is sparse. However, as was the case with the post-Restoration episcopal corps, it can be taken for granted that the income received from the *cathedraticum* varied significantly from diocese to diocese. When Propaganda Fide sent the president of the Irish College (Leuven), John Kent, to Ireland to investigate the state of the Irish Church, in his follow-up report in 1743, Kent briefly detailed the *cathedraticum* the ‘venerable bishops’ received: ‘*Venerabile hoc episcoporum corpus, aliud prorsus ad subsistendum emolumentum non habet, praeterquam recognitionem annuam, a singulis cuiuslibet diaeceseos pastoribus, antistiti sua circa Pascha solitam erogari, quae sex a quolibet pastore scuta vix adaequat.*’¹⁴⁰ Receiving only six *scudi* from their priests, in addition to a small pension from their mensal parish, supported the claim made by some bishops that they were destitute: ‘*unde in proclivi [sic.] est credere, episcopos parochiae vel pensionis adminiculo destitutos, miserrimam vitae rationem ducere debere.*’¹⁴¹

Kent’s characterisation of the financial hardships members of the Irish episcopal corps faced made it easier for bishops to justify controversial practices to palliate financial want. A common practice of an especially controversial nature was the claiming of the first-fruits, a practice that was prohibited by Propaganda Fide reforms implemented in 1750/51.¹⁴² A number of bishops went to great lengths to consolidate diocesan resources by reducing the number of parishes. Nicholas Sweetman, bishop of Ferns (1745-1786) reduced the number of parishes in his diocese from forty-four to thirty-four.¹⁴³ By reducing the number of parishes, members of the higher clergy had a larger parish which meant more income. This did not necessarily mean they had more

¹³⁸ Brady, ‘The church under the Penal Code’, 29.

¹³⁹ Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, p. 149.

¹⁴⁰ Hugh Fenning (ed.), ‘John Kent’s report on the state of the Irish mission, 1742’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxviii (1966), pp 59-102, at p. 93.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² CP, vol. 110, f. 103 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5518).

¹⁴³ Edward Culleton, ‘The evolution of the Catholic parishes in County Wexford’ in *The Past: The organ of the Uí Cínsealaigh Historical Society*, no. 28 (2007), pp 5-42, at p. 23.

ecclesiastical responsibilities as they were provided with curates who were paid less.¹⁴⁴ Even with these questionable practices, the problem of non-residency continued to excite controversy.

In response to accusations that bishops were unjustifiably absent from their dioceses, seven Irish bishops wrote to Propaganda Fide in 1769 to explain that ‘an Irish bishop would think himself rich had he £30 a year. Over the past twenty years, the price of food had trebled, though not their income. It costs £20 to rent a house. They must keep two horses and two servants for making visitation, and pay each servant £30 a year.’¹⁴⁵ Attempting to verify whether or not these bishops were conveniently underestimating their episcopal income would require deeper analysis. If Kent’s estimate is correct, and every bishop received six *scudi*, or £1, from the secular priests of their diocese, then the estimated income purported by these seven bishops is slightly undervalued. Although the numerical data probably underestimate the true number of priests residing in Ireland, the 1731 Report conducted by the Irish House of Lords into the number of Irish priests can be used as an estimate, ‘in theory’, what episcopal income might have been in the 1730s.¹⁴⁶ Using this data, eight bishops would have earned under £30 per annum, nine bishops between £31 and £50, seven between £51 and £90 and only three bishops over £100.¹⁴⁷ If the number of secular clergy per diocese is averaged then the approximate income of an Irish bishop in 1731 was about £52. Projecting these figures further, the number of secular clergy declined by about 20% from 1730 to 1770, which brought the estimated income of Irish bishops down to about £35 per annum, a figure only slightly higher than that claimed by the seven bishops in their 1769 letter. Between 1770 and 1800, the number of secular clergy increased by about 32%, which, if episcopal income was rising proportionally, would suggest that the average income of the Irish episcopal corps in 1800 had crept up to about £46.¹⁴⁸ However, as will be shown later in this chapter, this estimate may be a slight undervaluation. Perhaps Irish bishops understood that by describing their episcopal wealth solely in terms of how many secular clerics

¹⁴⁴ In the County Galway at the beginning of the nineteenth century a parish priest earned about two-thirds of the parish revenue and curates were paid one-third (Emmet Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850* (Dublin, 2006), p. 222).

¹⁴⁵ Hugh Fenning (ed.), ‘Documents of Irish interest in the “Fondo Missioni” of the Vatican Archives’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xlix (1995), pp 3-47, at p. 30.

¹⁴⁶ As stated with the post-Restoration episcopal corps, the number of clergy for a given diocese can only provide an approximate income as there were other sources of income bishops could rely on and these sources were prone to fluctuate depending on the economic condition of their flock

¹⁴⁷ Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland*, p. 273.

¹⁴⁸ Projections are taken from *ibid.*, p. 29.

were in their dioceses, not only could they justify their non-residency but they could claim alms from Continental sources.

What is evident from this analysis is that, whatever their income was, Irish bishops did not tend to come clean about other sources of income. Stole fees, for instance, derived from conferring the sacraments, were an important and highly controversial source of income, particularly in the case of the stipend the bishops claimed for conferring priestly ordinations. In this regard, Propaganda Fide received complaints against three bishops for ‘indiscriminate ordinations...to receive the fees paid by the candidates.’¹⁴⁹ In the case of Dominic O’Daly OP, bishop of Achonry (1725-1735), he was accused of charging £20 per ordination.¹⁵⁰ Putting this figure into context, the neighbouring bishop of Ardagh in 1739 only charged twenty shilling per ordination.¹⁵¹ In his attempt to obtain a benefice for Bishop Archdekin of Killala, Francis Goddard believed that foreign income would:

...probably eliminate many of the abuses resulting from their great poverty; it would particularly prevent the too frequent and too facile ordination of priests and get rid of various abuses which the bishops fail to remedy because they fear that by so doing they will lose the small contributions provided for their support by their clergy.¹⁵²

Although this abuse was limited, the ordination stipend remained significant for many Irish bishops. This point is supported by the evidence from the Irish College (Paris) in the 1730s.

The Paris affair was significant. In chapter three it was argued that the organisation and opposition the Irish bishops exerted against the Paris reform agenda represented a turning point in how the Irish episcopal corps saw its authority. No longer were they isolated individuals on the ‘mission’ foraging for themselves. The evidence suggests that from about this time the Irish episcopal corps emerged as active agents in setting the direction of their dioceses and of the Irish Church in general. In a letter dated 6 December 1733 by John Bourke, Munster provisor at the Irish College, complained that Irish bishops continued to ordain unqualified candidates: ‘Mr. Daly, a Dominican friar bishop of Achonry alone, if not stopped, will ordain enough for the whole kingdom. Five of his making are here waiting for a dispensation from that court, or absolution

¹⁴⁹ Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, p. 154.

¹⁵⁰ Liam Swords, *A hidden church: the diocese of Achonry 1689-1818* (Dublin, 1998), p. 295.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² NF, vol. 132, f. 195 cited in “Nunziatura di Fiandra”, vols 123-132’, pp 59-60.

from their censures and irregularities by means of the Nuncio here.¹⁵³ To remedy this problem the administration of the Collège des Lombards took matters into their own hands: '[o]ur frequent remonstrances to the bishops have proved ineffectual with some of them, we this year made a rule to receive no priest from Ireland till the number we have be reduced to a hundred, for which and no more we'll have lodging...'¹⁵⁴ This threat to episcopal authority and potential loss of income, prompted the Irish bishops to oppose the reform initiatives.¹⁵⁵ The only member of the Irish episcopal corps to support Bourke's reform was Archbishop Hugh MacMahon of Armagh, who was in receipt of a pension from the French clergy.

At the heart of the Irish episcopal corps opposition was the fear '...that the ban of the ordination of priests before study would mean that the superiors of the Irish Colleges (or continental bishops) would gain control over ordinations of Irish clergy, and therefore that the reform...amounted to a full attack on episcopal authority.'¹⁵⁶ There was a financial dimension to this too as fewer ordinations meant lower income for ordaining bishops. In a later letter to James III on 19 October 1736, Bishop O'Daly of Kilfenora was convinced that a compromise had been agreed. This involved, inter alia abolishing the community of scholars in the college and the banning of priests ordained in France or Ireland from the college.¹⁵⁷ However, this compromise was not supported by the other bishops and fell through. Abuses surrounding the ordination of unqualified candidates for the priesthood continued until reform initiatives by Propaganda Fide in 1750/51 when they declared, 'the bishops are to judge ordinands by their learning and piety, not by their gifts.'¹⁵⁸

Another important source of income that Irish bishops received were the fees collected when issuing marriage banns.¹⁵⁹ The procedures for issuing banns was not the same in every diocese, an inconsistency that caused problems. In his report to Propaganda Fide, Father John Murphy of Dublin accused some bishops of failing to

¹⁵³ John Bourke to someone unnamed, Paris, 6 December 1733 cited in Hugh Fenning (ed.), 'Some problems of the Irish mission, 1733-1774' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 8 (1965), pp 58-109, at p. 63.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* See also Liam Chambers, 'Rivalry and reform in the Irish College, Paris, 1676-1775' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 103-29, at p. 107.

¹⁵⁵ For the most detailed account of the reforms efforts at Paris in the eighteenth century see Chambers, 'Rivalry and reform', pp 103-29.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁵⁷ James O'Daly, bishop of Kilfenora, to James, Paris, 19 October 1736 (Royal Archives, Windsor, Stuart papers, 190/98, MFR 807, French) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 248-9.

¹⁵⁸ CP, vol. 110, f. 103 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5518).

¹⁵⁹ Marriage banns were a public announcement, consisting of three publications, of an impending marriage to solicit whether or not there were impediments to the proposed marriage.

issue marriage banns until a fee was paid.¹⁶⁰ This created a problem because it meant that only wealthy Catholics could afford to have their marriage recognised by the Church. Those who could not afford marriage banns entered into marriage clandestinely or omitted to have it recognised. When Propaganda Fide handed down its decrees in 1750/51 to ‘reform’ the Irish Church, item number five specifically stated that Irish bishops were not to charge for marriage banns.¹⁶¹ However, the issue of collecting fees for issuing marriage banns continued to be a problem for the episcopal corps which ultimately came to a head in the 1780s.¹⁶²

The final significant source of episcopal income originated in mensal parishes, those parishes designated to provide maintenance for bishops. Evaluating which parishes in the eighteenth century were designated mensal parishes is a study in itself. If pursued it would provide intriguing insight into how diocesan organisation evolved throughout the eighteenth century and show the working relationship between members of the higher clergy and lower clergy. However, for here the focus is on the economic benefit mensal parishes provided members of the Irish episcopal corps. It is on this point that mensal parishes became the source of significant controversy as bishops routinely claimed vacant parishes for themselves or awarded family members and/or close associates to the more prosperous parishes within their diocese.¹⁶³ If a bishop was native of the diocese to which they were appointed, the issue of episcopal maintenance was not normally controversial as bishops usually preferred to keep their existing parish. However, when bishops were not native of a diocese they sometimes encountered strong resistance from the local clergy if they attempted to claim an existing parish or vacant parish as their own. This was particularly true of those regulars appointed bishops.

¹⁶⁰ CP, vol. 110, ff 139-141 (A.P.F., Rome: microfilm, N.L.I. p5518).

¹⁶¹ CP, vol. 110, f. 103 (ibid.).

¹⁶² A significant complaint against Irish priests in the 1780s was the ‘oppressive’ dues extracted for marriage banns. The leaders of the Rightboy movement strongly protested against these dues and in response to their complaints there were attempts by the Irish bishops to reform how dues were collected. For a detailed account of the complaints levelled against the Catholic clergy in the province of Munster in the 1780s see: R. E. Burns, ‘Parsons, priests, and the people: the rise of Irish anti-clericalism 1785-1789’ in *Church History*, xxxi, no. 2 (June 1962), pp 151-63, at pp 157-8; James S. Donnelly Jr., ‘The Rightboy movement 1785-8’ in *Studia Hibernica*, nos 17-8 (1977-8), pp 120-202, at pp 163-6; Patrick McNally, ‘Rural protest and “moral economy”’: the Rightboy disturbances and parliament’ in Alan Blackstock and Eoin Magennis (eds), *Politics and political culture in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: essays in tribute to Peter Jupp* (Belfast, 2007), pp 262-82.

¹⁶³ For instance, in 1787 Propaganda Fide urged Thomas Troy of Dublin to investigate the claim that Irish bishops held more than one mensal parish (Cardinal Antonelli to Dr. Troy, 28 April 1787 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB1 116/4/13).

One such example to illustrate this point is the controversy over the mensal parish of St. Mary's in Kilkenny following the death of James Bernard Dunne, bishop of Ossory (1748-1758). Dunne spent the first three years of his episcopacy in France choosing to remain at Boin (France), where he had served as parish priest prior to his episcopal promotion. When Dunne finally returned to Ireland he applied for and was granted by papal brief St. Mary's parish in Kilkenny following the death of Fr. Edward Shea in 1752.¹⁶⁴ However, it appears unlikely that Dunne intended to stay in Ireland long and by 1753 he had resigned St. Mary's parish and appointed Fr. Patrick Molloy as parish priest of St. Mary's and his vicar general. Dunne left Ireland in August 1757 for Cambrai (France) where he had just been appointed canon of the diocesan chapter.¹⁶⁵

Dunne's successor, the Dominican Thomas Burke (1759-1776), arrived at Kilkenny and after a six year lapse he petitioned Rome for St. Mary's as his mensal parish on the grounds that it was canonically vacant. According to Burke, Molloy did not receive a collation from Rome; therefore he was not canonical pastor of the parish. Burke was given St. Mary's by papal brief on 29 June 1759.¹⁶⁶ The controversy surrounding St. Mary's intensified and for the next six years Molly and Burke aired out their claim for St. Mary's at Propaganda Fide. Ultimately Propaganda Fide delegated William O'Meara, bishop of Killaloe (1753-1765) to investigate the merits of the case. O'Meara carried out his investigation and determined that Molloy should be able to continue as pastor of St. Mary's and Burke was not to interfere with him.¹⁶⁷ Burke once again petitioned Propaganda Fide and on 21 August 1765 it was determined that Molloy would keep St. Mary's as pastor and Burke would receive a stipend of £25.¹⁶⁸ Burke's struggle to obtain possession of his mensal parish was not unique as many bishops often found themselves at the mercy of the decisions made by their predecessors. Unfortunately for the Irish bishops, as long as there was no breach of canon law their ability to take control of mensal parishes were limited.

With the income received from the local church inadequate, it is no surprise that the Irish episcopal corps relied so heavily on auxiliary sources of income. Although Irish

¹⁶⁴ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory*, i, 156-7.

¹⁶⁵ Vicaires généraux, Philippe de Boisson de Rochemond (1756-1761) (A.D.N., Lille, Répertoire Numérique, 3G/1107).

¹⁶⁶ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory*, i, 163-4.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 166. O'Meara's appointment as apostolic delegate was controversial given his age and frail health (Fearghus Ó Fearghail, 'The Catholic church in county Kilkenny 1600-1800' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny History and Society* (Dublin, 1990), pp 197-249, at pp 236-7).

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

bishops were eager to highlight the episcopal abuses by their contemporaries, and highlight their economic plight, networks both at home and abroad, if availed of, readily provided auxiliary sources of income. With the rise of the Catholic middle-class and the relaxation of the penal laws in the latter half of the eighteenth century, at the beginning of the nineteenth century members of the Irish episcopal corps experienced a period of financial stability.

Financial stability, 1801-1829

For the start of the nineteenth century, the estimation of the value of episcopal income becomes a little easier. The most useful single source of information on episcopal emoluments for the latter part of the eighteenth century is the set of papers submitted to Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, chief secretary for Ireland (1798-1801) by Irish bishops (1801).¹⁶⁹ At Castlereagh's request, every member of the Irish episcopate was asked to provide him with a statistical overview of their diocese regarding diocesan structure detailing the number of priests, parishes and income of each parish. Although this is an invaluable source, the statistics provided by the bishops were merely estimates and can only be viewed as a baseline for clerical income. For the purposes of this study, the focus will be on episcopal emoluments. In the reports submitted to Castlereagh, for the first time, there is a detailed breakdown of episcopal income: the *cathedraticum*, stole fees and granting of marriages banns, and the mensal parish held *in commendam*.¹⁷⁰ According to this source, the bishop of Dromore received the highest income from the two parishes he held *in commendam*, Newry and Clonallan, yielding an income totalling £261 12s. 6d. He was followed by the archbishop of Dublin who received £250 from his three parishes, St. Mary's, St. George and St. Thomas in Dublin and the archbishop of Cashel at £200 for his parish at Thurles. At the other end of the spectrum was the bishop of Waterford and Lismore who received £50 for his parish at Clonmel and the bishop of Cloyne and Ross who received £60 from the united parishes of Glanworth, Dunmahon, Kilgullane, Derrivilane and Ballylough.

As shown in Table 5.3, the bishops of Cashel received the most income from the *cathedraticum*, stole fees and granting of marriages banns. Only 32% of their income

¹⁶⁹ C. Vane (ed.), *Memoirs and correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry* (12 vols, London, 1849), iv, 97-173.

¹⁷⁰ Irish bishops often received parishes *in commendam*, or in trust. Usually the day-to-day administration of these ecclesiastical benefices were given to a parish priest who then paid the bishop an annual pension as illustrated earlier.

| <i>Table 5.3: Provincial average of episcopal emoluments</i> ¹⁷¹ | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Province | % of income derived from mensal parish(s) | Average of emoluments | Average income of parish priest |
| Armagh | 57 | £278 | £75 |
| Cashel | 32 | £350 | £97 |
| Dublin | 71 | £295 | £114 |
| Tuam | 52 | £254 | £63 |

came from parishes held *in commendam*. Bishops from the province of Dublin, on the other hand, on average, earned the second highest sum at £295, but unlike the Cashel bishops, a majority of their income came from the parishes held *in commendam*. The figures presented in Table 5.3 can be deceptive. This is illustrated by the average income of the bishops from the province of Tuam which included bishops with both the highest and lowest incomes. Two of the highest earning bishops were the bishops of Tuam and Elphin who each earned £497 and £450 respectively.¹⁷² For the archbishop of Tuam, his income had risen by £100 from the previous year. Aside from Tuam and Elphin, the bishops of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora received the lowest annual income at £116 16s. 6d. and £100 respectively.

Due to their extreme poverty, as early as 1794 there were suggestions that the dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora should be united under the wardenship of Galway.¹⁷³ This discussion was accelerated by the appointment of Edmund French OP,

¹⁷¹ Vane, *Memoirs and correspondences of Castlereagh*, iv, 97-173. In the province of Cashel the bishop of Cork did not submit a status report for his diocese and the bishop of Killaloe only listed his mensal parish as Birr without any supporting details regarding his income. In the province of Armagh the bishop of Down and Connor listed his mensal income at £90 and proxies at £80 but did not provide his total income.

¹⁷² The archbishop of Cashel also earned £450.

¹⁷³ Historical information regarding the wardenship can be found in: James Hardiman, *The history of the town and county of Galway: from the earliest period to the present time* (Dublin, 1820); Richard T. Kelly, 'The Wardenship of Galway' in *J.G.A.H.S.*, vi, no. 1 (1909), pp 27-33; *ibid.*, 'The Wardenship of Galway continued' in *J.G.A.H.S.*, vi, no. 2 (1909), pp 110-22; J. Rabbitte, 'Historical account of the Wardens of Galway: a manuscript' in *J.G.A.H.S.*, xvi, nos 3-4 (1935), pp 155-81; *ibid.*, 'Historical account of the Wardens of Galway, continued' in *J.G.A.H.S.*, xvii, nos 1-2 (1936), pp 83-90; *ibid.*, 'Historical account of the Wardens of Galway, continued' in *J.G.A.H.S.*, xviii, nos 1-2 (1938), pp 77-93; Martin Coen, *The Wardenship of Galway, 1791-1831* (Galway, 1967); *ibid.*, *The Wardenship of Galway* (Galway, 1984). All of these sources rely heavily on Hardiman's work which contains many primary sources regarding the wardenship's creation. Coen's 1967 book is important for a number of reasons, namely, he uses extensive Vatican archival material and corrects errors of the Rabbitte article, which were widely cited by historians before his publication. For historical purposes, Coen's 1967 publication is much better than his 1984 publication as he cites his secondary and primary sources.

bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora (1824-1852). French had been warden of Galway since 1812 and when he received his episcopal promotion he asked the pope for permission to continue to reside in Galway. French continued to serve as warden and bishop for another six years at which time he resigned as warden and a year later, in 1831, the diocese of Galway was created.¹⁷⁴ When Patrick Fallon, bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora resigned in 1866, the bishop of Galway was named apostolic administrator. When John McEvilly, bishop of Galway (1856-1883) was promoted to Tuam in 1881, the three dioceses were formally united two years later when Thomas Joseph Carr was named bishop (1883-1886).

As is clear from the data, the second most important source of income in the final period covered by this study, was that derived from marriage licences. Not every bishop provided a breakdown of their income along the three stated areas, but for the four bishops who did provide complete data, marriage licences comprised 28% of their income. The bishop of Dromore received the smallest income from marriage licenses, £45 10s. 0d., or 14% of his total income. At the other end of the spectrum the bishop of Derry received £100 from marriage licenses, or nearly 40% of his total income. When the income from marriage licenses is compared to the income they received from clergy, in some cases, the income was doubled. The bishop of Dromore received £18 4s. 0d. from his clergy, representing about or 5% of his total income.¹⁷⁵

Incomes from the *cathedraticum*, or proxies, were not collected uniformly as each diocese had different rates and different criteria for collection. For instance, priests from the diocese of Derry were expected to provide the bishop with an annual proxy of £1 12s. 6d. and the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross the parish priests provided an annual proxy of £1 5s. 5 ½d. and curates 12s. 5 ½d. The most complex system for collecting proxies was that of the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin. Bishop Daniel Delany (1787-1814) wrote that his income principally comes from ‘an established contribution, named proxy, paid to him by his parish priests, at the rate of one guinea each per annum, from forty-one individuals of that description exclusively, the curates being exempt from this obligation.’ Delany went on to state:

¹⁷⁴ Galway was referred to as being a diocese long before it was actually established as one. As early as 1805, the warden of Galway referred to wardenship as a diocese, ‘I can assure your Grace that the facts asserted by Lord Redesdael [sic.] to have occurred in the South of Ireland, have neither taken place in either of my Diocesses nor have ever heard of anything of this kind happening in any Diocess’ (Nicholas Archdeacon, Warden of Galway, to Dr. Troy, 25 June 1805 (D.D.A., Dublin, AB2 116/10/91)).

¹⁷⁵ Castlereagh, *Memoirs and correspondences*, iv, 113.

at different successive periods within these last ten years, thirty-three of the parish priests have spontaneously adopted the practice of contributing towards the Bishop's support an addition guinea per annum, by way, it is to be remarked, a voluntary donation, as they expressly specify on such occasions, not omitting to return such money in a separate statement, distinguished from that of the proxies, under the special denomination of *free gift*...¹⁷⁶

Delany further stated that the curates also offer a similar voluntary gift like the parish priests. All of these dues were collected at six general meetings held throughout the year in the diocese where the clergy were expected to attend.

Map 5.2 illustrates the total episcopal income earned by members of the Irish episcopal corps compiled in the Castlereagh Report (1801). Although the bishop of Killaloe did not provide his annual income, he most likely enjoyed an income over £400 like many of the other Munster bishops. Thus, aside from the diocese of Ferns, every diocese in the southern half of the country was receiving at or over £200.¹⁷⁷ If statements provided by the archbishop of Armagh are correct, in 1825 every bishop in that province had an annual income over £500.¹⁷⁸ Assuming that the bishop of Down and Connor was correct in stating that his annual income in 1801 was £170, the increase to £500 twenty-four years later as suggested by the archbishop of Armagh, indicates an increase of nearly 194%. When compared to the average income of Irish priests at the same time, estimated to be about £150, members of the Irish episcopal corps were earning at a minimum 233% more than members of the lower clergy. Although Irish bishops by the nineteenth century were no longer coming from the landed gentry, episcopal preferment offered its members considerable financial security and social mobility.

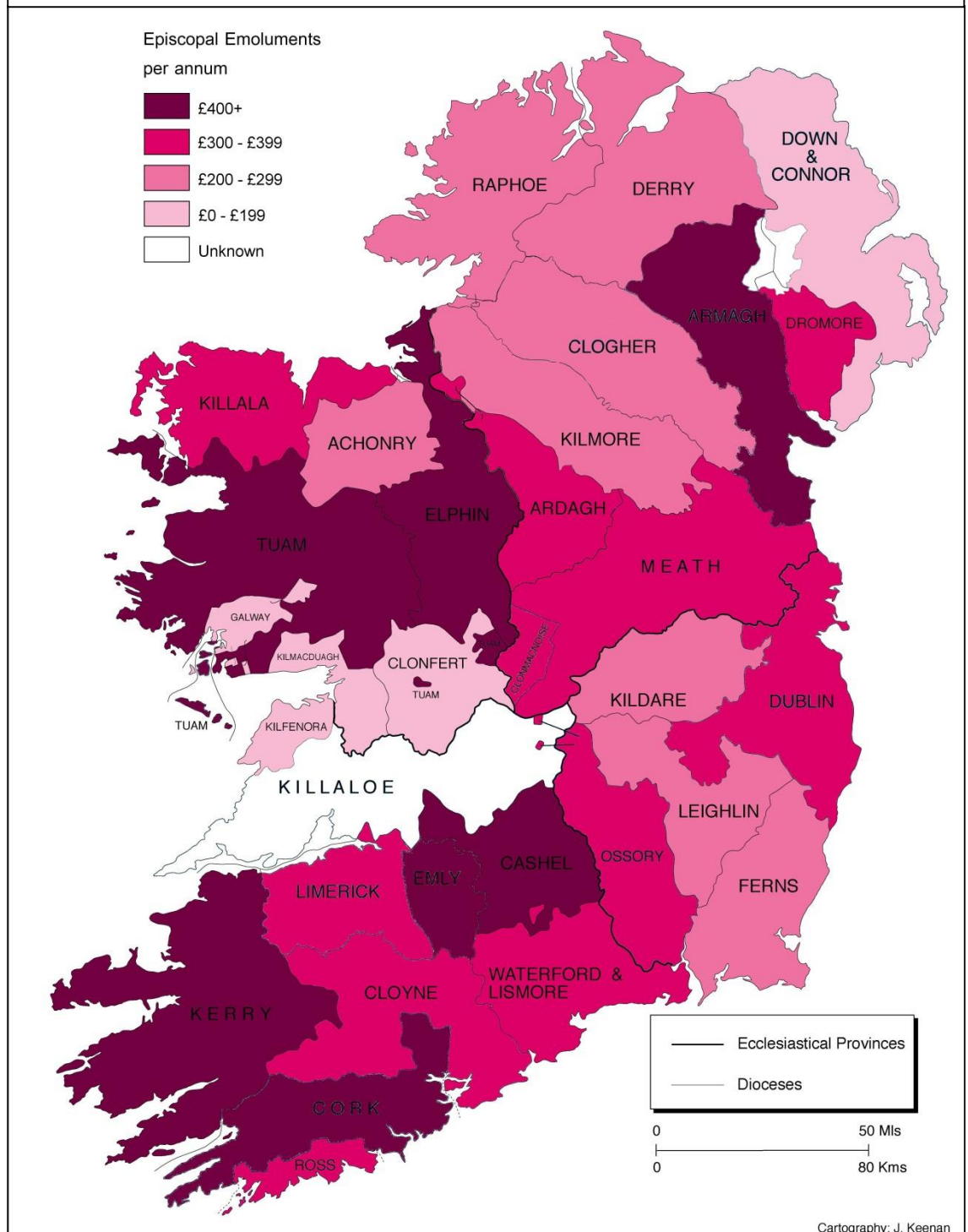
Evaluating Map 5.2 further, bishops receiving the highest annual income came from western dioceses located in the provinces of Cashel and Tuam. Many of these bishops derived over 50% of their income from the *cathedraticum* and/or stole income. The only bishops from these provinces to receive over 50% of their income from their mensal parishes were the bishops from the more impoverished dioceses: Achonry, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora and the Warden of Galway. This pattern generally held up for the dioceses located in the province of Armagh. Bishops who received a higher percentage of their income from the mensal parishes tended to have a lower annual

¹⁷⁶ Castlereagh, *Memoirs and correspondences*, iv, 138-9.

¹⁷⁷ Although the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin are shown on Map 5.2 to be in £200 to £299 income range, the bishop of Kildare and Leighlin stated that his income was £297 9s. 6d. (*ibid.*, 143).

¹⁷⁸ Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland*, p. 52.

Map 5.2: Episcopal emoluments per annum, 1801



income. The bishop of Down and Connor received over 90% of his income from his mensal parish, whereas the bishop of Meath received only 39% of his annual income from that source. The province of Dublin was an anomaly to this pattern as the bishops

of Dublin and Ossory each earned most of their income from mensal parishes, 78% and 88% respectively. These were the highest annual income in the province. The dioceses of Waterford and Lismore provided the smallest proportion of total income from his mensal parish, amounting to a meagre 17%. Nearly 83% of Waterford's annual income derived from the *cathedraticum* and/or stole income. Thus, episcopal income was largely tied to the number of priests a diocese had and the size of the Catholic population, which partly explains why the bishops of Tuam and Elphin had the highest annual income.

Conclusion

Access to income was a significant factor in determining the size and composition of the Irish episcopal corps between 1657 and 1829. Having endured war, famine, religious persecution and land relocation, the most significant factor in determining the size of the Irish episcopal corps in the late seventeenth century was their access to financial support. Further, although the economic and political conditions were not yet stable in Ireland, there was pressure from abroad to expand the episcopacy despite the severity of domestic conditions and the advice of prelates like Plunkett. In order to carry out their episcopal responsibilities effectively, bishops were forced to rely heavily on patrons. In many regards, episcopal wealth was not determined by how large one's assets were, but how extensive and varied their networks were. The submergence and re-emergence of the Irish episcopal corps at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century made these networks all the more important. Successfully establishing, navigating and maintaining these networks enabled bishops to receive pensions, papal alms and foreign benefices which in turn permitted them to relieve the financial burden their support placed on members of the lower clergy and the laity. By the early nineteenth century, with new sources of income becoming available, the financial situation of the Irish episcopal corps not only stabilised but improved.

Having evaluated the sources of income bishops had access to, and how these sources evolved throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is now important to turn to the distribution of their income, how the bishops used and eventually disposed of their resources. Evaluating episcopal income distribution is a difficult task owing to the dearth of primary source material. Most of the surviving sources available were written by the bishops themselves who had reason to exaggerate the gravity of their economic plight. To circumvent the paucity of primary sources, the following evaluation of income distribution will rely on the evidence contained in

episcopal wills, a key primary source for early modern prosopographical research. In many regards, the process of obtaining income and distributing income were the same, both relied significantly on networks. It is now time to delve deeper into how the individuals who comprised these networks operated and how they disposed of their income.

Chapter six: Patterns in episcopal wealth distribution

The focus of the last chapter was primarily on how Irish bishops used domestic and international networks to achieve financial security. As church organisation improved and the financial situation of the Irish episcopal corps stabilised, the relationship between the bishop and his diocese underwent important changes. At the end of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century, bishops largely relied on a carefully crafted network systems to deal with political, economic and religious persecution and general disabilities. By the end of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when these factors had become less significant, the relative importance of the older networks diminished and new diocesan networks and systems took precedence. Charting this evolution from a network-centred episcopacy is something of a challenge but the survival of an important piece of evidence, namely episcopal wills, does permit some conclusions to be drawn. Wills are primarily legal documents and they can be an important primary source in prosopographical research. This is because they provide important information on the social and economic background of the testator and some idea of personal intentionality. In this latter sense they provide important insights into who, and what, was most important in their lives. The focus of this chapter will be on the evaluation of episcopal wills as a source and interpretation of these documents to establish and evaluate patterns of wealth distribution among Irish bishops in the cohorts already identified.

Episcopal wills as a historical source

Generally speaking, wills are one of the key primary sources in early modern prosopographical research. In the case of the Irish episcopal corps they provide, where they survive, important information regarding the social and economic background of individual bishops and their families, and, perhaps more revealingly, they capture something of the intentions of the testator regarding his property and resources. In the Irish context, two classes of wills survive from the period 1536 to 1858: prerogative and diocesan wills. Every diocese of the Established Church had a Consistorial Court that was tasked with proving wills, following the death of the testator. If an individual possessed property of more than £5 in value in more than one diocese, the will was not proved by the local diocese but before the Prerogative Court of the archbishop of

Armagh.¹ Regardless of whether or not wills were proved in either the diocesan or prerogative court, they were sent to the Public Records Office in Dublin where they were processed and archived. Unfortunately all but eleven prerogative will books and one Dublin consistorial will book were destroyed in 1922 with the destruction of the Four Courts. The fire destroyed the original wills from 1536 to 1858.²

As a result great reliance has had to be placed on the work of historians who spent time compiling abstracts and lists prior to fire. The results of their efforts help towards the piecing together of enough primary source material to compensate somewhat for the original archival loss. For the purposes of analysing the eighteenth-century episcopal corps, the work by William Carrigan published in *Archiv. Hib.* from 1912 to 1915 is invaluable. He reproduced fifty-eight wills of Irish Catholic bishops from 1675 to 1812.³ If one includes Carrigan's collection, a total of 111 wills⁴ for the period can be either located or evidence that they existed established.⁵ It is possible that more episcopal wills exist, especially for those bishops who were exiled on the Continent. It is known, for example, that six of the senior ecclesiastics listed in the appendix had wills drawn up in France. Regarding wills drafted in France, it is difficult to locate these due to the problem of identifying the notary who notarised the will and accessing the particular *étude's* archive in question. In occasional cases other documentation can substitute for wills. For instance, Luke Wadding, bishop of Ferns (1683-1691) left behind a notebook in which he had detailed instructions to be followed following his death. This source provides invaluable details regarding his economic situation.⁶

Wills are a useful primary source as they usually provide basic information concerning the testator, albeit at a specific moment of their lives, usually towards the end. For instance, wills usually contain the address or name of dwelling place of the individual, the names of beneficiaries, witnesses and executor(s) of the estate. Typically, wills followed a prescribed format that detailed amongst other things

¹ P. Beryl Eustace, 'Index of will abstracts in the Genealogical Office, Dublin' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 17 (1949), pp 147-348, at p. 147.

² The following will books were spared from destruction: 1664-1684; 1706-08; 1726-8; 1728-9; 1777 (AM); 1813 (KZ) and 1834 (A-E). Of particular importance are the 1664-1684 books as they contain the wills of two bishops: Patrick Duffy, OFM, bishop of Clogher (1671-1675) and Mark Forestal, OSA, bishop of Kildare (1676-1683).

³ William Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills in the Public Record Office, Dublin 1683-1812' in *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), pp 148-200; ii (1913), pp 220-41; iii (1914), pp 160-202; iv (1915), pp 66-95.

⁴ There are two drafts of wills left by Luke Fagan, archbishop of Dublin (1729-1733).

⁵ See Appendix VIII for a complete listing of the wills collected which include: the bishop's name, diocese(s), date of the will, executor(s) of the will and the probate date and/or year.

⁶ Bishop Wadding's notebook (Franciscan Library, Killiney, Catalogue J5); Patrick Corish, 'Bishop Wadding's notebook' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxix (1970), pp 49-113.

information on the mental state of the testator; instructions concerning internment and distribution of personal belongings, nomination of executor(s) of their will. There were variations to this basic format. In case of the wills in question here, these were generally confined to those bishops who appeared to have made ‘death-bed’ wills. This was the case with James Lanigan, bishop of Ossory (1789-1812) whose will was only a half a page in length.⁷ Although not contained in all wills, some feature a codicils or amendments. These usually referred to the distribution of items not mentioned in the main document. In most cases the codicil was added directly after the drafting of the will but in a few cases it was added after the date on which the will was signed.

The surviving 111 wills provide economic details on nearly 43.5% of the total number of senior ecclesiastics analysed here (1670-1865). Table 6.1 shows the number of wills drafted by bishops per decade from 1670 to 1840. Wills for the early decades are rather scarce. Prior to 1760 only 32% of the bishops are known to have drafted

Table 6.1: Episcopal wills per decade, 1670-1840⁸

| Decade | Number of bishops who had wills | Number of bishops who died | % of bishops |
|---------------|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1670-1679 | 2 | 9 | 22 |
| 1680-1689 | 5 | 11 | 45 |
| 1690-1699 | 3 | 9 | 33 |
| 1700-1709 | 3 | 8 | 38 |
| 1710-1719 | 4 | 8 | 50 |
| 1720-1729 | 4 | 11 | 36 |
| 1730-1739 | 7 | 22 | 32 |
| 1740-1749 | 6 | 16 | 38 |
| 1750-1759 | 4 | 15 | 27 |
| 1760-1769 | 7 | 11 | 64 |
| 1770-1779 | 4 | 12 | 33 |
| 1780-1789 | 6 | 16 | 38 |
| 1790-1799 | 6 | 10 | 60 |
| 1800-1809 | 9 | 13 | 69 |
| 1810-1819 | 9 | 16 | 56 |
| 1820-1829 | 9 | 19 | 47 |
| 1830-1839 | 8 | 12 | 67 |
| TOTAL | 96 | 218 | 44 |

⁷ Will of James Lanigan, 9 February 1812 cited in Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ in *Achiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 94-5.

⁸ This table does not include those wills collected after 1840 or bishops who had more than one will.

wills. Between 1760 and 1800 this percentage increased to 42% and between 1800 and 1840 to 58%. Although the number of wills increases over time it must be borne in mind that in the case of many bishops from whom we have a document, the latter may be in the form of a brief abstract that provides little useful information. Again, this highlights the significance of Carrigan's work in preserving eighteenth-century episcopal wills.

The apparently low number of bishops drafting wills does not necessarily mean that no will was drafted. The execution of wills, once drafted, was dependent on a great number of factors.⁹ Execution was not always possible where family members were concerned, particularly in cases when the will lacked a signature or the names of witnesses or executors. John Armstrong, bishop of Down and Connor (1726-1739) seemingly did not appoint executors of his estate prior to his death in December 1739. Following his death, conflict ensued over his personal wealth and his case was brought before the diocesan court whereupon a detailed listing of his property and estimated wealth were presented. After receiving sworn statements verifying that Armstrong had indeed drafted the will, two executors were appointed to oversee the disposal of his estate.¹⁰

Another important part of a will was the date of probate. Probated wills provide important information like an approximate date of death, where the date is otherwise unknown. For instance, the date of death for Anthony O'Garvey, bishop of Dromore (1747-1766) is not known. However, it can be determined that he died between 22 August 1766, when his will was drafted, and 18 December 1766 when it was proved.¹¹ However, probate dates are not always a clear indication of date of death. In the case of Florence MacCarthy, coadjutor bishop of Cork (1803-1810), for instance, it is known that he died on 17 June 1810 but his will was not proved until six years later.¹²

Although wills provide important social and economic details regarding individual bishops and their families, they can also be of use in establishing the aspects of the activities and priorities of a group. In our case, examination of surviving episcopal wills

⁹ Louis Cullen, *Economy, trade and Irish merchants at home and abroad, 1600-1988* (Dublin, 2012), p. 74.

¹⁰ Will of John Armstrong, 3/14 October 1739 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), 166-72.

¹¹ Will of Anthony O'Garvey, 22 August 1766 cited in *ibid.*, pp 178-9.

¹² Will of Florence MacCarthy, 16 June 1810 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 173-5.

for the period in the study reveals important patterns and trends concerning how bishops distributed their wealth. This is particularly the case when it comes to the names and identities of the beneficiaries. A central reform laid out by the Council of Trent obliged bishops to ‘recognise what their function is and realise that they have been called not to personal advantages, not to riches or to a life of luxury, but to toil and solicitude for the glory of God.’¹³ As such, bishops were to use their personal wealth to promote the church rather than family or personal endeavours.¹⁴ As will be shown throughout this chapter, by the end of the eighteenth century, at least according to the evidence provided by their wills, Irish bishops were increasingly aware of their duties and less inclined, because less obliged than they had been previously, to indulge family interests.

Episcopal wills

As shown in chapter five, expansion of the Irish episcopal corps in the 1670s was tied to the availability of financial resources. Senior Irish ecclesiastics positioning themselves for episcopal promotion often did so by demonstrating their ability to support themselves financially, normally highlighting their external sources of patronage. In his arguments against expanding the episcopal corps, Plunkett of Armagh lamented the economic disparity that existed among bishops. In a letter dated 18 October 1674 he stated: ‘I find myself in greater need than ever. I have but sixty *scudi* [£15] in this world now, and I have no hope of getting anything from my diocese, the people are so poor.’¹⁵ He further claimed that aside from Brenan of Cashel and the recently exiled Lynch of Tuam no other bishop was so poverty stricken: ‘These are the only ones known to me to be in need. The bishops of Meath, Killaloe and Ossory, and the others are well off.’¹⁶

Moreover, when Luke Wadding was provided to the diocese of Ferns as coadjutor bishop in 1671, he held off being consecrated bishop for twelve years owing to his ‘poverty’. In a letter to Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns (1647-1678) dated 1 February 1672, Wadding stated that he ‘...yields to pressures and accepts his promotion though there are many reasons why he should refuse—present circumstances, the extreme poverty of everybody there...’¹⁷ Later in the letter he described his financial situation as

¹³ John W. O’Malley, *Trent: what happened at the Council* (London, 2013), p. 237.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ John Hanly (ed.), *The letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett 1625-1681* (Dublin, 1979), p. 437.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 106-107 cited in Benignus Millett, Calendar of volume 3 (1672-5) of the “Scrittura riferite nei congressi, Irlanda” in Propaganda Archives: part 1, ff 1-200’ in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 18-9 (1976-7), pp 40-71, at pp 54-5.

dire and had that he no money for ‘a mitre, pectoral cross, ring or other episcopal trappings.’¹⁸ Further light is thrown on Wadding’s financial situation in a notebook that he left to the Franciscan friary at Wexford following his death in 1691. It provides a rare glimpse into the financial life of a cleric, and later bishop, during 1670s and 1680s. Over a nineteen year period between 1668 and 1687 he received £520 in alms which he distributed to the poor gentry and distressed members of his flock.¹⁹ By the time he was consecrated bishop of Ferns in 1683 his financial situation had significantly improved. On 11 October 1684 he bought a house into which he moved the following year, on 23 March 1685. Moreover, he stated that he fitted his house with ‘former lodgeinge...I had from Bristol some from Rotterdam some from St Malos from Dublin and some had in Wexford.’²⁰ Wadding’s ability to move items from former dwelling places in England and on the Continent provide further evidence that his financial situation had improved.

Returning to the question of wills and wealth distribution, the ten senior Irish ecclesiastics who drafted wills, or a document that indicated how their wealth was to be distributed, prior to 1700, are the most eclectic group in terms of how their wills were drawn up and with regard to the range of information they contain. Arguably the two most important members of the Irish episcopal corps in the 1670s were Plunkett of Armagh and Talbot of Dublin. Both archbishops were arrested during the Popish Plots. Talbot died in prison and Plunkett was executed at London. Plunkett’s last will and testament, if it can be described as such, consisted of three short notes dated the day of his execution, 1/11 July 1681. The second note stated: ‘my body and clothes &c is at m^r Korkers will and pleasure to be disposed of the first July 81.’²¹ With his health declining in March 1676, Talbot moved to Cheshire (England) where he was a guest at the home of Sir James Pool.²² By September his health had declined further and Talbot drafted his last will and testament ‘at Pool in Cheshire’ where he appointed his cousin, Sir Nicholas Netterville the sole executor ‘...to dispose of all according to the instructions he hath

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Bishop Wadding’s notebook (Franciscan Library, Killiney, Catalogue J5); Corish, ‘Bishop Wadding’s notebook’, pp 94-5.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 99. In subsequent pages he details what items he received from these locations with the most significant number of items coming from Bristol totalling £26 5s. 6d (ibid., pp 101-02).

²¹ Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, p. 582. ‘Mr. Korker’ was Maurice Corker OSB who was a prisoner at the Newgate prison and exhumed Plunkett’s body where and took them to Lamspringe Benedictine monastery in Germany (ibid., p. 568).

²² Aidan Clarke, ‘Talbot, Peter’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish biography* (Cambridge, 2009) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8452>) (23 March 2013)

from me leaving instructions.²³ The only financial or monetary items left by Talbot were to his nephew, Sir William Talbot who was to receive £250. Furthermore, Talbot indicated that if he were to die within six months another £150, which was in the hands of a Dublin merchant named Thomas Hagnet, was to be given to his nephew.²⁴

The last wills and testaments drafted by Plunkett and Talbot during a time of persecution demonstrate how informal the process could be. However, when Mark Forestal OSA, bishop of Kildare (1676-1683) was imprisoned during the Popish Plot he took a different, more formal route. Attempts to have Forestal released from prison rested largely in the hands of the Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold I (1658-1705): ‘there is little hope of the bishop’s release for a long time, except by the intervention of the emperor.’²⁵ Waiting for his network to apply pressure on the English monarchy, Forestal showed great concern for his financial situation and sought the pope’s permission to divest himself of his material wealth: ‘the bishop asks to be allowed to dispose of his goods which consist of books, vestments, furniture and money, all of which amounted to the value of 1,500 *scudi* (£350) at the time of his consecration.’²⁶ Of concern for Forestal was that the value of his material goods were decreasing, according to his estimates from 1,500 *scudi* to only 900 or 1,000 *scudi* (£250).²⁷ Subsequent to Forestal’s request, the pope granted permission to dispose of his goods.²⁸ It does not appear that Forestal sold off his property as his imperial friends secured his freedom provided he left the county.²⁹ Ultimately he was allowed to remain in Ireland but requested that the money provided to him by the pope be sent from Flanders to Ireland.³⁰ In Forestal’s last will and testament he left his goods and cattle to his family and income to his cousin, Robert Forestal, to continue his studies. This income was largely derived from foreign sources, £20 from the pope’s grant due to arrive from Antwerp and 200 *florins* due from the Imperial Court at Vienna.³¹

²³ Will of Peter Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin and primate of Ireland (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 243, f. 352). Talbot’s used of the term ‘primate’ is intriguing as when he drafted his will he was engaged with Archbishop Plunkett over the which archbishop was the primate of Ireland.

²⁴ Codicil of Peter Talbot (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 243, f. 350).

²⁵ NF, vol. 71, f. 386 cited in Cathaldus Giblin, ‘Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection “Nunziatura di Fiandra” in Vatican Archives: part 2, vols 51-80’ in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 3 (1960), pp 7-136, at pp 87-8.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ NF, vol. 71, f. 387 cited in *ibid.*, p. 88.

²⁹ NF, vol. 71, f. 532 cited in *ibid.*

³⁰ NF, vol. 72, f. 370 cited in *ibid.*, p. 90.

³¹ Prerogative Court Will Book (1664-1684) (N.A.I., microfilm: PRCT/1/1).

Whereas Wadding, Plunkett and Forestal represented the ‘financially disadvantaged’ members of the Irish episcopal corps, two of the three bishops listed as ‘well off’ by Plunkett left last wills and testaments: O’Phelan of Ossory and O’Molony II of Killaloe and later of Limerick.³² O’Phelan’s ‘apparent’ wealth was due to the vast patronage network he had built up with the Catholic landed gentry, which in turn provided him with a lifestyle that earned him Plunkett’s remarks to Rome. This point is illustrated by his will which detailed close links to prominent Catholic families, notably: the Butlers, the Plunketts, the Barnwalls and the Nugents.³³ It is clear that his primary patron was the Butler family of Garryricken. He appointed Colonel Walter Butler as executor of his will and left him £100.³⁴ Butler was married to Lady Mary Plunkett who was the only daughter of Christopher Plunkett, second earl of Fingal and niece of Bishop Patrick Plunkett of Meath.³⁵ Moreover, O’Phelan had the financial means to leave £5 to William Daton, his vicar general and later bishop of Ossory (1696-1712); he also left every secular priest in his diocese two Spanish cobs.³⁶

O’Molony was probably wealthier and may have been the wealthiest bishop of the first part of the period covered by this work at the time of his death. From his last will and testament dated 11/22 November 1702, O’Molony was residing at the Benedictine abbey in the village of d’Issy lès Paris. As already detailed in chapter five, he left 1,200*li.* for the construction of a new chapel at the Collège des Lombards and 50,000*li.* to the Jesuit Collège Louis-le-Grand, in rue St. Jacques, to fund six bourses at 2,500*li.*

³² Although Patrick Plunkett, bishop of Meath (1669-1679) does not appear to have left a will and testament, his ‘affliction with the gout’ or ‘the rich man’s disease’ indicates that he did not live an impoverished lifestyle (SC Irlanda, vol. 3, ff 435-436 cited in Hanly, *Letters of Oliver Plunkett*, p. 390). In a letter announcing his death Archbishop Plunkett stated that Bishop Patrick Plunkett’s financial wealth was 1,000 *scudi* (£250) and he left to Archbishop Plunkett, ‘all the ornaments of his chapel, his books and pontifical, for my lifetime, and to the diocese of Meath after my death’ (SC Irlanda, vol. 4, ff 333-334 cited in *ibid.*, pp 536-7).

³³ O’Phelan gave ‘Lord of Westmeath’, his godchild, one pistole (Will of James Phelan, 1/11 July 1693 cited in Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 85-6). At the time of drafting his will the earl of Westmeath was Richard Nugent, a Capuchin friar living in France who died at Wassey (John Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the peerage and baronetage of the British Empire* (6th edn, London, 1839), p. 1094).

³⁴ Walter Butler was son of Richard Butler and Lady Frances Tuchet. His father Richard Butler was the brother of James Butler, first duke of Ormonde and the son of Richard Butler and Elizabeth Poyntz (Lady Thurles).

³⁵ James Norris Brewer, *The beauties of Ireland: being original delineations, topographical, historical and biographical of each county* (3 vols, London, 1825), i, 424.

³⁶ Will of James Phelan, 1/11 July 1693 cited in Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’, in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 85-6. He further stated that ‘I recommend to the Chapter to elect for a Vicar General [William Daton] and a Bishop too if they could’ (*ibid.*, p. 85).

per annum.³⁷ His largest donation to a family member was to Dennis O’Molony, his nephew residing in London who received 4,000*li.* on annuity of 12,000*li.*³⁸ The wealth detailed here is only a small portion of the money Bishop O’Molony left in his estate, but when put into context, his wealth was considerable. The average yearly income for members of the ‘upper clergy’ in France, those bishops and parish priests who were in the wealthiest dioceses and parishes, was about 10,000*li.* per annum.³⁹ Thus, O’Molony’s donation of 50,000*li.* to the Collège Louis-le-Grand was equivalent to five years income of France’s ‘poorest’ upper class clergy.

Although anomalous for the eighteenth-century episcopal corps, O’Molony’s extensive wealth at the time of his death does illustrate the point that auxiliary sources of income were available to those members of the Irish episcopate who had connections. However, most bishops had more parochial sources of income, in the form of family members and patronage from members of the local Catholic gentry. In some cases the total amount of an individual bishop’s wealth can be established with a reasonable degree of accuracy. The wills also indicate how that wealth was distributed after the individual’s demise, a useful indicator of inter-generational wealth transfer within a tightly organised group. On this point, interesting trends can be identified and evaluated to offer insight into the financial situation of the Irish episcopal corps in the eighteenth century.

As shown in Table 6.2, between 1731 and 1740 the average value of episcopal

| Decade | Number of bishop deaths | Number of wills | Average value of estate |
|---------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1715-1730 | 14 | 5 | £119 |
| 1731-1740 | 18 | 7 | £227 |
| 1741-1750 | 17 | 6 | £284 |
| 1751-1760 | 15 | 5 | £219 |

³⁷ Testament de Mr. Jean de Molony, Evêque de Limerick en Irlande, 11/22 Nov. 1701 (N.L.I., Genealogical Office, Ms 457, ff 85-86). For a translation of Bishop O’Molony’s will from French into English see Charles Molony, *The Molony Family* (Chichester, 1971), pp 35-41.

³⁸ Testament de Mr. Jean de Molony, Evêque de Limerick en Irlande, 11/22 Nov. 1701 (N.L.I., Genealogical Office, Ms 457, ff 85-86). For further biographical information on Dennis O’Molony see John Bergin and Liam Chambers (eds), ‘The library of Dennis Molony (1650-1726), an Irish Catholic lawyer in London’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 41 (2009), pp 85-132.

³⁹ Olwen Hufton, ‘The French church’ in William J. Callahan and David Higgs (eds), *Church and society in Catholic Europe of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979), pp 13-33.

estates increased by 90% and remained stagnant during the following two decades. The decrease in the value of episcopal estates in the 1750s to £219 is deceptive given that, of the fifteen deaths recorded, eleven were of bishops who were regulars and subject to vows of poverty. Those bishops who were connected to religious communities tended to leave little monetary provisions and the personal items were left to the convent where they resided. On this point, the five episcopal wills from the 1750s provide important insight into the differences in how secular and regular bishops distributed their wealth. The two secular bishops who left episcopal wills in the 1750s were Patrick MacDonagh, bishop of Killaloe (1739-1752) and Walter Blake, bishop of Achonry (1739-1758). Blake left an estate estimated to be worth about £450⁴⁰ and MacDonagh left an estate estimated to be worth about £250.⁴¹ However, the value of MacDonagh's estate may have been much higher. In a letter dated 28 February 1752, a few days after MacDonagh's death, it was purported that he died with '£800 in one bag and 4 or 5 hundred pounds in Paper. He left all to his Relations and died as he lived.'⁴² Taking the value of MacDonagh's estate at £250, the average value of the two estates was still significantly higher than the estates of the three regular bishops: Francis Stuart OFM, bishop of Down and Connor (1740-1750);⁴³ Laurence Richardson OP, bishop of Kilmore (1747-1753)⁴⁴ and Bonaventure MacDonnell OFM, bishop of Killala (1740-1760).⁴⁵ Regarding the three regular bishops, their estates were valued at an estimated £90, significantly lower than the estimated value of MacDonagh and Blake's estate of £350.⁴⁶

When evaluating episcopal wills, it is also important to take geography into account. Table 6.3 shows a provincial average of wealth distributed across the four ecclesiastical provinces of Ireland. Bishops from the province of Cashel and Tuam bequeathed, on average, the most money in their wills, £235 and £280 respectively. The average presented for the province of Armagh may be deceptive. If Hugh MacMahon of

⁴⁰ Will of Walter Blake, 28 April 1758 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), pp 223-4.

⁴¹ Will of Patrick MacDonagh, 20 February/2 March 1752 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 190-2.

⁴² William Burke, *The Irish priests in the penal times, 1660-1760* (Waterford, 1914), p. 411.

⁴³ Will of Francis Stuart OFM, 12/23 August 1747 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), pp 172-3.

⁴⁴ Will of Laurence Richardson OP, 30 November 1752 cited in *ibid.*, pp 184-5.

⁴⁵ Will of Bonaventure MacDonnell OFM, 6 September 1760 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1912), pp 240-1.

⁴⁶ If Stuart's estate is omitted, as it was only valued at £4, the average value of Richardson and MacDonnell's estate increases to £133.

| Province | Number of bishops deaths | Number of wills | % of bishops with wills | Average value of estate |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Armagh | 21 | 5 | 24 | £171 |
| Cashel | 15 | 8 | 53 | £235 |
| Dublin | 12 | 5 | 41 | £105 |
| Tuam | 18 | 5 | 28 | £280 |

Armagh is omitted from the calculation, these bishops left, on average, £60. The importance of this figure is highlighted by the fact that it corresponds to the total value of the property contained in the estate of Bishop Armstrong of Down and Connor, of whose landed property and estate there is a complete record. The province of Dublin's rather low average might be explained in a number of ways. Firstly, relatively few Dublin bishops came from landed backgrounds and they had limited access to wealth. Looking at their socio-economic background, the only bishop who came from a significant Catholic landholding background was Colman O'Shaughnessy OP, bishop of Ossory (1736-1748). O'Shaughnessy's brother Joseph held the family estate at Ardamullivan castle near Gort, County Galway under a mortgage from Sir Thomas Prendergast. Prendergast tried to force Joseph into surrendering his claim to the land in the Court of Chancery, but when the case was heard at jury trial in Galway the case was decided in favour of the O'Shaughnessy family. The case was eventually overturned by the House of Lords and the family continued its lawsuit when Sir Thomas Prendergast was succeeded by his son, Thomas. This time the bishop led the family in this endeavour until his death in 1748 where the case was taken up by subsequent generations of the family.⁴⁷

Turning to bishops appointed the second half of the eighteenth century, many of whom were closely associated with the Catholic landed gentry, one sees that bishops from the province of Cashel and Tuam continued to leave the largest estates at the time of their death. As illustrated by Table 6.4, the bishops from the province of Cashel were leaving on average £1114 in their wills, almost £1000 more than the bishops from the province of Armagh. The wealthiest of the Cashel bishops was James Butler II of Cashel whose eldest brother, Robert Butler, left the family estate to him and his brother

⁴⁷ James Feheneay, *The O'Shaughnessy's of Munster: the people and their stories* (Cork, 1996), pp 22-7.

| <i>Table 6.4: Provincial average of total sum of wealth, 1761-1800</i> | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Province | Number of bishops deaths | Number of wills | % of bishops with wills | Average value of estate |
| Armagh | 17 | 8 | 47 | £101 |
| Cashel | 13 | 7 | 54 | £1114 |
| Dublin | 8 | 6 | 75 | £310 |
| Tuam | 11 | 2 | 7 | £505 |

George Butler in 1788. Archbishop Butler never intended to run the Ballyragget estate and left the day-to-day operations to his brother George with the stipulation that he receive an annual income of £1,000.⁴⁸ When Butler died, his portion of the Ballyragget estate was valued at £2,250 with an annuity of £500.⁴⁹ Butler's wealth was not unique as four of the seven bishops known to have left a will from the province of Cashel left in excess of £1,000. The estimated value of the estates for two of the Cashel bishops is not known. Richard Walsh, bishop of Cork (1747-1763) left three shillings to his nieces and nephew, but then left to his nephew Nicholas Walsh 'all the residue of my real and personal Estate of what kind or nature soever', indicating that his estate was valued higher.⁵⁰ The estate of James Butler I of Cashel was valued at £132, but £69 of that was a yearly stipend to his brothers and nephew.⁵¹

The figure of £505 for the province of Tuam may not be representative of the province as only two bishops are known to have left a will. Conceivably the value could have been lower than for the bishops from the province of Dublin, at £310.⁵² The bishops from the province of Dublin provide the most complete picture of the value of episcopal estates at the end of the eighteenth century. No will survives for two of these, Nicholas Sweetman, bishop of Ferns (1745-1786) and his nephew, James Stafford, coadjutor bishop of Ferns (1772-1781). The value of the estate of James O'Keeffe, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1752-1787) may be misleading as his recorded estate included only those assets distributed to family members. Had he not spent most of his

⁴⁸ M. Imelda, *Calendar of papers of the Butler archbishop of Cashel and Emly, 1712-1791* (Thurles, 1970), p. 59.

⁴⁹ Papers of James Butler, archbishop of Cashel, 1764-1790 (C.E.D.A., Thurles: microfilm, N.L.I. p5998).

⁵⁰ Will of Richard Walsh, 10 December 1762 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 172-3.

⁵¹ Papers of James Butler, archbishop of Cashel, 1764-1790 (C.E.D.A., Thurles: microfilm, N.L.I. p5998).

⁵² If the average of £280 recorded for the Tuam bishops prior to 1760 is figured for the remaining nine bishops, the estimated value of the Tuam estates would be about £275.

personal wealth on building Carlow College, these would have been much greater than the 7s. 7d. recorded.⁵³ On this point, his personal ‘assets’ are alluded to when he mentioned in his will that he left his ‘holdings in Carlow’ to his successor, Daniel Delany, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1783-1814).⁵⁴

Before evaluating the early nineteenth century episcopate, it is worth explaining the apparent decrease in the accumulated wealth of the bishops from the province of Armagh during this period. As mentioned earlier, the value of the estates for the bishops of Armagh (pre-1760) was overstated owing to the extensive wealth of the MacMahon family. Thus, excluding this family, the estimated value of the Armagh estates was around £60. When compared to the post-1760 episcopal corps, the bishops from the province of Armagh only saw a small increase in their assets, of about 68%.

Evaluating episcopal wills drafted in the eighteenth century affords important insights into the estimated value of episcopal estates. Determining the estimated value of episcopal estates in the nineteenth century is complicated by the large number of episcopal wills that do not attach a monetary value to items. A record that a will once existed can be determined for twenty-six bishops but for fifteen of those only a partial value can be determined. When totalled as a collective group, the estimated value of episcopal estates in the first decades of the nineteenth century was about £1,300, an increase from the 1761-1800 figure (£530) and the 1715-1760 estimation (£208).

Other changes in wills over time include the manner in which they were put together. It has already been noted that by the end of the eighteenth century Irish bishops increasingly began to use vague descriptors of their estates. For instance, it has been pointed out that Bishop O’Keeffe of Kildare and Leighlin left his ‘holdings in Carlow’ to his successor. This practice of leaving executive power of one’s estate to one’s successor was not only continued but became more common in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Michael Peter MacMahon OP, bishop of Killaloe (1765-1807) directed that ‘whatever sum or sums of money of mine at the time of my Decease which shall be in the hands of my four Vicars shall be expended by them in Entertaining the Clergy of my Diocese at their next respective Meetings after my Decease.’⁵⁵ Likewise, when Thomas Hussey, bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1796-1803) died, the

⁵³ Will of James O’Keeffe, 9 August 1785 cited in Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’, *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 82-3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Will of Michael Peter MacMahon, 30 September 1801 cited in Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’, *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 192-5.

instructions in his episcopal will stipulated that a committee of ‘five’ be formed tasked with administering his estate and overseeing the ‘masters’ appointed to teach at the newly established Christian Brothers school under the direction of Edmund Rice.⁵⁶ Hussey stipulated that Rice was a ‘master’ for life and that the other ‘masters’ appointed were to receive £20 per annum.⁵⁷ Moreover, the fact that Hussey did not leave his estate to his family was indicative of his efforts at the end of the eighteenth century to make the transition from regarding episcopal assets as ‘personal property’ to disposing of them as ‘diocesan property’:

I have already explained myself fully to you, that I should never convert my own personal use, any of the dues belonging to the See...[And] I shall be obliged to you to send me, at your leisure a detailed acct. of each school nb of children amount of each subscription and ect as to the regulation of my House or rather of the Episcopale House, for I shall never rest untill I make it rent free for my successor.⁵⁸

Hussey’s understanding of ‘episcopal house’ is important as it illustrates that family considerations were being replaced by diocesan interests. This became increasingly typical of the reorganisation efforts undertaken at the diocesan and parochial level.⁵⁹

This transformation from ‘personal property’ to ‘diocesan property’ is better articulated by the will of Oliver Kelly, archbishop of Tuam (1814-1834). Kelly explicitly made the distinction between personal property and diocesan property: ‘I do hereby declare that the leases of the seminary and all its appurtenances as well as all other deeds or papers thereunto belonging, although they should be in my name, are not my personal property but held solely in trust for the benefit of said seminary.’⁶⁰ When it came to his house and offices, Kelly asked that they be rented out with the profits going to his sister, Celia Kelly, for ‘compensation for her fidelity to me as my sister, housekeeper and friend.’⁶¹ From his will, it is apparent that Kelly envisaged that his successor would rent his house and offices: ‘I direct, however, that my successor in the see of Tuam as Catholic Archbishop be entitled by the will to the use and occupation of

⁵⁶ Will of Thomas Hussey (W.L.D.A., Waterford, T/H/5.49).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Letter from Thomas Hussey, London to Thomas Hearn, vicar general, 12 May 1797 (W.L.D.A., Waterford, T/H/6.01).

⁵⁹ This important shift corresponds to the reforms initiated by the Council of Trent, ‘This holy council wholly forbids them [bishops] to try to improve the living of their relatives and household from church revenues’ (John W. O’Malley, *Trent: what happened at the council* (London, 2013), p. 237).

⁶⁰ Estate of Archbishop Oliver Kelly (T.D.A., Tuam, Archbishops pre-1834, Box 64, Folder B0/10-i/3).

⁶¹ Ibid.

the said house and all the gardens, offices and other appurtenances thereunto belonging, on his paying to the said Celia Kelly twenty pounds sterling yearly profit rent...'⁶²

Aside from the transformation from personal property to diocesan property, Archbishop Kelly's will demonstrates the significant changes in style and substance that episcopal wills underwent from the last decades of the seventeenth century to the first decades of the nineteenth century. Episcopal wills drafted in the seventeenth century dealt almost exclusively with the distribution of personal property making little to no reference to diocesan property. As members of the Irish episcopal corps became more attached to their dioceses and their personal wealth became more intertwined with their episcopal responsibilities, the manner in which they distributed their wealth changed. This process of transformation is especially evident in who the recipients were who benefited the most from their estates.

Patterns in wealth distribution

Louis Cullen remarked 'practices relating to inheritance in wills are closely related to marriage settlements (*contrats de mariage*), which both provide evidence of family strategies and some measure of comparative wealth.'⁶³ Where episcopal wills are concerned, one notes that the strategies used in marriage settlements to extend or expand family interests were also utilised in the disbursement of episcopal wealth. Having evaluated the estimated wealth of the Irish episcopal corps, it is now time to evaluate how episcopal property was distributed. For purposes of analysis, the recipients of episcopal wealth can be divided into three groups: family members, marginalised members of society and the testator's diocese. Over the full period covered by this study, the greatest beneficiaries of episcopal estates were the bishops' families. Having utilised family networks to study abroad on the Continent and, in some cases, to obtain episcopal preferment, bishops naturally wanted to hand on to their hard earned assets to their families. This is all the more understandable given the disorganised state of their dioceses, especially in the first half of the study period. However, what is intriguing is the evolution that takes place in the latter decades of the eighteenth century as provisions to diocesan institutions increased at the expense of family provisions.

Following the death of a bishop, the task of executing his wishes rested with the executors of the will. Normally this responsibility was entrusted to two or three

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Cullen, *Economy, trade and Irish merchants*, p. 74.

individuals, except in rare cases like that of Hussey of Waterford who appointed eight individuals as executors.⁶⁴ Executors of episcopal wills came from three groups: family members, members of the clergy and others. In most instances the identity of executors were stated within the will, either by providing their clerical title or by listing their profession. Given the economic barriers placed on Irish Catholics owning land, it should come as no surprise that many executors were neither clerics nor family members and sometimes came from a mercantile background. However, there were notable exceptions to this, especially for those bishops residing in the western half of Ireland, who often appointed members of the landed gentry, both Catholic and Protestant, to serve as executors. Denis Moriarty, bishop of Kerry (1720-1738) appointed Daniel Croneen (Cronin), estate agent for Lord Kenmare as one of four executors of his estate.⁶⁵ Cronin also appeared in the will of Moriarty's successor, Owen O'Sullivan, bishop of Kerry (1739-1743) 'one hundred & twenty pds. sterl. was passed to me by Mr. Danl. Croneen of Cnocknargrl bearing no interest...'⁶⁶

Moreover, members of the clergy appointed executors now tended to come from the same family as the bishop drafting the will; these clerics were counted here under 'family' members category. Clerics listed as executors often included bishops and/or clerics who later received an episcopal promotion. There are eighteen of these in all, eleven of whom were appointed after 1785.⁶⁷ This may be an index of the growth of a sense of episcopal *esprit de corps*. The first bishop to be appointed executor of an episcopal will was Stephen MacEgan OP, bishop of Meath (1729-1756) who was made executor of the will of Michael MacDonagh OP, bishop of Kilmore (1728-1746). Only one Protestant clergyman was named executor of a will, William Beresford, Church of Ireland archbishop of Tuam and bishop of Achonry (1794-1819).⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Will of Thomas Hussey (W.L.D.A., Waterford, T/H/5.49).

⁶⁵ Will of Denis Moriarty, 8 Aug. 1735 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 181-3.

⁶⁶ Will of Owen O'Sullivan, 20 May 1743 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 183-8. O'Sullivan's original will was short compared to the codicil of the will dated 18 July 1743, which contained considerable more information regarding the distribution of his estate.

⁶⁷ Although not bishops, numbered among the eighteen bishops were Gerard Telling, vicar apostolic of Dublin (1681) and Augustine Kirwan, Catholic warden of Galway (1783-1791).

⁶⁸ Will of Thomas O'Connor, 1 November 1802 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), pp 227-30. William Beresford was born on 16 April 1743 and was educated at Kilkenny College (1751) and Trinity College Dublin (1759-1780). Prior to his appointment to Tuam and Achonry, he was bishop of Dromore (1780-1782) and bishop of Ossory (1782-1795). He died on 8 September 1819 and was buried in Clonegam, Co. Waterford (J. B. Leslie, *Clergy of Tuam, Killala and Achonry: biographical succession lists* (Belfast, 2008), pp 256-7).

For the thirty-eight episcopal wills collected prior to 1760, all of the executors of the episcopal wills were men. From this group nearly 33% were family members, followed closely by members of the clergy (21%) and non-clerical/non-family members (21%). In some cases executors of episcopal wills came from more than one of these three principal groups, which was the case in eight episcopal wills, or roughly 21%. There was only two episcopal wills where the relationship between bishops and the executor(s) is not known. For those bishops who left wills at the end of the eighteenth century, from 1761-1800, family members continued to act as executors, at 39% of the total. There is a discernable break in pattern from the pre-1760 cohort of bishops: all the episcopal wills contained at least one family member or a member of their ecclesiastical entourage (i.e. a clergy member from their diocese). In general bishops were increasingly appointing individuals in their immediate family and/or in their ecclesiastical entourage, each group comprising 26% of the executors appointed.

Another important development was the entrance of women as executors. The first woman to be appointed executor of an episcopal will was in John Dempsey of Kildare's will. He appointed Anne O'Dempsey, viscountesse of Clanmaleere.⁶⁹ The next bishop to appoint a woman as executor was Richard Lincoln, archbishop of Dublin (1755-1763), appointing one Mary Lincoln, his step-mother. Mary Lincoln was also provided with a yearly stipend of £36 from interest on a £600 investment.⁷⁰ In total there were five women appointed as executors between 1761 and 1800. For those bishops leaving their estates between 1801 and 1829, the patterns related to the appointment of executors becomes less clear. The number of episcopal wills where the executors are 'unknown' grows. However, for the first time family members do not comprise the largest percentage of executors, making up only 15% of the total. About 19% of the executors were clerics and about 19% came from more than one of the three principal

⁶⁹ Anne O'Dempsey, viscountesse Clanmalier, was married to Maximilian O'Dempsey, third viscount Clanmalier. Clann Maolughra or Clanmalier extended on both sides of the River Barrow encompassing the upper barony of Philipstown (County Offaly) and Portnahinch (County Laois) (Frederick Fitzgerald, 'Lettice, baroness of Offaly, and the siege of her Castle of Geashill, 1642' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society and Surrounding Districts*, iii (1902), pp 419-24, at p. 424). Maximilian O'Dempsey succeeded his father, Lewis O'Dempsey in 1683 and was a strong supporter of James II who appointed him lord lieutenant and governor of Queen's County (Loais). Maximilian O'Dempsey died on 30 November 1690 without issue and the O'Dempsey estate was dispossessed in 1696 by Henry de Massue, marquis de Rouvigny (Thomas Matthews, *The O'Dempseys of Clan Maliere* (Dublin, 1903), pp 180-93.

⁷⁰ Will of Richard Lincoln, 11 May 1763 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 73-4.

groups. Non-clerical and non-family members acting as executors represent 15% of the total known.

The distribution of wealth, both financial and material, by members of the Irish episcopal corps highlights the changing political, economic and economic conditions of Irish Catholics in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. From 1715 to 1760, members of the Irish episcopal corps left an estimated 83% of their monetary wealth to family members and/or associates like servants and friends. The most generous donation to a family member was made by Walter Blake, bishop of Achonry (1739-1758) to his niece Catto Blake to the tune of £300.⁷¹ Patrick French OFM, bishop of Elphin (1731-1748) provided for his niece Peggy Plunkett the sum of £400, £100 of which she was to give to her brother Matthew Plunkett.⁷² Although not explicitly detailed, the large sum of money was left the nieces in question for the purposes of paying their eventual dowries. This was especially true for the western bishops who often tried to further their family's standing by facilitating 'good' marriages.

Providing financial stability to family members after their death was not the only way bishops secured family interests. John Dempsey, bishop of Kildare (1694-1707) left his nephew, Patrick Dempsey £50 provided that he 'stayes wth. & faithfully serves An. viscountesse of Clanmaleere as long as she thinkes fit, otherwise I leave him but forty shillings only and noe more.'⁷³ This practice of placing family members in the service of wealthy Catholic elites was not unusual. Carbry Kelly, bishop of Elphin (1718-1731) recommended his nephew, Thomas Baxter, to the services of Lady Lettice Burke, the wife of Sir Festus Burke.⁷⁴ Moreover, both Patrick Dempsey and Thomas Baxter illustrate the close bonds some bishops had with their nieces and nephews. For many bishops, who could not afford a large household, it was common to be served by relatives. Francis Burke, archbishop of Tuam (1713-1723) bequeathed 'all my black cattle, sheep to my cozin and faithfull servant Elizabeth Kelly together with all my household stuff, pewter, mettall, and brass, allso all my beds and bed cloaths and linen...'⁷⁵

⁷¹ Will of Walter Blake, 28 April 1758 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), pp 223-4.

⁷² Will of Patrick French OFM, 14/25 June 1748 cited in *ibid.*, pp 238-40.

⁷³ Will of John Dempsey, 12/23 July 1703 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1905), pp 80-2.

⁷⁴ Will of Carbry Kelly, 26 Mar./3 Feb. 1729 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), pp 235-8.

⁷⁵ Will of Francis Burke, 20 June/1 July 1723 cited in *ibid.*, pp 222-1.

Episcopal households appear to have been quite small, normally consisting of a few family members, of either sex, with a priest to serve as secretary. The episcopal wills of Hugh MacMahon, archbishop of Armagh (1715-1737)⁷⁶ and Archbishop Luke Fagan of Dublin⁷⁷ provide important details regarding how servants were viewed and the yearly expenses paid for their service. MacMahon indicated that his assistant, Paul Thally, received a yearly pension of £8.⁷⁸ It is unclear what his responsibilities were, but MacMahon stated that Thally resided with him and accompanied him ‘in the country’, perhaps a reference to visitations. Wages for servants inevitably depended on the financial circumstances of the bishop. However, Archbishop Fagan indicated that he paid his ‘servant maid’ and his servant, one Matthews, a yearly salary of £5. Thus, at least in Fagan’s case, servants of both genders were provided for in the same manner. Relative age of household servants are not known, but Archbishop MacMahon asked his executors to care for his servant, Charley Cullin, to ‘put him to a trade or otherwise as they shall think most to the boy’s advantage and that they give him such cloaths and linen as he usually wears.’⁷⁹

In addition to providing for family members, wills also distributed resources as alms. Normally charity was distributed to widowers, prisoners or the poor of their diocese or the parish. Comparatively, this comprised a meagre 9% of the total monetary assets distributed by bishops prior to 1760. The MacCarthy bishops of Cork and Cloyne, Donagh MacCarthy (1712-1726) and Thaddeus MacCarthy (1727-1747), all left money to the North and South Gaol in Cork. Donagh MacCarthy left a combined £10 and Thaddeus left a combined £20. Donogh MacCarthy had spent three years in prison from 1721 to 1724.⁸⁰ However, the largest recipients were widowers and the poor. Cornelius O’Keefe, bishop of Limerick (1720-1737) asked that his pension from the diocese of Nantes valued at 400*li.* be distributed equally between: the poor of the parish of Rochell, one Mary Gould junior of Rochell and the two daughters of Theobald Clark of Nantes. He further requested that ‘fifty shillings ster. be given to the poor the day of my

⁷⁶ Will of Hugh MacMahon, 1/12 May 1735 cited in Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), pp 149-56.

⁷⁷ Will of Luke Fagan, 9/20 Nov. 1733 cited in Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 71-3.

⁷⁸ There was a Rev. Paul Tally, parish priest of Curbracka who’s ‘Administration of the goods’ was taken out in 1766 (Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’, in *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), p. 152 (n1)).

⁷⁹ Will of Hugh MacMahon, 1/12 May 1735 cited in Carrigan, ‘Catholic episcopal wills’ in *ibid.*, pp 152-3.

⁸⁰ Evelyn Bolster, *A history of the diocese of Cork: from the penal era to the famine* (Cork, 1989), p. 42.

internment.⁸¹ Likewise, Bishop O'Sullivan of Kerry requested £100 be distributed in the following manner:

... forty shillings to each of fifty poor families without any regard to any relationship to me but rather to their low and miserable condition, entirely charging the conscience of my exrs. in ye sd. distribution, I doe likewise bequeath forty shillings each to all my poor nephews and nieces...⁸²

Although representing only an estimated 8% of their total episcopal estate, most of the bishops made sure they provided for the less well-off members of their diocese.

The third largest beneficiaries of episcopal wealth were members of the clergy, who received about 8% of the monetary assets left by bishops. As was the case with many of the wills, money left to members of the clergy was to be distributed by them to the poor of their parish. This makes it difficult to determine exactly how much money was funnelled back into the diocesan and parochial church. Instead of monetary assets, bishops often left their ecclesiastical property to members of the clergy, items such as books and vestments. This proved especially useful as many priests and bishops were responsible for their own vestments.⁸³ O'Phelan of Ossory left: 'five coapes, the silver cross or crucifix, the silver cribbet, all the pontifical vestments and corsier wth the tunicles and dalmatick & matrex' to his successor. O'Phelan indicated that he received these items from one Catherine Archdekin-Roth who had acquired them from his predecessor, David Rothe, bishop of Ossory (1618-1650).⁸⁴ Likewise Bishop MacDonagh of Kilmore left his mitre, gloves, sandalia and stockings to a fellow Dominican bishop, John Brett, bishop of Killala (1743-1748) and later Elphin (1748-1756).⁸⁵

Of the wills between 1761 and 1800, nearly 75% of the monetary assets of the bishops went to family members or close associates. This was a slight decrease from the

⁸¹ Will of Cornelius O'Keeffe, 29 Apr./10 May 1737 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 195-7.

⁸² Will of Owen O'Sullivan, 20/31 May 1743 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills', *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 183-8.

⁸³ The issue of priests providing their own vestments was noted in the 1824 visitation of William Coppinger, bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1787-1831). On Coppinger's visitation to the parish of Donaghmore he noted: '[I took the time] to advert to the state of the Chapel and particularly recommended to the Parishioners the importance & advantage of having a Vestment of their own. This he said would be a matter of convenience to future Coadjutors & to themselves. He inculcated this as he deemed it necessary under actual circumstances' (1824 Visitation (C.D.A., W. Coppinger Box E, 1791.00/18/1824)).

⁸⁴ Will of James O'Phelan, 1/11 July 1693 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 85-8.

⁸⁵ Will of Michael MacDonagh, 12/23 Sept. 1746 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), pp 182-4.

pre-1760 bishops who left about 83% of their monetary assets to this group. At the same time almsgiving decreased by about 7%. Even here the figure would have been much lower if it was not for James Brady, bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise (1758-1788) who left £100 to the poor of his diocese.⁸⁶ Perhaps this episcopal cohort was less charitable than their pre-1760 counterparts. However, given this decrease coupled with the increase in the level of monetary assets left to diocesan institutions, comprising about 24% of their total assets, it seems more probable that members of the Irish episcopal corps began to view ‘church’, and their role within this ‘church’, differently. As the relationship between bishop and diocese changed, Irish bishops began to leave a larger portion of their estate to the diocese. Thus, the financial rewards of their ministry were increasingly being seen as diocesan property rather than personal property.

The legacies of John O’Brien, bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1747-1769) offer some important insight into this important shift. There is no record of O’Brien’s will but he must have drafted one prior to leaving Ireland in August 1767 as his legacies were detailed in the 1785 visitation book created by Matthew MacKenna, bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1769-1791). O’Brien had died approximately seventeen years earlier and his legacies in 1786 had an estimated value of 1072*li*. From MacKenna’s notes it is clear that his legacies had shed value: ‘all the above were double in the will but were reduced to one half as the contracts were bad & reduced to one.’⁸⁷ In a crossed out copy of his legacies a few pages later it is evident that this decrease in value was the result of economic hardship brought on by war. Initially, the will stipulated that O’Brien’s nephew was to receive a yearly stipend of 150*li*., the widow of his brother was to receive a yearly stipend of 100*li*. and the head of his brother’s household a yearly stipend of 250*li*.⁸⁸ As executor of O’Brien’s will, MacKenna applied the yearly stipend given to the daughters of O’Brien’s brother to establish more bourses for the education of clerical students: ‘after the death of widow ô Brien her daughter’s & 2d Son, their pensions to be converted to a burse.’⁸⁹

Bishop MacKenna’s intention to cease paying O’Brien’s descendants in perpetuity illustrates a few pertinent points. Firstly, as more bishops became executors of episcopal wills it is likely that they too began to take the same approach as MacKenna, i.e. to

⁸⁶ Will of James Brady, 28 Dec. 1787 cited in *ibid.*, pp 161-2.

⁸⁷ Dr. MacKenna’s Cloyne Diocesan Register, 1785 (CDA, Cobh, Matthew MacKenna Box, 1789.00/2/1785).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

provide only for immediate family members and then shift assets exclusively to the Church. Secondly, assets left in episcopal wills had long shelf-lives and were of benefit to dioceses long after the bishop died. As mentioned in chapter five, the will of Bishop Moriarty of Kerry did not mention that a bourse should be founded for the education of clerics, but nearly fifteen years after he had died his assets were used to create one in Paris. It is evident that MacKenna left his 1785 visitation notebook in his own will with the intention that his successor(s) would heed his instructions regarding the largest monetary donation bequeathed to the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross in the eighteenth century, the Bishop O'Brien's legacies.⁹⁰

In many regards, MacKenna's actions further support Bishop Hussey's distinction between 'personal property' and 'diocesan property'. For our purposes, it is important to stay focused on episcopal wealth and how bishops viewed their role in distributing resources throughout their dioceses. The episcopal tenure of William Coppinger, bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1787-1831) is an important illustration of this.⁹¹ As a case study, Coppinger's episcopal tenure illustrates some fundamental characteristics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century episcopal corps, particularly regarding the enhanced role of the bishop as chief administrator of the diocese. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century many bishops, at least those who resided in their dioceses, viewed their role as bishop largely through the prism of keeping peace between rival clerics, stamping out abuses and taking part in the political life of the church (i.e. communicating with Propaganda Fide, the Stuart Court and their fellow bishops). By the end of the eighteenth century this role had significantly changed and bishops began to take a more active role in the day-to-day administration of their diocese. Perhaps this was the result of the changing socio-economic composition of the Irish episcopal corps from a land-gentry background to a middle-class background. It was also due, no doubt, to the simple fact that there was now something to administer.

When Coppinger was appointed coadjutor bishop to MacKenna his reception into the diocese was not a pleasant one. He was native of the diocese of Cork and early in the 1780s he had the distasteful experience of being plunged into the middle of a dispute

⁹⁰ Will of Matthew MacKenna, 25 Nov. 1790 cited in Carrigan, 'Catholic episcopal wills' in *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 175-80.

⁹¹ For further patterns in church administration see Nigel Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland, 1770-1850* (Oxford, 2006), pp 116-25. Yates provides four case studies to the reforming zeal late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century bishops had: Francis Moylan, bishop of Cork (1787-1815), James Murphy, bishop of Clogher (1798-1824), James Doyle, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1819-1834) and William Crolly, archbishop of Armagh (1835-1849).

over the pastoral governance of Spike Island, a row that had developed between John Butler, bishop of Cork (1763-1787) and Bishop MacKenna.⁹² His arrival to Cloyne and Ross in 1787 as coadjutor bishop was met with strong resistance from MacKenna and members of the diocesan clergy, a clerical body that was described by Gerard Teaghan, bishop of Kerry (1787-1797) as ‘the junta of Cloyne’.⁹³ After much wrangling with MacKenna over jurisdictional authority,⁹⁴ Coppinger set out to reform a diocesan clergy to whom he was less than acceptable.⁹⁵

In one of his first acts as bishop following the death of MacKenna (1791), Coppinger drafted a list of sixteen regulations entitled ‘Regulations to be strictly observed by the R. Cath. Clergy of the D of Cloyne & Ross’.⁹⁶ Coppinger’s regulations were detailed and direct. He mandated that every priest in the diocese attend their monthly conference under penalty of 6s. for each offence payable to the president of the conference. If the cleric outright refused to attend conferences the matter was reported to him and could result in suspension. Where church finances were concerned, the new bishop prohibited members of the clergy from entering into leases, deeds or indentures without first obtaining his permission. Likewise, if a chapel was to be constructed in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross the priest had to give advanced notice to the bishop, ‘whose assent to the site and to the term & conditions of the Lease, is to be first asked & obtained.’⁹⁷

Coppinger’s administration of diocesan resources was not solely concerned with governing clerical discipline or overseeing improvements to church infrastructure. He was also careful to direct resources to those parishes that were most in need of financial support. Ireland in the early nineteenth century can be characterised as a ‘poverty trap’ whereby ‘low incomes, primitive markets and a low rate of capital formation defeated every impetus for economic growth’.⁹⁸ Moreover, the acrimonious relationship between tenants, land agents and landlords made abject poverty a potential flashpoint in an

⁹² For an account of this dispute see Bolster, *A history of the diocese of Cork*, p. 94.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁹⁴ At the heart of these their disputes was the election of Patrick Donworth, dean of Cloyne. Coppinger was opposed to Donworth’s election and lodged letters of protest at Propaganda Fide. For complete account of these disputes see (Letters from Archbishop James Butler of Cashel (C.D.A., Cobh, William Coppinger, Box A, 1791.00/1/1790); Typed copy of letter from Coppinger to Dr. Conway, Limerick, 21 October 1791 (*ibid.*, 1791.00/3/1791); Letter of protest lodged by Cloyne priests (*ibid.*, 1791.00/2/1794)).

⁹⁵ After of a lapse of twenty-nine years, Coppinger drafted a document detailing the character of the diocesan clergy he encountered the first ten years after he arrived. Not surprisingly most of the clergy were not viewed in a positive manner (A list of the Clergymen who died in the dioceses of Cloyne & Ross from the year 1770 to the year 1799 (C.D.A., Cobh, William Coppinger, Box D, 1791.00/8/1828)).

⁹⁶ Regulations to be strictly observed by the R. Cath. Clergy of the D of Cloyne & Ross (C.D.A., William Coppinger, Box A, 1790.00/8/).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Thomas William Heyck, *The peoples of the British isles: a new history* (3 vols, Chicago, 2002), ii, p. 283.

already volatile social and political situation.⁹⁹ Tension between tenants, agents and landlords was particularly endemic in the diocese of Ross, which was significantly affected by the famines of 1818 and 1822. Assisting Coppinger in his administration of Ross was his vicar forane and the parish priest of Skibbereen, Michael Collins, later bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1827-1832). Through Coppinger's direction, Collins was told to distribute £200 he had received from the secretary of the Committee between three parishes in Ross: Skibbereen (£50), Cape and Sherkin (£50) and Ross (£50).¹⁰⁰ In a follow-up letter to Collins Coppinger provided further details regarding his allocation of funds:

As it was entirely upon your strong representation of the distress or rather starvation that afflicted Cape Clear & Sherkin, I seized the first opportunity of affording relief, by appropriating fifty pounds of the Two hundred confided, to the want of them poor Islanders, the division of that sum between them, should in my mind, be apportioned to the respective population &, resources of these two Islands.¹⁰¹

As this passage demonstrates, Coppinger was acutely aware of the hardships the most remote parishes of his dioceses faced.

However, the poverty experienced by the islanders of Cape and Sherkin was not confined to the laity, but was also shared by the clerics who provided them with pastoral care. To alleviate the suffering of the clergy, Coppinger implemented a programme of poor relief. In the case of Cape and Sherkin, he proposed a rotation system whereby 'one [curate was sent] to each Island and only for a term of three months. The eight should pass them quarter yearly in the Islands, it will be but once in five or six years. In the Summer months, some bathing gentlemen will volunteer for that service.'¹⁰² To assist in their upkeep, all emoluments were to be deposited into the hands of Collins who was to then divide it equally between the eight priests at the end of the year.¹⁰³ At the diocesan level, Coppinger sought to extend poor relief to all of his needy clerics. Around the same time as he was re-organising clerics in the diocese of Ross, Coppinger

⁹⁹ For a concise account of West Cork in the 1820s see Patrick Hickey, *Famine in West Cork: the Mizen Peninsula land and people, 1800-1852* (Cork, 2002), pp 38-63. For a broader account of the rural economy in County Cork see James S. Donnelly, *The land and the people of nineteenth-century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (London, 1975), pp 9-52.

¹⁰⁰ Coppinger to Collins, 13 June 1822 (C.D.A., Cobh, Michael Collins, Box C, 1792.05/6/1822). The remaining £50 were to be distributed to the neediest (ibid.). The significance of Coppinger's efforts can be contextualised in Collins report to the secretary of the Irish Distressed Committee dated 10 July 1822. In this letter Collins stated that he received £270 from subscriptions, £400 from the London Committee, £80 from the Liverpool Committee, £150 from the government and £200 from Coppinger (M. Collins, Skibbereen, to the Secretary of the Irish Distress Committee, London, 10 July 1822 (ibid., 1792.05/11/1822).

¹⁰¹ Coppinger to Collins, 20 June 1822 (ibid., 1792.02/5/1822).

¹⁰² Coppinger to Collins, 10 March 1823 (ibid., 1792.02/1/1823).

¹⁰³ Ibid.

sent a letter to each of his parish priests informing them that he had established a relief fund for needy priests of his dioceses.¹⁰⁴ The bishop of the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross was to be ‘perpetual treasurer’ of the fund and each priest was to give no less than 10s. every year.¹⁰⁵

Returning to the central theme of this chapter, the distribution of episcopal wealth, Coppinger’s stewardship of his diocesan resources indicate that bishops were not only concerned with church building and education, but were also preoccupied with ‘poor relief’ for both the laity and their priests. In saying that, the magnitude of church building programmes undertaken speaks for itself. Between 1793 and 1830 there were twelve Roman Catholic cathedrals built in Ireland and between 1791 and 1830 there was an estimated 162 church-building projects underway in six dioceses.¹⁰⁶ If Coppinger’s administrative style was replicated by his contemporaries, which seems likely,¹⁰⁷ then members of the Irish episcopal corps led the way in the so-called ‘Tridentine’ surge.

Conclusion

As the financial situation of the Irish episcopal corps stabilised by the end of the eighteenth century, the relationship between bishop and diocese changed. Members of the Irish episcopal corps appointed in the latter decades of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, relied almost exclusively on personal networks for survival. By evaluating episcopal wills and how those wills were executed it became clear that by the end of the eighteenth century the influence of these networks began to wane as church organisation became more stable. As more and more varied financial resources became available, and the penal law were relaxed, bishops took a leading role in the day-to-day administration of their diocese. This centralisation of administration had a profound impact on the development of Irish Catholicism in the nineteenth century. Historically this centralisation of administration is attributed to those bishops appointed after the 1830s. However, as shown here, this centralisation process had begun much earlier.

¹⁰⁴ Relief Fund for priests in distress (C.D.A., Cobh, William Coppinger Box D, 1791.00/13/1823).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland*, pp 226, 239. The six diocese were: Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, Cashel and Emly, Killaloe, Kilmacduagh, Kilmore and Waterford and Lismore (ibid., p. 226).

¹⁰⁷ See Thomas McGrath, *Religious renewal and reform in the pastoral ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834* (Dublin, 1999), pp 65-95; Ambrose Macaulay, *William Crolly: archbishop of Armagh, 1835-49* (Dublin, 1994), pp 93-141.

Conclusion

The aim of this prosopographical study has been to chart the evolution of the Irish episcopal corps appointed between 1657 and 1829. This was done by examining their political, social, educational and economic background. Historically this episcopal cohort has been overlooked by historians owing to the paucity of primary source material and to the fact that, as a group, they tended to be overshadowed by outstanding episcopal figures of the nineteenth century, like those of MacHale and Cullen.¹ The historical image of this episcopate was, and to some extent, still is defined by the historical narrative drafted by Catholic nationalist historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, through the creation of a prosopographical database, this study has nuanced and reconstructed this historical profile and has shown that the Irish episcopal corps under the penal regime was not only relatively well-organised but were well-engaged in reforming the Irish church, albeit with limited resources. Significantly, this study has charted the evolution of the Irish episcopal corps under the penal regime by evaluating its members as a collective group. In using this historiographical approach, patterns were isolated which depicted a well-organised episcopal corps that was both highly complex and remained engaged with the changing political and religious reform movements on the Continent.

There were many interconnected themes running throughout this study and attempting to unpack each theme in isolation proved counterproductive. Instead, these themes were elucidated by creating a prosopographical profile of each of the four episcopal generations analysed, the generation of bishops: 1657-1684; 1685-1766; 1767-1800 and 1801-1829. By creating a prosopographical profile in this manner, every episcopal generation could be evaluated separately and compared to preceding and successive generations.

In the final years of the Interregnum Rome re-engaged with an Irish Church deeply divided. The quagmire of the Confederate Association and the radical shift towards polemical confessionalisation of Irish society created a difficult environment for the Irish episcopal corps to begin the process of reassembling the Irish Church. However, this re-engagement was initially a failure. The senior Irish ecclesiastics who received

¹ Emmet Larkin, 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850-75' in *The American Historical Review*, lxxvii, no. 3 (June, 1972), pp 625-52.

papal appointments either failed to return to Ireland or were not suitably trained to provide adequate diocesan administration. Furthermore, divisions within the Irish Church were more complex than Roman authorities were willing to acknowledge. There were two important flashpoints that made Propaganda Fide re-evaluate the need for greater episcopal oversight in Ireland, the first was the controversial 'Remonstrance' (1661) and the second was the failed visitation of James Taaffe OFM (1668). In direct response to these two controversies, the following decade Propaganda Fide re-stocked the Irish episcopal corps with bishops who in their view possessed the educational, pastoral and political capacity to re-assemble the Irish Church.

Undertaking this monumental task meant that these bishops had to be both politically and religiously well-connected. This Restoration cohort possessed a continental education, were politically well-connected, both in Ireland and abroad, and many had strong ties to Rome. In fact, they were the most Roman-centred episcopal corps of the whole period covered by this study. Naturally, fidelity to Rome proved significant as more senior Irish ecclesiastics returned to Ireland from the Continent; this was especially true for those clerics returning from France where the struggle between church and state dominated the public sphere. In the span of one decade, the Irish episcopal corps made significant gains in reassembling the Irish Church by establishing schools, holding diocesan and provincial synods and taking greater steps to curb pastoral abuses in the church. However, these gains were temporarily halted with the arrest of many Irish bishops in the Popish Plot (1678-1681) and the execution of Rome's most faithful servant, Plunkett of Armagh. Plunkett was not executed because of his fidelity to Rome, but, it has been argued, due to the exposure of the Stuart Court's duplicitous treatment of Catholics.

A mere four years after the execution of Archbishop Plunkett, a Catholic was restored to the throne and Ireland underwent an ambitious 're-Catholicisation' programme. This programme did not yield immediate results, but by the end of the 1680s Irish Catholicism was revitalised and James II was actively engaged in exerting a greater influence over episcopal appointments. English historians may debate the sincerity of James' religious toleration. In Ireland he was fully engaged in creating a Catholic Church that fell squarely under royal control. After obtaining the right to nominate Irish bishops, James was careful to nominate bishops that were known to be strong advocates of papal authority. However, following his exile the senior Irish ecclesiastics who received royal nominations were clerics more characterised by their

loyal to the Stuart cause. Moreover, when evaluating the social and geographic background of the Irish Stuart episcopate it is clear that a majority of the Irish bishops came from pro-Jacobite regions in Ireland and many had family members who were active in the Jacobite cause. The bishops appointed in the last decades of the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth century played an active role in the survival strategy of the exiled Stuart Court. The nomination of Irish bishops re-enforced the Stuart's claim to the throne as the *de jure* king of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Historically the Jacobite episcopal corps has been characterised as enduring the hardships of the penal laws. There is no question that the penal laws were designed to contain Catholicism and even, in some cases, encourage conversion to the Established Church. But this study has shown that members of the eighteenth-century Irish episcopal corps were industrious, organised and actively engaged with their local church and the church on the Continent. Like many members of the Irish émigré community, they relied extensively on patronage networks both in Ireland and on the Continent to overcome the full effects of the penal laws. In many regards, the Stuart episcopal corps was the product of the Irish émigré community scattered throughout continental Europe. These bishops used this complex web of networks to receive an education, pastoral experience and overcome economic marginalisation through the patronage of the *Assemblée du Clergé de France*, the exiled Stuart Court, the *Sacra Congregatio Propaganda Fide* and the court of Louis XIV. There is no question that this episcopal corps was in breach of many of the basic standards prescribed by the Church Fathers at the Council of Trent, i. e. residency requirements and pastoral responsibilities. But this lack of conformity with Tridentine norms was not indicative of an unengaged or unorganised episcopal body.

It is no coincidence that the reform of the Irish episcopacy in the 1750s, ushering in the post-Stuart episcopacy, coincided with the retreat of the exiled Stuart Courts influence over Irish ecclesiastical affairs. Reforming Irish bishops like Michael O'Reilly, bishop of Armagh (1749-1758) and John Linegar, archbishop of Dublin (1734-1757) represented a growing number of bishops who had resented the Stuarts' influence in the Irish Church. Although the 1750/51 reforms handed down by Propaganda Fide were largely directed against abuses within the Irish episcopal corps, they actually made the Irish episcopate stronger and better organised as Irish bishops exercised a much stronger role in determining who joined their ranks. This raised a

fundamental point. As Catholic bishops on the Continent fell increasingly under royal authority, the Irish episcopal corps obtained greater independence becoming, arguably, the most independent episcopate in all of Europe. As shown by their involvement with the reform movements at the Irish College in Paris and elsewhere, Irish bishops were no longer isolated individuals on the 'mission' foraging for themselves. From now on they were active agents in reform movements and pastoral affairs, anxious to protect their corporate episcopal authority.

These changes heralded a shift in the geographic background of the Irish bishops and a significant increase in the number of coadjutor bishops appointed to the Irish Church. Moreover, bishops now began to exercise a political influence. The development of the Irish episcopal corps as an important political body is best exemplified by their crucial support for the Act of Union. It can be argued that if Catholic support alone was not sufficient for achieving the Act of Union, Catholic opposition would have prevented it.²

Engagement with government was not without its problems, created as it did new sources of dissension between bishops of different political viewpoints. Like the episcopal corps at the end of the seventeenth century, fidelity to Rome now became an important distinguishing mark. Arguably the most important episcopal figure to emerge during this generation of bishops was Troy of Ossory and later of Dublin. Troy was Rome's greatest ally in Ireland and was aptly labelled 'Bishop-maker general'. In many regards, Troy's appointment to the diocese of Ossory was conceived in Rome to counter a growing Irish episcopate increasingly independent of Roman influence. This was especially true of Munster bishops. John Carpenter, archbishop of Dublin (1770-1786) and Bishop Troy demonstrated ability in protecting Roman interests, keeping a watching brief on 'Gallican' bishops. Support for an oath of allegiance or for a Government veto on episcopal nominations were reported as evidence of Gallican behaviour and could cost a bishop his reputation in Rome.³ This was, of course, a gross over-simplification given the political complexities of later eighteenth century Ireland. Both Carpenter and Troy tapped into a growing fear among many senior ecclesiastics at Rome regarding decreasing papal influence over national churches. When put into context, if an Irish bishop could be described by Troy as Gallican on account of attitude to the oath or veto in the 1770s/80s, he himself might be so described for his position in

² Oliver Raferty, *The Catholic Church and the Protestant State: nineteenth-century Irish realities* (Dublin, 2008), p. 39.

³ C. D. A. Leighton, *Catholicism in a Protestant kingdom: a study of the Irish ancien regime* (Dublin, 1994), pp 145-56.

1790s and in the first two decades of the nineteenth century when he was prepared, in the panic of revolution, to get into bed with the Dublin and London administration.

With the appointment of coadjutor bishops, the post-Jacobite bishops gained immeasurable experience in episcopal governance unavailable to previous generations of bishops. By examining episcopal tenure and mobility, this study has shown that the Irish episcopal corps at the end of the eighteenth century was becoming more stable. A direct result of this stability was the ability to enforce so-called Tridentine norms for church government. The Church Fathers at Trent understood that reform must begin at the top before it could be effected throughout the Church. In Ireland, the parochial and diocesan structure laid out by previous generations of Irish bishops was finally being realised organisationally by the end of the eighteenth century. A network of diocesan seminaries was established, primary and secondary schools were set up throughout the country, staffed largely by newly established religious orders like the Christian Brothers and Presentation Sisters. This was accompanied by an active programme of church building that accelerated in the first decades of the nineteenth century. It was the post-Jacobite generation of bishops that saw the relationship between bishop and diocese cemented. No longer were bishops subject to political, economic and ideological processes. To an important extent the bishops had themselves become historical agents of importance. This change is of fundamental significance. Although nineteenth-century historians have gauged the level of Tridentine reform from the point of view of its penetration to the laity, from this study it is clear that Tridentine reform within the upper echelons of the Irish hierarchy had been implemented at a much earlier date.

If the post-Jacobite episcopal corps laid the foundation for reform, it was accelerated under the episcopal generation appointed in the decades preceding Emancipation. There is little doubt that these bishops came from different educational and social backgrounds than their predecessors. By the first decades of the nineteenth century the Irish episcopal corps began to change again as more members of the lower clergy rose through the ranks, signalling a greater emphasis on merit and a decline in the importance of family affiliation and ecclesiastical patronage. Although the Irish-educated bishops did not begin entering the episcopacy until after 1816, this cohort had strong ties with these newly established seminaries as they often entered their diocese working at senior level positions or they stayed on at their educational institution and went into academic work. These clerics were significantly younger than their continentally trained counterparts, and came from a different socio-economic background. Whereas the eighteenth-century

episcopate was characterised by the gentry-bishop, the nineteenth-century episcopacy was increasingly characterised by the economic and social diversity of its members.

By evaluating the evolution of the Irish episcopacy through time and space, it is clear that the Irish Church, on the fringe of Europe, had an episcopal cohort that was both highly complex and engaged with the changing political and religious reform movements on the Continent. Creating a prosopography of the Irish hierarchy is the first step in establishing the profile of the early modern Irish bishop. The data presented here will assist historians of Irish Catholicism in reconstructing how Tridentine reforms were carried out in Ireland and how resilient local usage and custom proved to be. There is every reason to expect that this research will reveal that Tridentine reforms in Ireland had a distinctive flavour and produced a distinctive ecclesiastical reality. This study also points up the need for an expanded methodological framework for a more comprehensive study of Irish Catholicism, a study that will include members of the lower clergy. Irish bishops were influential in reforming the Irish Church, but their pastoral and administrative responsibilities could only bring reform so far. It was members of the lower clergy who laboured with the laity and were the true vehicles of reform. Looking at the relations between clergy and laity will be as important as examining the evolution of the episcopacy and the bishops' relations with their clergy. Additionally, this prosopographical study must be part of a comprehensive digital humanities project which allows for the data to be manipulated and used by other historians. As part of a larger project, further comparisons can be drawn by historians at the diocesan and provincial level, and, extended to include members of the lower clergy and eventually the engaged laity, especially the priest-producing families, to adequately assess how the Irish Church became what it was in the nineteenth century.

However, it is important to evaluate how the Irish episcopal corps evolved in comparison to episcopacies in Catholic jurisdictions where Catholics were under Protestant governance. In their ground-breaking study on the eighteenth-century church, William J. Callaghan and David Higgs edited a collection of essays that focused exclusively on churches in Catholic countries, ignoring churches like those of Ireland, England, the United Provinces and Quebec, which were under Protestant rule.⁴ The Catholic 'fringe' needs to be reinserted into the general history of Catholicism, if for no other reason than the immense role of the nineteenth century Irish Church played in the

⁴ William J. Callaghan and David Higgs (eds), *Church and society in Catholic Europe of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979).

expansion of world Catholicism in the same period. The American, Australian and New Zealand episcopacies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, along with their English and Scottish counterparts, were largely the product of the Irish seminary system. Using the methodological framework presented here, a prosopographical study could be undertaken of the early American and Australian-New Zealand episcopal corps. This would permit comparison against the episcopal cohorts analysed in this study. It might help us determine whether or not they were part of the same episcopal ‘tradition’.

Submerged by political and economic marginalisation at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, the Irish episcopal corps not only led a robust programme of reform in the Irish Church, but also became the most independent episcopal corps in Europe. With the relaxation of the penal laws, this programme of reform was accelerated and Irish bishops established a seminary system and a parochial system, and obtained political emancipation for Irish Catholics. It then turned its attention to the rest of the world. This study has revaluated and nuanced the historical narrative grafted by Catholic nationalist historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century depicting an oppressed, absentee cohort of bishops which struggled to survive. Instead an episcopate emerges that surprised by its organisation, its industry and engagement with the Church in Ireland, on the Continent and later in the world.

Additional Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------|---|
| <i>a.</i> | <i>ante</i> |
| abp | archbishop |
| admr | administrator |
| bp | bishop |
| coadj. bp | coadjutor bishop with right of succession |
| nom. | nominated |
| PP | parish priest |
| prov. | provided |
| succ. | succeeded |
| susp. | suspended |
| trans. | trans. |
| vic. ap. | vicar apostolic |
| VG | vicar general |

Appendix I: List of succession, 1657-1684¹

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. 6/16 Apr. 1657 | Edmund O'Reilly | Armagh | |
| trans. from Clonmacnoise prov. 6/16 Apr. 1657 | Anthony MacGeoghegan, OFM | Meath | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 ² | Philip Crollly | Clogher (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | John Burke | Cashel (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | Moriarty O'Brien | Kerry (Ardfert) (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | Nicholas O'Bern | Down and Connor (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | Moriarty O'Brien | Kerry (Ardfert) (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | William Burgat | Emly (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | Denis Harty | Killaloe (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | James Dooley | Limerick (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | Eugene Egan | Ross (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | Patrick Hackett | Waterford & Lismore (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | James Dempsey | Dublin (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Apr. 1657 | Terence Fitzpatrick | Ossory (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 30 June/10 July 1657 | William O'Sheil | Clonmacnoise (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 30 June/10 July 1657 | Hugh O'Gallagher | Raphoe (vic. ap.) | |

¹ E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, *Handbook of British chronology* (3rd edn, London, 1986), pp 409-45; Benignus Millett and C. J. Woods, 'Roman Catholic bishops from 1534' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland: maps, genealogies, lists a companion to Irish history, part II* (9 vols, Dublin, 1989), ix, 331-91.

² Philip Crollly was prov. vic. ap. of Clogher 5/15 Nov. 1651.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| prov. 14/24 Nov. 1665 | Edmund MacTeige | Meath (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 14/24 Nov. 1665 | Gerard Fitzgerald | Cashel (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 14/24 Nov. 1665 | James Dempsey | Kildare (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 14/24 Nov. 1665 | William Burgat | Elphin (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 14/24 Nov. 1665 | Richard Butler | Dublin (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 1/11 Jan. 1669 | Peter Talbot | Dublin | |
| prov. 1/11 Jan. 1669 | James Lynch | Tuam | |
| trans. from Ardagh prov. 21/31 Jan. 1669 | Patrick Plunkett, O. Cist. | Meath | |
| prov. 21/31 Jan. 1669 | William Burgat | Cashel | |
| prov. 21/31 Jan. 1669 | James O'Phelan | Ossory | |
| prov. 4/14 July 1669 | Oliver Plunkett | Armagh | |
| prov. 21/31 July 1669 | Gerald Farrell | Ardagh (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 21/31 July 1669 | James Dooley | Limerick (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 7/17 Mar. 1671 | Daniel Mackey | Down & Connor | |
| prov. 6/16 May 1671 | Patrick Duffy, OFM | Clogher | |
| prov. coadj. with succn 6/16 May 1671 | Luke Wadding | Ferns | 13/23 Aug. 1678 ³ |
| prov. 6/16 May 1671 | John O'Molony II | Killaloe | |
| prov. 6/16 May 1671 | John Brennan | Waterford & Lismore | |
| prov. 6/16 May 1671 | John Burke | Killala (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 6/16 May 1671 | Dominic Burke, OP | Elphin | |
| prov. 6/16 May 1671 | Michael Lynch | Kilmacduagh (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 16/26 May 1671 | Thady Keogh, OP | Clonfert | |
| prov. 20/30 June 1671 | Eugene Conwell | Derry (vic. ap.) | |

³ Luke Wadding was not consecrated until 1683/4.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. 20/30 June 1671 | Ronan Maginn | Dromore (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 20/30 June 1671 | Patrick Dempsey | Kildare (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 12/22 Apr. 1676 | Patrick Tyrrell, OFM | Clogher | |
| prov. 12/22 Apr. 1676 | Peter Creagh | Cork & Cloyne | |
| prov. 12/22 Apr. 1676 | John Dooley | Killala (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 31 May/10 June 1676 | Mark Forestal, OSA | Kildare | |
| trans. from Waterford & Lismore prov. 19/29 Jan. 1677 | John Brenan | Cashel | |
| prov. 19/29 Jan. 1677 | James Dooley | Limerick | |
| prov. 26 Feb./8 Mar. 1677 ⁴ | John Brenan | Waterford & Lismore (admr) | |
| prov. 7/17 July 1677 | Maurice Durcan | Achonry (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 30 Jan./9 Feb. 1678 ⁵ | Patrick Tyrrell, OFM | Kilmore (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. coadj. with succn 16/26 Aug. 1678 | James Cusack | Meath | 10 Dec. 1688 |
| prov. 16/26 Aug. 1678 ⁶ | Mark Forestal, OSA | Leighlin (admin.) | |
| (brief) 20/30 Sept. 1681 | Gerard Tellin | Dublin (vic. ap.) | |
| (brief) 9/19 Dec. 1681 | Edward Drumgoole | Armagh (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 9/19 July 1683 | Patrick Russell | Dublin | |
| prov. 9/19 July 1683 | Edward Wesley | Kildare | |
| prov. 9/19 July 1683 | Edward Wesley | Leighlin (admr) | |

⁴ Owing to his poverty, Brenan was permitted to retain the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore as admr.

⁵ Tyrrell's appointment was an attempt to pacify divisions within the diocesan clergy of Kilmore and to rein in Thomas Fitzsimons the VG of the diocese of Kilmore deposed by Oliver Plunkett, abp of Armagh (1669-1681) in October 1675. Fitzsimons was ultimately excommunicated and continued to defy members of the Irish episcopal corps until his death in Flanders.

⁶ Owing to his poverty, Forestal was prov. to the diocese of Leighlin as admr, every succeeding bp appointed to the diocese of Kildare was afforded the same arrangement until the two dioceses were formally united on 19/29 Nov. 1694.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (brief) 17/27 Oct. 1683 | Moriarty Kearney | Clonmacnoise (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 11/21 Dec. 1683 | Dominic Maguire, OP | Dublin | |
| prov. 11/21 Dec. 1683 | Hugh MacDermot | Achonry (vic. ap.) | |
| (brief) Jan. 1684 | Bernard O’Cahan | Derry (vic. ap.) | |

Appendix II: List of succession, 1685-1766

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeed |
|---|-------------------------|--|--------------|
| prov. 7/17 May 1688 | Gregory Fallon | Clonmacnoise & Ardagh (admr) ⁷ | |
| trans. from Clogher prov. 14/24 Jan. 1689 | Patrick Tyrrell, OFM | Meath | |
| trans. from Killaloe prov. 14/24 Jan. 1689 | John O'Molony II | Limerick & Killaloe (admr) ⁸ | |
| trans. from Cork & Cloyne prov. 27 Feb./9 Mar. 1693 | Peter Creagh | Dublin | |
| prov. 3/13 Apr. 1693 | John Baptiste Sleyne | Cork & Cloyne | |
| (brief) 25 Nov./5 Dec. 1693 | John Baptiste Sleyne | Ross (admr) | |
| prov. 29 Jan./8 Feb. 1694 | Fergus Laurence Lea | Derry | |
| prov. 19/29 Nov. 1694 | John Dempsey | Kildare | |
| prov. 8/18 Feb. 1695 | Fergus Laurence Lea | Raphoe (admr) | |
| prov. 25 May/4 June 1695 | John Dempsey | Leighlin (admr) | |
| nom. by Propaganda 20/30 June 1695 ⁹ | Ambrose Madden | Killala | |
| nom. by Propaganda 20/30 Aug. 1695 ¹⁰ | James Stritch | Emly | |
| prov. 4/14 Nov. 1695 | Edward Comerford | Cashel | |
| prov. 4/14 Nov. 1695 | Maurice Donnellan | Clonfert | |

⁷ Fallon was bp of Clonmacnoise and prov. admr of Ardagh.

⁸ O'Molony kept the diocese of Killaloe as admr.

⁹ Opposition formed against Madden's appointment on the grounds that he resided over eighty miles from the diocese of Killala.

¹⁰ No record has been found that Stritch was prov. to the diocese of Emly. When Edward Comerford, abp of Cashel was prov. to the diocese of Emly as admr in 1705, Stritch was still living and serving as PP of Rathkeale.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| prov. 10/20 Feb. 1696 | William Daton | Ossory | |
| prov. 11/21 May 1696 | Richard Piers | Waterford & Lismore | |
| prov. 25 May/4 June 1696 | Charles Tiernan | Ardagh (vic. ap.) | |
| prov. 12/22 June 1697 | Patrick Donnelly | Dromore | |
| prov. 21 June/1 July 1697 | Gregory Fallon | Clonmacnoise & Ardagh (admr) ¹¹ | |
| prov. 21 June/1 July 1697 | Michael Rossiter | Ferns | |
| prov. 21/31 July 1699 | Bernard Donogher | Ardagh (vic. ap.) | |
| (brief) 1/12 Mar. 1700 | Aeneas O'Leyne | Kerry (Ardfert) | |
| prov. 4/15 Nov. 1703 | Thaddeus Francis O'Rourke, OFM | Killala | |
| prov. c.1705 | Edward Comerford | Emly (admr) ¹² | |
| prov. c.1705 | Edward Comerford | Kilfenora (admr) ¹³ | |
| prov. 3/14 Feb. 1707 | Ambrose Madden | Kilmacduagh (admr) ¹⁴ | |
| prov. 10/21 Mar. 1707 | Hugh MacMahon | Clogher | |
| prov. 10/21 Mar. 1707 | James Fagan | Meath | |
| prov. 10/21 Mar. 1707 | Edmund Byrne | Dublin | |
| prov. 10/21 Mar. 1707 | Ambrose MacDermott, OP | Elphin | |
| prov. 31 Mar./11 Apr. 1707 | Hugh MacDermot | Achonry | |

¹¹ Fallon received second provision for the diocese of Clonmacnoise with the diocese of Ardagh as admr. It is unclear whether or not the first provision ever took effect.

¹² Christopher Butler, abp of Cashel, received the diocese of Emly as admr; the dioceses of Cashel and Emly were formally united on 29 Apr./10 May 1718.

¹³ Brady, *Episc. succn*, ii, 27.

¹⁴ After Madden's provision to Kilmacduagh he petitioned Propaganda Fide for permission to reside outside of the diocese in Loughrea, Co. Galway (NF, vol. 150, f. 145 cited in Cathaldus Giblin, 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the college "Nunziatura di Fiandra"', Vatican Archives: part 9, vols 148-152' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 13 (1970), pp 61-99, at pp 87-8).

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| nom. by James III 5/16 June 1709 ¹⁵ | Ambrose O'Connor, OP | Ardagh | |
| prov. 29 Aug./9 Sept. 1709 | John Verdon | Ferns | |
| prov. 9/20 Aug. 1711 | Christopher Butler ¹⁶ | Cashel & Emly | |
| (brief) 11/22 Aug. 1711 | Terrence O'Donnelly | Down & Connor (vic. ap.) | |
| (brief) 11/22 Aug. 1711 | Hugh MacMahon | Kilmore (admr) | |
| prov. 17/28 Aug. 1711 | Ambrose Madden ¹⁷ | Clonfert | |
| prov. 5/16 June 1712 | Donagh MacCarthy | Cork & Cloyne | |
| prov. 5/16 June 1712 | Eustace Browne | Killaloe | |
| prov. 11/22 Aug. 1713 | Luke Fagan | Meath | |
| prov. 11/22 Aug. 1713 | Malachy Dulany | Ossory | |
| prov. coadj. bp 11/22 Aug. 1713 | Francis Burke | Tuam | 21/31 Oct. 1713 |
| trans. from Clogher prov. 16/27 June 1715 | Hugh MacMahon | Armagh | |
| prov. 1/12 Sept. 1715 | Dominic Edward Murphy | Kildare & Leighlin | |
| prov. 21 Sept./2 Oct. 1717 | Thomas Flynn | Ardagh | |
| prov. 21 Sept./2 Oct. 1717 | James O'Sheil, OFM | Down & Connor | |
| prov. 1/12 Feb. 1718 | Edmund Kelly | Clonfert | |
| prov. 15/26 Mar. 1718 | Carbry O'Kelly | Elphin | |
| prov. 16/27 Aug. 1718 | Bernard MacMahon | Clogher (vic. ap.) | |

¹⁵ O'Connor was nom. by James III but it is unclear whether or not he was prov. by Pope Clement XI (1700-1721). There was significant resistance to his nomination as the diocese of Ardagh already had a vic. ap. in one Bernard Donogher.

¹⁶ Christopher Butler, abp of Cashel, is mentioned as having been admr of Ross 1711-Sept. 1730 (Brady, *Episc. succn*, ii, 29).

¹⁷ Ambrose Madden's prov. to Clonfert was re-issued 9/20 Sept. 1713.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| trans. from Down & Connor prov. 25 Dec. 1719/5 Jan. 1720 | Terrence O'Donnelly | Derry | |
| prov. 25 Dec. 1719/5 Jan. 1720 | Francis Burke, OFM | Kilmacduagh | |
| prov. 25 Feb./7 Mar. 1720 | Denis Moriarty | Kerry (Ardfert) | |
| prov. 25 Feb./7 Mar. 1720 | Cornelius O'Keeffe | Limerick | |
| prov. 27 July/7 Aug. 1720 | William O'Daly | Kilfenora | |
| prov. 12/23 Dec. 1723 | Christopher Butler | Killaloe (admr) ¹⁸ | |
| prov. 12/23 Dec. 1723 | Bernard O'Gara | Tuam | |
| trans. from Kildare prov. 21 Aug./1 Sept. 1724 | Dominic Edward Murphy | Dublin | |
| prov. 5/16 Dec. 1724 | Terence MacMahon | Killaloe | |
| prov. 5/16 Dec. 1724 | Bernard Dunne | Kildare & Leighlin | |
| prov. 10/21 July 1725 | James Gallagher | Raphoe | |
| prov. 9/20 Sept. 1725 | Stephen MacEgan, OP | Clonmacnoise | |
| prov. 9/20 Sept. 1724 | Dominic O'Daly, OP | Achonry | |
| prov. 16/27 1726 | James Augustine O'Daly | Kilfenora | |
| prov. 27 Mar./7 Apr. 1727 | John Armstrong | Down & Connor | |
| prov. 27 Mar./7 Apr. 1727 | Neil Conway | Derry | |
| prov. 27 Mar./7 Apr. 1727 | Thaddeus MacCarthy | Cork & Cloyne | |

¹⁸ Eustace Browne, bp of Killaloe was suspended a.23 Sept./4 Oct. 1723 for ordaining questionable clerics and lack of episcopal care of the diocese (Ignatius Murphy, *The diocese of Killaloe in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1991), pp 47-50).

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. 27 Mar./7 Apr. 1728 | Bernard MacMahon | Clogher | |
| prov. 21 Nov./2 Dec. 1728 | Michael MacDonagh, OP | Kilmore | |
| prov. 14/25 Sept. 1728 | Sylvester Louis Lloyde, OFM | Killaloe | |
| trans. from Meath prov. 11/22 Aug. 1729 | Luke Fagan | Dublin | |
| trans. from Clonmacnoise prov. 15/26 Sept. 1729 | Stephen MacEgan, OP ¹⁹ | Meath | |
| prov. 15/26 Sept. 1729 | Ambrose O'Callaghan, OFM | Ferns | |
| prov. 21 Aug./1 Sept. 1730 ²⁰ | Peter Mulligan, OSA | Ardagh | |
| (brief) 4/15 Feb. 1731 | Hugh MacMahon | Dromore (admr) | |
| prov. 17/28 July 1731 | Patrick O'Shea | Ossory | |
| prov. 12/23 Nov. 1731 | Patrick French, OFM | Elphin | |
| (brief) 9/20 June 1732 | Thaddeus MacCarthy | Ross (admr) | |
| prov. 11/22 Nov. 1732 | Martin (Milo) Burke | Kilmacduagh | |
| prov. 11/22 Dec. 1733 | Stephen Dowdall | Kildare & Leighlin | |
| prov. 31 July/11 Aug. 1733 | Peter Donnellan | Clonfert | |
| prov. 9/20 Mar. 1734 | John Linegar | Dublin | |
| prov. 19/30 Sept. 1735 | John O'Hart | Achonry | |
| prov. 19/30 Sept. 1735 | Peter Archdekin, OFM | Killala | |

¹⁹ Stephen MacEgan, OP kept the diocese of Clonmacnoise as admr.

²⁰ First brief for Peter Mulligan was nullified after the Stuart court and Propaganda were notified that Thomas Flynn, bp of Ardagh, had not d. as reports indicated. Upon Flynn's death, Mulligan was issued a new brief for the diocese of Ardagh (James III to Col. Daniel O'Brien, Paris, 4 October 1730 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart papers, 139/148, MFR 782) cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart papers*, i, 162).

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. 24 Sept./5 Oct. 1736 | Colman O'Shaughnessy, OP | Ossory | |
| trans. from Raphoe prov. 7/18 May 1737 | James Gallagher | Kildare & Leighlin | |
| prov. 19/30 Aug. 1737 | Robert Lacy | Limerick | |
| trans. from Clogher prov. 28 Oct./8 Nov. 1737 | Bernard MacMahon | Armagh | |
| (brief) 28 Oct./8 Nov. 1737 | Bernard MacMahon | Dromore (admr) | |
| prov. 29 Nov./10 Dec. 1737 | Bonaventure O'Gallagher, OFM | Raphoe | |
| prov. 6/16 May 1738 | Ross MacMahon | Clogher | |
| prov. 13/24 Apr. 1739 | Michael O'Reilly | Derry | |
| prov. 13/24 Apr. 1739 | Eugene O'Sullivan | Kerry (Ardfert) | |
| prov. 13/24 Apr. 1739 | Bernard O'Rourke | Killala | |
| trans. from Killaloe prov. 2/13 May 1739 | Sylvester Louis Lloyde, OFM | Waterford & Lismore | |
| prov. 2/13 Aug. 1739 | Walter Blake | Achonry | |
| prov. 3/14 Aug. 1739 | Patrick MacDonagh | Killaloe | |
| prov. 15/26 Aug. 1739 | Thomas O'Beirne | Ardagh | 5/16 Sept. 1739 |
| prov. 8/19 Sept. 1740 | Francis Stuart, OFM | Down & Connor | |
| prov. 8/19 Sept. 1740 | Michael O'Gara | Tuam | |
| prov. 8/19 Sept. 1743 | William O'Meara | Kerry (Ardfert) | |
| prov. 16/27 July 1743 | John Brett, OP | Killala | |
| prov. coadj. bp 7/18 Dec. 1743 | Thomas Stritch | Waterford & Lismore | did not succeed |
| prov. 11/22 Jan. 1744 | Peter Killikelly, OP | Kilmacduagh | |
| prov. 14/25 Jan. 1745 | Nicholas Sweetman | Ferns | |

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. coadj. bp 23 Mar./3 Apr. 1745 | Peter Creagh | Waterford & Lismore | Aug. 1747 |
| prov. 26 Jan./6 Feb. 1747 | Laurence Richardson, OP | Kilmore | |
| prov. 27 Apr./8 May 1747 | Thomas MacDermot Roe | Ardagh | |
| trans. from Clogher prov. 23 July/3 Aug. 1747 | Ross MacMahon | Armagh | |
| prov. 21 Aug./1 Sept. 1747 | Anthony O'Garvey | Dromore | |
| prov. 31 Aug./11 Sept. 1747 | Daniel O'Reilly | Clogher | |
| prov. 29 Nov./10 Dec. 1747 | Richard Walsh | Cork | |
| prov. 29 Nov./10 Dec. 1747 | John O'Brien | Cloyne & Ross | |
| trans. from Killala prov. 17/28 Aug. 1748 | John Brett, OP | Elphin | |
| prov. 6/17 Dec. 1748 | James Bernard Dunne | Ossory | |
| trans. from Derry prov. 12/23 Jan. 1749 | Michael O'Reilly | Armagh | |
| prov. 12/23 Jan. 1749 | Marcus Skerrett | Killala | |
| trans. from Killala prov. 24 Apr./5 May 1749 | Marcus Skerrett | Tuam | |
| prov. 26 Apr./7 May 1749 | John Brullaghan | Derry | |
| prov. 26 Apr./7 May 1749 | Bonaventura MacDonnell, OFM | Killala | |
| prov. coadj. bp 5/16 Jan. 1750 | James Butler I | Cashel & Emly | 4 Sept. 1757 |
| prov. 8/19 Jan. 1750 | Anthony O'Donnell, OFM | Raphoe | |

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. Sept. 1750 ²¹ | Peter Killikelly, OP | Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora | |
| prov. 18/29 Jan. 1751 | Patrick Bradley, OP | Derry | |
| prov. 19/30 Jan. 1751 | Edmund O'Doran | Down & Connor | |
| prov. 6/17 July 1751 | Augustine Cheevers, OSA | Ardagh | |
| prov. 8/19 Jan. 1752 | James O'Keeffe | Kildare & Leighlin | |
| prov. 23 Apr./4 May 1752 | John MacColgan | Derry | |
| prov. 12 May 1752 | Patrick O'Nachten | Killaloe | |
| prov. 11 Dec. 1752 | Nicholas Madgett | Killaloe | |
| trans. from Killaloe prov. 23 Feb. 1753 | Nicholas Madgett | Kerry | |
| trans. from Kerry prov. 23 Feb. 1753 | William O'Meara | Killaloe | |
| prov. 3 Apr. 1753 | Andrew Campbell | Kilmore | |
| prov. 18 July 1753 | Nathaniel O'Donnell | Raphoe | |
| prov. 21 Nov. 1753 | Richard Lincoln | Dublin | |
| prov. 4 Aug. 1756 | James O'Fallon | Elphin | |
| trans. from Ardagh prov. 7 Aug. 1756 | Augustine Cheevers, OSA | Meath | |
| prov. 11 Aug. 1756 | Anthony Blake | Ardagh & Clonmacnoise | |
| trans. from Ardagh & Clonmacnoise prov. 28 Apr. 1758 | Anthony Blake | Armagh | |
| prov. 21 Aug. 1758 | James Brady | Ardagh & Clonmacnoise | |
| prov. 21 Aug. 1758 | Patrick Robert Kirwan | Achonry | |

²¹ Peter Killikelly OP kept Kilmacduagh as bp but gained Kilfenora as admr.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| prov. 9 Jan. 1759 | Philip O'Reilly | Raphoe | |
| prov. 9 Jan. 1759 | Thomas Burke, OP | Ossory | |
| prov. 27 Nov. 1759 | Daniel O'Kearney | Limerick | |
| prov. 10 Sept. 1760 | Theophilus MacCartan | Down & Connor | |
| prov. 24 Nov. 1760 | Philip Philips | Killala | |
| prov. 16 Apr. 1763 | John Butler | Cork | |
| prov. 20 Sept. 1763 | Patrick Fitzsimons | Dublin | |
| prov. 5 June 1765 | Michael Peter MacMahon, OP | Killaloe | |
| prov. 14 Jan. 1766 | Philip MacDevitt | Derry | |

Appendix III: List of succession, 1767-1800

| Date of provision | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|--|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. 18 Jan. 1767 | Denis Maguire, OFM | Dromore | |
| prov. 16 July 1769 | Matthew MacKenna | Cloyne & Ross | |
| trans. from Dromore prov. 25 Mar. 1770 | Denis Maguire, OFM | Kilmore | |
| prov. 25 Mar. 1770 | Patrick Brady, OFM | Dromore | |
| prov. 25 Mar. 1770 | John Carpenter | Dublin | |
| prov. coadj. bp 3 Feb. 1771 | Eugene Geoghegan | Meath | did not succeed |
| prov. coadj. bp 3 Feb. 1771 | William Egan | Waterford & Lismore | 12 Feb. 1775 |
| prov. coadj. bp 29 Nov. 1772 | John Stafford | Ferns | did not succeed |
| prov. coadj. bp 15 Mar. 1773 | James Butler II | Cashel & Emly | 17 May 1774 |
| prov. 10 Apr. 1775 ²² | James Augustine Cheevers, OSA | Armagh (vic. admr) | |
| prov. 16 Apr. 1775 | Francis Moylan | Cork | |
| trans. from Killala prov. 16 June 1776 | Philip Phillips | Achonry | |
| prov. 16 June 1776 | Alexander Irwin | Killala | |
| prov. 1 Dec. 1776 | John Thomas Troy, OP | Ossory | |
| prov. coadj. bp 1 Dec. 1776 | Andrew Donnellan | Clonfert | 7 May 1778 |

²² Cheevers was prov. vic. admr upon Anthony Blake's suspension as abp of Armagh.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. coadj. bp 27 Apr. 1777 | Hugh O'Reilly | Clogher | 24 Mar. 1778 |
| prov. coadj. bp 27 Apr. 1777 | Anthony Coyle | Raphoe | 1782 |
| prov. 23 Mar. 1778 | John Butler | Limerick | |
| prov. 6 Dec. 1778 | Patrick Joseph Plunkett | Meath | |
| prov. 17 Jan. 1779 | Denis Conway | Limerick | |
| prov. 18 July 1779 | Hugh MacMullan | Down & Connor | |
| prov. coadj. bp 18 July 1779 | Simon Quin | Cloyne & Ross | did not succeed |
| prov. 5 Dec. 1779 | Dominic Bellew | Killala | |
| prov. coadj. bp 3 Dec. 1780 | Matthew Lennan | Down & Connor | |
| prov. coadj. with succn 20 May 1781 | Richard O'Reilly | Kildare & Leighlin | did not succeed |
| trans. from Kildare & Leighlin prov. coadj. bp 17 Feb. 1782 | Richard O'Reilly | Armagh | 11 Nov. 1787 |
| prov. coadj. bp 17 Feb. 1782 | James Caulfield | Ferns | 19 Oct. 1786 |
| prov. coadj. bp 13 Apr. 1783 | Daniel Delany | Kildare & Leighlin | 18 Sept. 1787 |
| prov. 7 Dec. 1783 | Laurence Nihill | Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora | |
| trans. from Achonry prov. 25 Sept. 1785 | Philip Phillips | Tuam | |
| prov. 25 Sept. 1785 | Boetius Egan | Achonry | |

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| trans. from Ossory prov. 3 Dec. 1786 | John Thomas Troy, OP | Dublin | |
| prov. coadj. bp 30 June 1786 | Thomas Costello | Clonfert | <i>a.</i> 6 July 1786 |
| prov. 13 Feb. 1787 | Edmund French | Elphin | |
| prov. 3 June 1787 | Gerard Teaghan | Kerry (Ardfert) | |
| trans. from Kerry prov. 3 June 1787 | Francis Moylan | Cork | |
| prov. 13 July 1787 | John Dunne | Ossory | |
| prov. coadj. bp 9 Dec. 1787 | William Coppinger | Cloyne & Ross | 4 June 1791 |
| trans. from Achonry prov. 9 Dec. 1787 | Boetius Egan | Tuam | |
| prov. 9 Dec. 1787 | Thomas O'Connor | Achonry | |
| prov. 18 May 1788 | John Cruise | Ardagh & Clonmacnoise | |
| prov. 25 June 1789 | James Lanigan | Ossory | |
| trans. from Kerry prov. 4 Dec. 1791 | Gerard Teaghan | Cashel & Emly | |
| prov. 17 June 1792 | Thomas Bray | Cashel & Emly | |
| prov. coadj. bp 2 Dec. 1792 | John Young | Limerick | 19 June 1796 |
| prov. coadj. bp 28 Apr. 1793 | Charles O'Reilly | Kilmore | 23 Dec. 1793 |
| prov. coadj. bp 16 June 1793 | Patrick MacMullan | Down & Connor | 8 Oct. 1794 |
| prov. coadj. bp 8 Dec. 1793 | Edward Dillon | Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora | 29 June 1795 |

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. coadj. bp 29 Nov. 1795 | James Dillon | Raphoe | did not succeed |
| prov. 4 Dec. 1796 | Thomas Hussey | Waterford & Lismore | |
| prov. coadj. bp 3 Dec. 1797 | Charles O'Donnell | Derry | 24 Nov. 1797 |
| prov. 3 Dec. 1797 | Charles Sughrue | Kerry | |
| prov. coadj. bp 4 May 1798 | James Murphy | Clogher | 3 Nov. 1801 |
| prov. coadj. bp 24 Sept. 1798 | James O'Shaughnessy | Killaloe | 20 Feb. 1807 |
| trans. from Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora prov. 19 Nov. 1798 | Edward Dillon | Tuam | |
| prov. 19 Nov. 1798 | Richard Luke Concanon, OP | Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora | |
| prov. 31 May 1800 | Nicholas Joseph Archdeacon | Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora | |
| trans. from Raphoe prov. 10 Aug. 1800 | James Dillon | Kilmore | |

Appendix IV: List of succession, 1801-1829

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. coadj. bp 30 Jan. 1801 | John McElwee | Raphoe | did not succeed |
| prov. 19 July 1801 | Edmund Derry | Dromore | |
| prov. 25 Apr. 1802 | Peter MacLaughlin | Raphoe | |
| prov. coadj. bp 1 Mar. 1803 | Florence MacCarthy | Cork | did not succeed |
| prov. 29 Apr. 1803 | Charles Lynagh | Achonry | |
| prov. 1 Jan. 1804 | John Power I | Waterford & Lismore | |
| prov. coadj. bp 2 Oct. 1804 | Patrick Ryan | Ferns | 12 Jan. 1814 |
| prov. 14 Dec. 1806 | Fergal O'Reilly | Kilmore | |
| prov. 9 June 1809 | John O'Flynn | Achonry | |
| prov. coadj. bp 30 June 1809 | Daniel Murray | Dublin | 11 May 1823 |
| prov. 25 Sept. 1814 | Charles Tuohy | Limerick | |
| prov. 25 Sept. 1814 ²³ | Arthur Murphy | Kildare & Leighlin | |
| prov. 25 Sept. 1814 | Kyran Marum | Ossory | |
| prov. 25 Sept. 1814 | George Thomas Plunket | Elphin | |
| prov. 25 Sept. 1814 | Peter Waldron | Killala | |
| prov. 25 Sept. 1814 | Oliver Kelly | Tuam | |
| prov. coadj. bp 4 Oct. 1814 | Patrick Everard | Cashel & Emly | 9 Dec. 1820 |
| prov. coadj. bp 25 Jan. 1815 | John Murphy | Cork | 23 Apr. 1815 |
| prov. 12 Mar. 1815 | James Magauran | Ardagh & Clonmacnoise | |

²³ Arthur Murphy did not accept the papal provision.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. 12 Mar. 1815 | Michael Corcoran | Kildare & Leighlin | |
| prov. coadj. bp 26 Jan. 1816 | Thomas Coen | Clonfert | 9 Oct. 1831 |
| prov. 30 May 1817 | Robert Walsh | Waterford & Lismore | |
| prov. coadj. bp 6 Feb. 1818 | Edward Kernan | Clogher | 19 Nov. 1824 |
| prov. 1 Mar. 1818 | Patrick MacNicholas | Achonry | |
| prov. 6 Dec. 1818 | Peter MacLaughlin | Derry (Admr) | |
| prov. coadj. bp 6 Dec. 1818 | Patrick Maguire, OFM | Kilmore | did not succeed |
| prov. coadj. bp 6 Dec. 1818 | Patrick Burke | Elphin | 8 May 1827 |
| prov. coadj. bp 12 Jan. 1819 | James Keating | Ferns | 9 Mar. 1819 |
| prov. 8 Aug. 1819 | Patrick Curtis | Armagh | |
| prov. 8 Aug. 1819 | James Doyle, OSA | Kildare & Leighlin | |
| prov. coadj. bp 24 Aug. 1819 | Patrick MacMahon | Killaloe | 5 Aug. 1829 |
| prov. 30 Jan. 1820 | Hugh O'Kelly | Dromore | |
| prov. 25 June 1820 | Patrick MacGettigan | Raphoe | |
| trans. from Richmond, Virginia prov. 3 Feb. 1822 | Patrick Kelly | Waterford & Lismore | |
| prov. 23 Feb. 1823 | Robert Laffan | Cashel and Emly | |
| trans. from Raphoe prov. by 4 Apr. 1824 ²⁴ | Peter MacLaughlin | Derry | |
| prov. coadj. bp 14 May 1824 | Cornelius Egan | Kerry (Ardfert) | 29 Sept. 1824 |
| prov. 1 Aug. 1824 | Edmund French, OP | Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora | |

²⁴ Peter MacLaughlin res. Raphoe 29 Apr. 1819.

| Provision date | Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date succeeded |
|--|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| prov. coadj. bp 24 Aug. 1824 | Robert Logan | Meath | 11 Jan. 1827 |
| prov. 6 Feb. 1825 | William Crolly | Down & Connor | |
| prov. coadj. bp 20 Feb. 1825 | John MacHale | Killala | 27 May 1834 |
| prov. coadj. bp 30 Sept. 1825 | John Ryan | Limerick | 17 Mar. 1828 |
| prov. 4 June 1826 | Thomas Kelly | Dromore | |
| prov. coadj. bp 23 Mar. 1827 | James Browne | Kilmore | 30 Apr. 1829 |
| prov. coadj. bp 24 Apr. 1827 | Michael Collins | Cloyne & Ross | 9 Aug. 1831 |
| prov. 8 June 1828 ²⁵ | Myles Murphy | Ossory | |
| prov. coadj. bp 7 Dec. 1828 ²⁶ | Thomas Kelly | Armagh | 24 July 1832 |
| prov. 20 Sept. 1829 | William O'Higgins | Ardagh & Clonmacnoise | |
| prov. 3 May 1829 | William Kinsella | Ossory | |
| prov. 23 Dec. 1829 | William Abraham | Waterford & Lismore | |

²⁵ Myles Murphy did not accept his papal provision and res. 9 May 1829. He was later appointed bp of Ferns on 11 Nov. 1849.

²⁶ Thomas Kelly was bp of Dromore and retained Dromore in administration until the appointment of Walter Blake in Jan. 1833.

Appendix V: Reply to the Bishop of Limerick

An answer to the severall branches of the Bp of Limerickes replication to an answer made by the King to some objections offered in the Court of Rome against y^e promotion of Bps in Ireland²⁷

1. When it will be thought fit to inquire what number of Catholick Bp's were at one time in Ireland it will be found that what is set fourth in y^e answer as to that matter is true; and uppon examination it will appear that the exception taken against doctor Piers proceeds rather from a peronall pique then from any real feare that goeing Bp into Ireland would create a trouble to y^e rest of y^e clergy and if there be any weight in this exception none of the ould Bp's will goe because they must goe out of france; this perchance may weigh with y^e Bp of Limericke but not with y^e court of Rome and has not wth y^e Bp of Elfin who is now uppon his road to his diocese, and D^r Piers alsoe intends out of hand for flanders in order to goe to his own contrey. It is allowed that y^e Bp of Corke who was never confined since his arrivall was bound over to appear at the following sessions but his comeing out of france was not y^e occasion but rather as at is said that uppon his landing y^e Clergy of his diocese in a great number came to waite uppon him and the meeteing of soe many Clergy together being usuall begott a zelousie in those who were in command and on that occasion they bound over y^e Bp.
2. It is allowed that the Irish Catholicks are much reduced in their number and in their fortune occasioned by the late usurpation in that Realme tho not to y^e degree set fourth by y^e Bp it must be allsoe granted that there is great plenty of all sortes of provision in y^e contrey and these prelates doe not goe to that Kingdom in these distracted times either to enrich themselves or to live at their ease but to preserve their flocke from y^e corruption of the heresie and direct them in y^e true way of salvation, this being their aim they will easily conforme themselves to y^e condition of y^e people and what y^e Bp of Limericke sayes of y^e Bp of Corke is not believed for he is ordinary of y^e diocese where he was bread

²⁷ *An answer to the severall branches of the Bp of Limerickes replication to an answer made by the King to some objections offered in the Court of Rome against y^e promotion of Bps in Ireland* (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 208, ff 249-50).

and born and where he has many friends and acquaintances that wou'd not see him want a horse and who are better able to supply him then y^e vicar generall of Limericke and to give for a reason that y^e Bps may be brought before the protestant power is not to be presumed for the Irish Catholickes have generally great veneration for their clergy and consequently far from y^e humor of accuseing them before y^e protestant courtes.

3. It is believed that y^e Bp of Limericke may safely goe into Ireland there being nothing to be said against him haveing not been in Ireland since y^e usurpation which cannot be said of y^e rest of y^e ould Bps.

4. The Archbp of Dubln was soe far from being ambitious of that promotion that it was much against his own private inclination but that y^e King being very well acquainted wth his prudence and piety named him as the fittest person to fill that see he served in y^e diocese of Corke as Bp for sixteene years to y^e satisfaction of all those who were under his charge he was for a whole year kept prisoner in y^e time of y^e popish plote and afterwards prayed for his life y^e apprehension of meeting y^e ... for comeing into france on y^e behalf of that contrey to sollicite his majesty for honour and supporte y^e warr against y^e usurper is what frightens him from goeing to his charge and it is absolutely denied that on his late promotion he made any such promise

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To y^e King or Queene as in y^e replication is answered, and it had been to be wished that y^e Bp of Limericke had considered better of his affaire before he took y^e liberty of exposing in soe high a nature soe good and soe worthy a Prelate.²⁸

6. It is positively denied that y^e temporal goverment in Ireland did ever usurpe uppon y^e spiritual jurisdiction or ecclesiastical power as in y^e article of y^e replication is set fourth it is not to be presumed that a Catholicke King (who's piety and goodness even y^e Bp of Limericke seem's to allow) who for his religion lost his three Kingomds shou'd fall into such an error nor is it to be

²⁸ Points four and five are addressed together.

imagined that those who were employed by his Maj^{ty} in y^e places of judicature and other publicke employments shou'd commit soe great a disorder at y^e time that they ventured their lives and fortunes for their religion and loyally many whereof lost their lives since on that account and others their fortunes this imputation is y^e less excusable in this prelate that his majesty and those who acted under him went perchance farther then the circumstances of y^e Kings affaires cou'd permitt to relieve the Irish Clergy for w^{ch} they have been often since reproched by his majestys protestant subjects; Irish Catholick Clergy by an act of Parlement were to have and enjoy they tythes of all y^e Catholickes w^{ch} in effect was allmost all y^e tythes of Ireland, y^e Catholickes who formerly lost their estates being then restored to y^e same all incapacitys that they lay under formerly from sueing for what was their due were taken off they got possession of most of y^e churches the King advised from time to time wth y^e Prelates none of his Courtes gave any judgement order or decree in spiritual matters when there was any difference amongst y^e Clergy or that related to y^e spirituality of his Maj^{ty} referred y^e same to y^e Lord Primat of Ireland and to his confessor y^e Reverend father Warner, who never did reject or contemn any of y^e Popes bulles nor was there any such disposition of benefices as is pretended and as to that of D^r Piers w^{ch} is y^e only instance produced or mentioned upon examination it will be found a meer imputation. The King being informed that y^e deanery of Waterford was vacant and that he had y^e nomination thereof did by letters patents name to his holyness D^r Piers for y^e said deanery in order to have y^e Popes bulles for y^e same and y^e doctors goeing to y^e Archbp of Cashell was not material without it were to have his previous consent for every man knows he cou'd not be deane untill he had obtained y^e Popes bulles and whether there was a former deane that had y^e Popes bulles or whether he was layed a side by y^e Archbp of Cashell for insufficiencie or otherwise did not appear to y^e King at y^e time he granted D^r Piers y^e nomination w^{ch} signified nothing untill y^e Pope had given him bulles for this egregious scandal y^e Bp ought to be obliged to make reparations as far as he is capable.

7. Doctor Stritch is heir to his father who was put to death for the religion and Loyalty seized of a good estate in houses and lands of eight hundred pound sterling per annum a pious learned man speaks English and Irish as well as most of the City of Limerick where he was born y^e rest is referred to y^e former answer

that y^e diocese of Imely is of a larger extente then is suggested in y^e reply and y^e lands within that diocese are as good as any in Ireland and larger and twice better lands then that of Clonmacnoise were doctor fallon was Bp and y^e chief reason that induced his majesty to name a person of his holyness to be Bp of that place was because being neer Limericke and Killaloe y^e Bp there of may assist y^e

[New page]

Inhabitants of these places in regard that y^e Bp of Limericke who is ordinary of y^e one and administrator of y^e other was absent and not disposed to attend his charge.

8. Doctor Comerford is certainly above fifty years of age and it is as certaine that y^e Bp of Corke who putt y^e Apostolical constitution in y^e Confessors hand did in y^e presence of y^e Bp of Limericke sollicite his majesty (as he did uppon severall other occassions) to name doctor Comerford for y^e See of Cashel and therefore wou'd not be displeased at y^e said doctors promotion to that Archbp but it is believed that it is displeasing to y^e Bp of Limericke who aim at that dignity tho he had y^e modesty not to declare his mind knowing that it wou'd be said that he being Bp of diocese that he has not seen since preferred thereunto cou'd not expect to be named for any farther promotion it is true he resided many years in france when Bp of Killaloe until he was compelled by a mandate from y^e Pope to repair to his diocese were he has not remained long choosing rather to live at court repairs to Dublin and from thence to London where he resided some years during w^{ch} time he might have attended his flocke without incurring y^e least danger as y^e rest of y^e Bps have done but colour his nonresidence he desired the Prelates of Ireland to give him an authority to act for them in y^e court of England w^{ch} they absolutely refused knowing that by the Popes mandate he was commanded to reside in his diocese; and after his comeing into france out of England he was at severall times summoned by his metropolitan y^e Archbp of Cashell to repair to his diocese to serve countenance and encourage them to carry on y^e Catholicke cause against y^e usurper, but did not thinke fit to doe it and whoever will neglect uppon this parte of his reply must conclude this prelate to be vaine and mistaken in his assertion of being y^e fittest man of y^e Irish Clergy to be employed in publick affaires or harbour an opinion of y^e Irish Clergy that

they want capacity and yet there are a great many able and learned men amongst them and they all manifested their zeal and loyalty against y^e usurper amongst w^{ch} were y^e Primat of Ireland and y^e Archbp of Dublin who on all occasions proper for their character under many hardships and difficulty served their King and Contrey for many years in Ireland and y^e Lord Primat continued in y^e service to y^e last who had no other end to come into france but to encourage y^e Kings troopes to follow him in his exile, conceaving it to be much for majestys service and therefore believed it more meritorious for him to forward that affaire then to stay in Ireland and his zeal therein made him obnoxious to y^e prevailling government as he and his bretheren the other Bps that came along wth him stated y^e matter to his holyness by y^e meanes of y^e Cardinal Howard and his holyness as appears by his brief to them, approved of their zeal there in during w^{ch} time y^e Bp of Limericke (who takes y^e liberty to reflecte on y^e said worthy prelates) lived at his ease in france tho he was pressed by y^e King and Queene to goe for Ireland and now he hinders y^e promotion of Bps that wou'd serve there without intending to repair thither himself, and thinks to supply the same by offering an expedient to his holynefs that he shou'd make Bps in partibus and send them to act as vicars apostoliques in Ireland; thefore have thither to by y^e blessing of God preserved their religion under Bps of their own and of dioceses there and since they have lived soe well under that method it is to be presumed his

[New page]

Holyness will make no change knowing what misconveniency may follow such a project to be a Bp and to exercise foreign jurisdiction is y^e offense y^e Government there will take notice of and this houlds under y^e now expedient as well as y^e former, besides this expedient may create dissension between y^e new Bps in partibus and y^e ould ones that have their dioceses and have their jurisdiction there as Bps and soe act upon an other bottom and in all lickly hood wou'd occasion perpetuall warrings and disputes and is not to be compared wth y^e methods taken in England for since y^e reformation there were no other Bps there but such as were made in partibus and even very ... of them w^{ch} peradventure was y^e occassion that y^e Catholicke religion decayed soe much in England as y^e number of Bps made from time to time preserved it in Ireland.

I uppon y^e whole matter y^e Bp of Limericke in his reply indeavours to reflect uppon y^e King his lawful and natural Prince and labours to create a difference between his Holyness and him by starting unnecessarily and officiously a question about y^e nomination of Bps in Ireland for no other reason as it is verily believed but that he was not named either for y^e See of Dublin or Cashell or his kinsman named for y^e Bprick of Killaloe but he shou'd considere that he did not thinke there was any difficulty in this matter when he was made Bp of Limericke at his majestys nomination nor did he make y^e least despute when doctor Tyrill was made Bp of Meath and doctor fallon Bp of Clonmacnoise at y^e Kings nomination and forget that lately he himself importuned his majesty to name his kinsman M^r Molony vicar of Limericke for y^e Bprick of Killaloe w^{ch} y^e King refused for no other reason but that he found he was not qualified for that dignity.

The said Prelate allsoe in his reply reflectes uppon y^e body of y^e Irish Clergy setting himself up above all in parts besides his particular reflections uppon the two Archbps of Armagh and Dublin not forgetting doctor Piers and doctor Stritch he allsoe appears to be a great enemy to y^e Irish nation be asserting absolutely that y^e temporal power who acted under y^e King (who were all Irish Catholickes usurpe entirely y^e spiritual jurisdiction w^{ch} in effect is a sorte of a schism and to aggravate that assertion seems to attribute y^e loss of y^e Kingdome to that disorder he is plainly out on his matters of fact and w^{ch} he cou'd not know but by hear say having not been in that Kingdome in the time of these transactions and yet w^{ch} is to be admired in a person of his character) he answers them as positively as if had known all his own knowledge and as long as he appears soe apparent an enemy to his King and Contrey it is hoped and expected that his holyness will not consult wth or take advice on information from y^e Bp of Limericke many affaires relating to his majesty or his Kingdome of Ireland.

Appendix VI: Episcopal dynasties in the eighteenth century

| Name of bishop (s) | Relationship | Diocese | Years | Subtotal | Total |
|---|--|--|--|----------------------|--------------|
| Christopher Butler James Butler I James Butler II John Butler John Butler, SJ ²⁹ | Cousin Cousin Cousin Cousin Cousin | Cashel Cashel Cashel Cork Limerick | 1711-1757 1750-1774 1773-1791 1763-1787 1778 | 46 24 18 24 | 112 |
| Maurice Donnellan Peter Donnellan Andrew Donnellan | Cousin Brother Brother | Clonfert Clonfert Clonfert | 1695-1706 1733-1778 1776-1786 | 11 45 10 | 66 |
| Phillip MacDevitt Charles O'Donnell | Uncle Nephew | Derry Derry | 1767-1797 1797-1823 | 30 26 | 56 |
| Daniel O'Reilly Hugh O'Reilly | Uncle Nephew | Clogher Clogher | 1747-1778 1777-1801 | 31 24 | 55 |
| Anthony Garvey Patrick MacMullan | Grand-Uncle Grand-Nephew | Dromore Down & Connor | 1747-1767 1793-1824 | 20 31 | 51 |
| Patrick Donnelly Terrence Donnelly | Brother Brother | Dromore Down & Connor Derry | 1697-1728 1711-1720 1720-1727 | 32 9 7 | 48 |
| Nicholas Sweetman John Stafford ³⁰ | Uncle Nephew | Ferns Ferns | 1745-1786 1772-1781 | 41 9 | 41 |
| Hugh MacMahon Bernard MacMahon Ross MacMahon | Uncle Brother Brother | Clogher Clogher Clogher | 1707-1715 1718-1737 1738-1747 | 8 19 9 | 37 |
| Thaddeus Francis O'Rourke, OFM Bernard O'Rourke | Cousin Cousin | Killala Killala | 1703-1735 1739-1743 | 32 3 | 35 |
| Hugh MacMahon Bernard MacMahon Ross MacMahon | Uncle Brother Brother | Armagh Armagh Armagh | 1715-1737 1737-1747 1747-1748 | 22 10 1 | 33 |

²⁹ John Butler SJ was prov. bp of Limerick but was never consecrated having resigned the diocese and returned to Hereford, England.

³⁰ John Stafford was prov. coadjutor with right of succn but died before he succeeded his uncle, Nicholas Sweetman.

| Name of bishop (s) | Relationship | Diocese | Years | Subtotal | Total |
|--|--|---------------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------|
| James Fagan Luke Fagan | Brother Brother | Meath Meath Dublin | 1707-1713 ³¹ 1713-1729 1729-1733 | 6 16 3 | 25 |
| Bernard O’Gara Michael O’Gara | Brother Brother | Tuam Tuam | 1723-1740 1740-1749 | 17 9 | 26 |
| Terence MacMahon Robert Lacy | Through marriage ³² Through marriage | Killaloe Limerick | 1724-1728 1737-1759 | 4 22 | 26 |
| Michael MacDonagh, OP John Brullaughan ³³ Patrick Brullaughan, OP | Cousin Cousin Cousin | Kilmore Derry Derry | 1728-1746 1749-1750 1751-1752 | 11 1 1 | 13 |
| Bernard Dunne James Bernard Dunne | Cousin Cousin | Kildare & Leighlin Ossory | 1724-1733 1748-1758 | 8 10 | 18 |
| Anthony O’Donnell, OFM Nathaniel O’Donnell | Brother Brother | Raphoe Raphoe | 1750-1753 1755-1758 | 5 3 | 8 |

³¹ Fagan was not consecrated bishop but from Roman documents it appears his provision was valid until his death.

³² Terence MacMahon was the maternal uncle of Juan de Lacy who was ordained by Terence MacMahon in 1727 (Testimonio by Juan de Lacy, Madrid, 1745 (Archivo Historico Nacional (AHN), Inquisición (Inq), Legajo (Leg) 3679, expediente 12 (sf)). Robert Lacy was the paternal uncle of the same Juan de Lacy who returned to Ireland and was, for a brief time, PP of Ballingarry (1750).

³³ John Brullaughan was prov. to Derry but Abp Michael O’Reilly refused to consecrate him. He res. on 30 May/10 June 1750.

Appendix VII:

Bishops who held academic positions within the newly established seminary network in Ireland, 1795-1829

| Bishop | Diocese (dates) | Seminary | Position(s) held |
|-------------------|---|---|---|
| John Dunne | Ossory (1787-1789) | Burrell's Hall (Kilkenny) | Co-Rector (1782-1787) |
| James Lanigan | Ossory (1789-1812) | Burrell's Hall (Kilkenny) | Co-Rector (1782-1787) Rector (1787-1789) |
| Peter MacLaughlin | Raphoe (1802-1819) Derry (1824-1840) | Seminary (Derry) | Principal (1790-1802) |
| Patrick Everard | Cashel & Emlly (1814-1821) | Maynooth | President (1810-1812) |
| Oliver Kelly | Tuam (1814-1834) | St. Jarlath's (Tuam) | President (1801-1806) |
| Thomas Coen | Clonfert (1815-1847) | Maynooth | Dean (1801-1810) |
| Kyran Marum | Ossory (1815-1827) | Carlow College ^a Diocesan Ecclesiastical College ^b (Kilkenny) | Professor of Theology and Philosophy (1802) ^a President (1811- 1814) ^b |

| Bishop | Diocese (dates) | Seminary | Position(s) held |
|---------------------|--|----------------------------------|---|
| Patrick MacNicholas | Achonry (1818-1852) | Maynooth | Lecturer in Classics (1806) Librarian and Professor of Philosophy (1812) President of Lay College (1815) Professor of Humanity (1817) |
| James Doyle, OSA | Kildare & Leighlin (1819-1834) | Carlow | Chair of Rhetoric (1813) Chair of Theology (1814) |
| Patrick Kelly | Richmond, Virginia (1820-1822) Waterford & Lismore (1822-1829) | Birchfield College (Kilkenny) | Lecturer of Mathematics, Philosophy and Theology (1811-1817) President (1817-1820) Professor of Theology (1817-1820) |
| William Crollly | Down & Connor (1825-1935) Armagh (1835-1849) | Maynooth | Lecturer in Philosophy (1806) Professor of Philosophy (1810) |
| John MacHale | Killala (1825-1834) Tuam (1834-1881) | Maynooth | Assistant (1814) Professor of Dogmatic Theology (1820) |
| Thomas Kelly | Dromore (1826-1832) Armagh (1832-1835) | Maynooth | Dean (1820) Professor of Theology (1825) |

| Bishop | Diocese (dates) | Seminary | Position(s) held |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| James Browne | Kilmore (1827-1865) | Maynooth | Junior Dean (1814) Professor of Scripture (1817) Professor of Hebrew (1818) |
| Michael Collins | Cloyne & Ross (1827-1832) | Carlow | Professor of <i>Belles Lettres</i> (1805-1806) |
| Myles Murphy | Ossory (1828-1829) ³⁴ Ferns (1849-1856) | St. Peter's (Wexford) | President (1811- 1829) |
| William Abraham | Waterford & Lismore (1829-1837) | St. John's College (Waterford) | President (1824-1830) |
| William Kinsella | Ossory (1829-1845) | Carlow | Professor of Natural Philosophy (1818) Chair of Theology (1819-1829) |
| William O'Higgins | Ardagh & Clonmacnoise (1829-1853) | Maynooth | Professor of Theology (1826) |

³⁴ Myles Murphy res. his appointment to Ossory on 9 May 1829.

Appendix VIII: List of episcopal wills, 1675-1864

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-------------------------|---------|---|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| Patrick Duffy O.F.M. | Clogher | 10/20 June 1675 ³⁵ | Patrick Duffy | Aug. 1675 | 1/11 Sept. 1675 |
| Peter Talbot | Dublin | 12/22 Sept. 1676 ³⁶ | Nicholas Netterville | 15/25 Nov. 1680 | Unknown |
| Nicholas French | Ferns | Unknown | Roger Nottingham <i>(priest)</i> <hr style="width: 50%; margin: 5px auto;"/> Thomas Hurley <i>(priest)</i> <hr style="width: 50%; margin: 5px auto;"/> William Ward <i>(priest)</i> | 13/23 Aug. 1678 | Unknown |
| Patrick Dempsey | Kildare | 29 July/8 Aug. 1680 ³⁷ | Roger Nottingham <i>(priest)</i> <hr style="width: 50%; margin: 5px auto;"/> Charles Dempsey <i>(priest)</i> | 23 Feb. 1682 | Unknown |
| Oliver Plunkett | Armagh | 1/11 July 1681 ³⁸ | Maurice Corker O.S.B. <i>(priest)</i> | 1/11 July 1681 | Unknown |

³⁵ Prerogative Court Will Book (1664-1684) (N.A.I., microfilm: PRCT/1/1).

³⁶ Will of Peter Talbot, abp of Dublin (Bodl., Oxford, Carte MS 243, ff 350, 352).

³⁷ Testaments, frais d'enterrement et exécution testamentaire de Patrice Dempsey, préfet du Collège (A.D.N., Lille, 36/D/9 D474/14).

³⁸ In a series of letters from Newgate prison Abp Plunkett relied on a fellow prisoner named Maurice Corker. In a letter dated between 18 and 22 June 1681 he had Corker distribute £38 to six individuals with the remaining balance to be applied to expenses (John Hanly (ed.), *The letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett 1625-1681* (Dublin, 1979), p. 570). In three short documents dated the day of his execution, Plunkett reaffirmed Corker's role as executor of his final wishes: 'I doe acknowledge to have received from m^r Korker what was deposited in his hands for my Use...' and 'my body and clothes &c is at m^r Korkers will and pleasure to be disposed of the first July 81.' (ibid., p. 582).

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--|----------------------|----------------------|
| Mark Forestal, O.S.A. | Kildare | 4/14 Feb. 1682 ³⁹ | Gerard Forestal <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> John Butler | 7/17 Feb. 1683 | 28 Nov./8 Dec. 1684 |
| James Cusack | Meath | 7/17 Feb. 1687 | Gerard Teeling <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> Christopher Tallon <i>(priest)</i> | 1688 | 19/29 Apr. 1688 |
| Luke Wadding | Ferns | Not applicable ⁴⁰ | Not applicable | Dec. 1691 | Not applicable |
| Patrick Russell | Dublin | 15/25 Dec. 1691 | James Russell | 14/26 July 1692 | 16/28 July 1692 |
| James O'Phelan | Ossory | 1/11 July 1693 | Col. Walter Butler <hr/> William Daton | Jan. 1695 | 30 Oct./10 Nov. 1705 |
| Terence Fitzpatrick | Ossory | 26 June/8 July 1696 ⁴¹ | Unknown | 4/15 Mar. 1704 | Unknown |
| John O'Molony II | Limerick | 11/22 Nov. 1701 ⁴² | Arthur Knight <hr/> John Molony <hr/> Thaddeus Molony | 23 Aug./3 Sept. 1702 | Unknown |
| John Dempsey | Kildare & Leighlin | 12/23 July 1703 | Viscountesse Clanmaleere | c.1707 | Unknown |

³⁹ Prerogative Court Will Book (1664-1684) (N.A.I., microfilm: PRCT/1/1)

⁴⁰ Bp Wadding's notebook (Franciscan Library, Killiney, Catalogue J5); Patrick Corish, 'Bishop Wadding's notebook' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxix (1970), pp 49-113 Note regarding notebook

⁴¹ Testament de l'abbé Fitz Patrice (A.D.N., Lille, 36/D/57 D/571/21). Fitzpatrick left items to the Irish College at Lille which can be found at: Effets ecclésiastiques appartenant à l'abbé Fitz Patrice (A.D.N., Lille, 36/D/57 D/571/21).

⁴² Testament de Mr. Jean de Molony, Evêque de Limerick en Irlande, 22 Nov. 1701 (N.L.I., Genealogical Office, Mss 457, f. 85).

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|---|------------------------|------------------------|
| William Daton | Ossory | 4/15 Oct. 1707 | Richard Daton | 15/26 Jan. 1712 | 11/22 Feb. 1712 |
| James Lynch | Tuam | 4/15 Mar. 1711 ⁴³ | James Merick <i>(priest)</i> | 21/31 Oct. 1713 | Unknown |
| Ambrose Madden | Clonfert | 21 May/1 June 1715 | Denis Daly ----- Oliver Bourke ----- William Kelly ----- Henry Skerrett | July 1715 | 10/21 May 1716 |
| Moriarty Kearney | Clonmacnoise | 26 Sept./7 Oct. 1715 ⁴⁴ | Unknown | 22 Sept./3 Oct. 1715 | Unknown |
| Edmund Byrne | Dublin | 20 Feb./3 Mar. 1723 | Edmund Barry | 27 Dec./1 Jan. 1723/24 | 4/15 June 1725 |
| Francis Burke | Tuam | 20 June/1 July 1723 | Denis Kelly <i>(priest)</i> | 23 June/4 July 1723 | Unknown |
| Donagh MacCarthy | Cork, Cloyne & Ross | 23 Oct./3 Nov. 1725 | Daniel MacCarthy ----- Daniel MacCarthy ----- Derby MacCarthy | Mar. 1726 | Unknown |
| Dominic Edward Murphy | Dublin | Unknown | Richard Murphy | Dec. 1728 | 26 Dec./6 Jan. 1728/29 |
| Carbry Kelly | Elphin | 23 Feb./6 Mar. 1729 | Edmund O'Flyne ----- John Kelly | 4/15 Aug. 1731 | Unknown |

⁴³ Liam Swords, 'Calendar of Irish material in the files of Jean Fromont, notary at Paris, May 1701-24 Jan. 1730, in the Archives Nationales, Paris: part 2, 1716-1730' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 36-7 (1994-5), pp 85-139, at pp 92, 134.

⁴⁴ Swords, 'Calendar of Irish material in the files of Jean Fromont', pp 87-9.

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|--|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Malachy Dulany | Ossory | 5/16 Apr. 1731 | Patrick Fitzpatrick <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> Thomas Knaresborough <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> Jasper Shee <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> Mathias Archdekan | 26 Apr./7 May 1731 | Unknown |
| Luke Fagan | Dublin | 12/23 June 1732 ⁴⁵ | John Baptiste Joseph Languet de Gergy <hr/> Bonaventure Baiyn | See below | Voided by will listed below |
| Luke Fagan | Dublin | 9/20 Nov. 1733 | John Reilly <hr/> Thomas Kearnan | 11/22 Nov. 1733 | 30 Nov./11 Dec. 1733 |
| Denis Moriarty | Kerry | 8/19 Aug. 1735 | Richard Moriarty <hr/> Daniel Croneene <hr/> Henry Morrogh <hr/> Richard Trant | a.6/17 Oct. 1738 | |
| Hugh MacMahon | Armagh | 1/12 May 1735 | John Reilly <hr/> Richard Matthew | 2/13 Aug. 1737 | 31 Jan./11 Feb. 1738 |

⁴⁵ Anthony Cogan, *The diocese of Meath, ancient and modern* (3 vols, Dublin, 1867), ii, 156-9.

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--|----------------------|----------------------|
| Cornelius O'Keefe | Limerick | 29 Apr./10 May 1737 | Laurence Nihell <hr/> Richard Harrold | 4/15 May 1737 | Unknown |
| John Armstrong | Down & Connor | 3/14 Oct. 1739 | Robert Jennings <hr/> John Dogherty | Dec. 1739 | 28 May/8 June 1740 |
| Owen (Eugene) O'Sullivan | Kerry | 20/31 May 1743 | Daniel O'Sullivan (priest) <hr/> Tim O'Sullivan (priest) | 19/30 Sept. 1743 | 17/28 Oct. 1743 |
| Sylvester Lloyd O.F.M. | Waterford & Lismore | 9/20 Aug. 1743 | Francis Phelan (priest) <hr/> Andrew Fitzgerald <hr/> Maurice Hearn | Aug. 1747 | 24 Aug./4 Sept. 1749 |
| Ambrose O'Callaghan O.F.M. | Ferns | 7/18 Aug. 1744 | James Lynham | 9/20 Aug. 1744 | 13/24 Aug. 1744 |
| Michael MacDonagh O.P. | Kilmore | 12/23 Sept. 1746 | Bp Stephen MacEgan O.P. <hr/> Eugene Bartly <hr/> Patrick Masterson (priest) | 26 Nov./7 Dec. 1746 | 28 Mar./8 Apr. 1748 |
| Thaddeus (Tadgh) MacCarthy | Cork, Cloyne & Ross | 13/24 Mar. 1747 | John Callanan <hr/> Owen Callanan <hr/> Edmond McSweeny | 20/31 Aug. 1747 | 17/28 Dec. 1747 |

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|--|----------------------|---------------------|
| Francis Stuart O.F.M. | Down & Connor | 12/23 Aug. 1747 | Bryan Hamill <hr/> Bartholomew Brett <hr/> Hugh Hamill | 6/17 June 1750 | 12/23 July 1750 |
| Patrick French O.F.M. | Elphin | 14/25 June 1748 | Unknown | 16/27 June 1748 | Unknown |
| Patrick MacDonagh | Killaloe | 21 Feb./3 Mar. 1752 | Francis Daxon <hr/> John Cuony <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> Michael Kerin <hr/> Anthony McDonagh | 1/12 Mar. 1752 | Not proved |
| Laurence Richardson O.P. | Kilmore | 30 Nov. 1752 | Anthony Ryan <hr/> Mary O'Brien | 29 Jan. 1753 | Not proved |
| Walter Blake | Achonry | 28 Apr. 1758 | John Blake | a.2 June 1758 | 2 June 1758 |
| Bonaventure MacDonnell O.F.M. | Killala | 6 Sept. 1760 | Frank MacDonnell <hr/> Joseph MacDonnell <hr/> Andrew Mahon | 16 Sept. 1760 | Unknown |
| Richard Walsh | Cork | 10 Dec. 1762 | Nicholas Walsh | 7 Jan. 1763 | 12 Jan. 1763 |
| Richard Lincoln | Dublin | 11 May 1763 | Mary Lincoln | 21 June 1763 | 7 Nov. 1763 |
| Anthony O'Garvey | Dromore | 22 Aug. 1766 | Unknown | a.18 Dec. 1766 | 18 Dec. 1766 |

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--|----------------------|---------------------|
| John O'Brien | Cloyne & Ross | Unknown | Matthew MacKenna ⁴⁶ | 13 Mar. 1769 | Unknown |
| Patrick Fitzsimons | Dublin | 9 May 1769 | Peter Callaghan ----- Anthony Flannagan ----- Charles Flannagan | 2 Oct. 1769 | 14 Dec. 1769 |
| Andrew Campbell | Kilmore | 30 Sept. 1769 | Philip Levins (priest) ----- Patrick Lawless ----- Andrew Magrane | 1 Dec. 1769 | 23 Dec. 1769 |
| James Butler I | Cashel & Emly | 20 Aug. 1773 | Michael Butler ----- Edmund Butler | 17 May 1774 | 3 Mar. 1777 |
| Thomas Burke O.P. | Ossory | 16 July 1774 | John O'Connor O.P. (priest) | 26 Sept. 1776 | 28 Oct. 1776 |
| Patrick Robert Kirwan | Achonry | 13 Feb. 1776 | Augustine Kirwan (priest) ----- Patrick John Lynch | Mar./Apr. 1776 | 1 Oct. 1776 |
| Theophilus MacCartan | Down and Connor | 26 Apr. 1777 | Paul MacCartan (priest) ----- Hugh MacCartan ----- Patrick Savage | 16 Dec. 1778 | 22 Dec. 1778 |

⁴⁶ Matthew MacKenna, bp of Cloyne and Ross (1747-1769) was likely the executor of Bp O'Brien's will as he provided a detailed account of O'Brien's legacies in 1786 (Dr. MacKenna's Cloyne Diocesan Register, 1785 (C.D.A., Cobh, Matthew MacKenna Box, 1789.00/2/1785); Eric A. Derr (ed.), 'Episcopal visitations of the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross, 1785-1828 [with index]' in *Archiv. Hib.*, lxvi (2013), pp 261-393, at pp 316, 320-1).

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|---|----------------------|---------------------|
| Mark Skerrett | Tuam | 3 Apr. 1782 | Stephen Lynch <hr/> Thomas Kirwan (<i>priest</i>) | 19 Aug. 1785 | 13 Apr. 1791 |
| James O’Keeffe | Kildare & Leighlin | 9 Aug. 1785 | Daniel Delany (<i>coadj. bp</i>) <hr/> Henry Staunton (<i>priest</i>) | 18 Sept. 1787 | 12 Oct. 1787 |
| Anthony Blake | Armagh | 4 Oct. 1785 | Mary Kirwin | 11 Nov. 1787 | 4 Dec. 1787 |
| John Carpenter | Dublin | 30 June 1786 | Bartholomew Sherlock (<i>priest</i>) <hr/> Robert Bethel (<i>priest</i>) | 29 Oct. 1786 | 10 May 1787 |
| James Brady | Ardagh & Clonmacnoise | 28 Dec. 1787 | Patrick Duffy James Haggarty | 11 Jan. 1788 | 18 Jan. 1788 |
| John Dunne | Ossory | 10 Mar. 1789 ⁴⁷ | Denis Cullenan (<i>priest</i>) <hr/> John Byrne (<i>priest</i>) | 15 Mar. 1789 | Unknown |
| Matthew MacKenna | Cloyne & Ross | 25 Nov. 1791 | Timothy O’Brien (<i>priest</i>) <hr/> David Hease (<i>priest</i>) <hr/> Patrick Donworth (<i>priest</i>) | 4 June 1791 | Not proved |

⁴⁷ Will of John Dunne, 10 March 1789 (O.D.A., Kilkenny, Carrigan Mss, Notebook 8, pp 70-3).

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--|---------------|--------------------|
| James Butler II | Cashel & Emly | 3 July 1791 | George Butler ----- Bp William Egan ----- Edmund Cormick (priest) | 29 July 1791 | 8 Sept. 1791 |
| Denis Conway | Limerick | 23 Sept. 1794 | Mary Gromwell ----- Thomas O'Brien | 19 June 1796 | Unknown |
| Philip MacDevitt | Derry | 17 Mar. 1797 | Bp Charles O'Donnell (coadj. bp) ----- Denis MacDevitt | 24 Nov. 1797 | 12 Sept. 1800 |
| Gerald Teaghan | Kerry | 1 July 1797 | Charles Sughrue (priest) | 4 July 1797 | 19 July 1797 |
| Denis Maguire O.F.M. | Kilmore | 20 May 1798 | Denis Maguire ----- Philip Maguire | 23 Dec. 1798 | 3 Jan. 1799 |
| Charles O'Reilly | Kilmore | 17 Feb. 1800 | Margaret Brady ----- Charles MacKiernan (priest) | 5 Mar. 1800 | 18 Mar. 1800 |
| John Butler, 12th Barons Dunboyne | Cork | 1 May 1800 ⁴⁸ | Maria Butler, Lady Dunboyne ----- Edward Lee | 5 May 1800 | 1800 ⁴⁹ |
| Anthony Coyle | Raphoe | 3 Jan. 1801 | Owen Collins ----- Andrew Fullerton | 22 Jan. 1801 | 26 Mar. 1801 |

⁴⁸ Con Costello, *Faith or fatherhood? Bishop Dunboyne's dilemma* (Dublin, 2000), pp 93-100.

⁴⁹ Sir Arthur Vicars (ed.), *Index to the prerogative wills of Ireland, 1536-1800* (Dublin, 1897), p. 148.

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---|----------------------|---------------------|
| Matthew Lennon | Dromore | 22 Jan. 1801 | Charles McCamly James Reilly Marcus Devlin | 22 Jan. 1801 | 13 Apr. 1801 |
| Thomas O'Connor | Achonry | 1 Nov. 1802 | Vall O'Connor Maly O'Connor James Kirwan Abp William Beresford (<i>Church of Ire.</i>) | 18 Feb. 1803 | 13 Dec. 1803 |
| Thomas Hussey | Waterford & Lismore | 10 July 1803 ⁵⁰ | Thomas Hearn (<i>priest</i>) Keating (<i>priest</i>) Ronan (<i>priest</i>) John Power (<i>priest</i>) Brother Edmund Rice Thomas Quan Robert Barnwell William Cruise | 1803-07-11 | 1803-10-04 |
| Michael Peter MacMahon O.P. | Killaloe | 30 Sept. 1801 | Charles James MacMahon Col. Maurice MacMahon Bp James O'Shaughnessy (<i>coadj. bp</i>) | 20 Feb. 1807 | Unknown |

⁵⁰ Will of Thomas Hussey (W.L.D.A., Waterford, T/H/5.49).

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------|--------------|
| Charles Lynagh | Achonry | 25 Apr. 1808 | John Bourke <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> Henry Joyce <hr/> Thomas Gibbons | 27 Apr. 1808 | 20 May 1808 |
| Luke Concanon O.P. | Kilmacduagh <i>(New York)</i> | 30 Jan. 1810 ⁵¹ | Anthony Filicchi <i>(priest)</i> | 19 June 1810 | 20 Aug. 1810 |
| Florence MacCarthy | Cork | 16 June 1810 | Justin MacCarthy | 17 June 1810 | 4 Sept. 1816 |
| James Lanigan | Ossory | 9 Feb. 1812 | Timothy Ryan <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> Kyran Marum <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> Thomas Quinlan <i>(priest)</i> | 11 Feb. 1812 | 12 Aug. 1812 |
| Valentine Bodkin | Galway | Unknown ⁵² | Thomas Bodkin | Oct. 1812 | 28 Jan. 1813 |
| Dominick Bellew | Killala | 3 Nov. 1810 ⁵³ | Christopher Dillon Bellew <hr/> Bernard McManus | 6 June 1813 | |

⁵¹ Vincent Hughes, *The Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen O.P.: first bishop of New York (1747-1810)* (Freiburg, 1926), pp 142-44.

⁵² Extract will and prerogative of Valentine Bodkin (N.A.I., Dublin, Commissioners of charitable donations and bequests, 1800-58, vol. 1, 285).

⁵³ Brendan Hogan, *'Turbulent diocese': the Killala troubles, 1798-1848* (Ballina, 2011), pp 444-6.

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------|---------------|
| John Young | Limerick | 12 Aug. 1813 ⁵⁴ | Patrick Hogan <i>(priest)</i> ----- Patrick Young ----- Sylvester Young ----- Charles Young | 22 Sept. 1813 | 20 Apr. 1814 |
| Daniel Delany | Kildare & Leighlin | 7 Dec. 1811 ⁵⁵ | Judith Browne | 9 July 1814 | 13 Oct. 1814 |
| Francis Moylan | Cork | 13 Apr. 1814 ⁵⁶ | John England <i>(priest)</i> ----- Jeremiah Collins <i>(priest)</i> | 10 Feb. 1815 | 12 Sept. 1815 |
| John Power I | Waterford & Lismore | Jan. 1816 ⁵⁷ | Thomas Murphy <i>(priest)</i> ----- Nicholas Foran <i>(priest)</i> ----- Brother Edmund Rice | 27 Jan. 1816 | 23 Apr. 1816 |
| Arthur Murphy | Kildare & Leighlin ⁵⁸ | Unknown | Unknown | 9 July 1816 | 1816 |
| Richard O'Reilly | Armagh | 6 Jan. 1818 ⁵⁹ | John Doyle ----- William Doyle | 31 Jan. 1818 | 6 Mar. 1818 |

⁵⁴ Will of John Young, 13 August 1813 (L.D.A., Limerick, not catalogued).

⁵⁵ A copy of Doctor Delany's will extracted from the Registry of the Majesty's Court of Prerogative in Ireland (K.L.D.A., Carlow, Delany Archives, Box Bp/001, DD/13); Certified copy of Bishop Delany's last will and testament (Archives of the Brothers of St. Patrick, Carlow, Delany Archives, Box DV/01/DD/08).

⁵⁶ Last will and testament of Bishop Francis Moylan, 13 Apr. 1814 (C.R.D.A., Cork, Bishop Francis Moylan, Box 9).

⁵⁷ Will of Bishop John Power, Jan. 1816 (W.L.D.A., Waterford, J/P/7/31).

⁵⁸ Listing of will for Arthur Murphy, Kilcock, Co. Kildare (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁵⁹ M. Ó C., 'Will and codicil of Primate Richard O'Reilly (+1818)' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, ii, no. 2 (1957), pp 356-9.

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---|---------------|--------------------------|
| Edmund Derry | Dromore | Unknown | Unknown | 29 Oct. 1819 | 1820 ⁶⁰ |
| Thomas Bray | Cashel & Emly | Unknown ⁶¹ | Unknown | 9 Dec. 1820 | 1821 ⁶² |
| Patrick Everard | Cashel & Emly | 10 May 1820 ⁶³ | Abp Daniel Murray | 31 Mar. 1821 | Unknown |
| John Thomas Troy O.P. ⁶⁴ | Dublin | Unknown | Unknown | 11 May 1823 | Unknown |
| James Murphy | Clogher | 22 Feb. 1822 ⁶⁵ | Patrick Bellew <i>(priest)</i> <hr/> William Bellew | 19 Nov. 1824 | 1824 |
| Charles Sughrue | Kerry | Unknown | Unknown | 29 Sept. 1824 | 1825 ⁶⁶ |
| Patrick Joseph Plunkett | Meath | Unknown | Unknown | 11 Jan. 1827 | Not proved ⁶⁷ |
| Kyran Marum | Ossory | Unknown | Unknown | 22 Dec. 1827 | 1828 ⁶⁸ |
| James O'Shaughnessy | Killaloe | 2 Nov. 1828 ⁶⁹ | Unknown | 5 Aug. 1829 | Unknown |
| Patrick Kelly | Waterford & Lismore | Unknown | Unknown | 8 Oct. 1829 | 1830 ⁷⁰ |
| William Coppinger | Cloyne & Ross | 22 Oct. 1830 ⁷¹ | Michael Collins <i>(coadj. bp)</i> | 10 Aug. 1831 | Unknown |

⁶⁰ Listing of will for Edmund Derry (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/11: 1811-1858 A-J).

⁶¹ A full receipt of the legacies of Thomas Bray, 9 Dec. 1820 (C.E.D.A., Thurles: microfilm, N.L.I. p6000).

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Extract will and prerogative of Patrick Everard (N.A.I., Dublin, Commissioners of charitable donations and bequests, 1800-58, vol. 3, 5).

⁶⁴ Listing of will for John Thomas Troy OP (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁶⁵ Last will and testament of James Murphy, 22 Feb. 1822 (P.R.O.N.I., Belfast, DIO (RC) 1/8/20).

⁶⁶ Listing of will for Charles Sughrue (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁶⁷ Listing of will for Patrick Joseph Plunkett (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁶⁸ Listing of will for Kyran Marum (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁶⁹ Extract of Bishop James O'Shaughnessy's will and testament (Ignatius Murphy, *The diocese of Killaloe, 1800-1850* (Dublin, 1992), p. 410).

⁷⁰ Listing of will for Patrick Kelly (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁷¹ Coppinger's memorial (CDA, Cobh, Coppinger, Box D, 1791.00/10/1830).

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---|---------------|--------------------|
| Thomas Costello | Clonfert | Unknown | Unknown | 9 Oct. 1831 | 1834 ⁷² |
| Patrick Curtis | Armagh | 9 Sept. 1829 ⁷³ | Bp Thomas Kelly (<i>coadj. bp</i>) | 24 July 1832 | Unknown |
| Robert Laffan | Cashel | Unknown ⁷⁴ | Dr. O'Connor (<i>priest</i>) <hr/> Hugh Mulcahy | 3 July 1833 | 1833 ⁷⁵ |
| Oliver Kelly | Tuam | Unknown ⁷⁶ | Cecilia Kelly | 18 Apr. 1834 | 16 Dec. 1834 |
| James Doyle O.S.A. | Kildare & Leighlin | Unknown | Unknown | 15 June 1834 | 1835 ⁷⁷ |
| Thomas Kelly | Armagh | Unknown | Unknown | 14 Jan. 1835 | 1836 ⁷⁸ |
| William Abraham | Waterford & Lismore | 23 Jan. 1837 ⁷⁹ | Dominick Doyle (<i>priest</i>) <hr/> James Cooke (<i>priest</i>) <hr/> John McGrath | 23 Jan. 1837 | 22 Sept. 1837 |

⁷² Listing of will for Thomas Costello, Eyrescourt, Co. Galway (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/11: 1811-1858 A-J).

⁷³ Will of Archbishop Patrick Curtis, 9 Sept. 1829 (A.D.A., Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Memorial Library and Archive, Arch/2/9).

⁷⁴ Account of the executors of the late Dr. Robert Laffan (C.E.D.A., Thurles: microfilm, N.L.I., p6001).

⁷⁵ Listing of will for Robert Laffan (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁷⁶ Estate of Archbishop Oliver Kelly (T.D.A., Tuam, Box 64 Archbishops pre-1834 BO, Folder B0/10-i/3).

⁷⁷ Listing of will for James Doyle, D.D. Braganza House (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/11: 1811-1858 A-J).

⁷⁸ Extract will and codicil of Thomas Kelly (P.R.O.N.I., Belfast, Pre-1858 wills and admons: prerogative wills, Drogheda).

⁷⁹ Papers regarding the validity of Bishop Abraham's Will (W.L.D.A., Waterford, W/B/3/42); Probate of Bishops Abraham's Will (W.L.D.A., Waterford, W/B/3/43); Will of Bishop Abraham and papers related to winding up his estate (W.L.D.A., Waterford, W/B/3/44).

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|---|---------------|--------------------|
| Patrick Burke | Elphin ⁸⁰ | Unknown | Walter Burke ----- Walter J. Burke | 16 Sept. 1843 | 28 Dec. 1843 |
| Edward Kernan | Clogher | Unknown | Unknown | 20 Feb. 1844 | 1844 ⁸¹ |
| William Kinsella | Ossory | 10 Feb. 1844 ⁸² | Edward Walsh <i>(priest)</i> ----- John Gowan <i>(priest)</i> | 12 Dec. 1845 | 29 Oct. 1846 |
| John Murphy | Cork | Unknown | Unknown | 1 Apr. 1847 | 1849 ⁸³ |
| Thomas Coen | Clonfert | 21 Apr. 1847 ⁸⁴ | Michael Clarke <i>(priest)</i> ----- John Macklin <i>(priest)</i> | 25 Apr. 1847 | 11 May 1847 |
| William Crolly | Armagh | 4 Apr. 1849 ⁸⁵ | Unknown | 6 Apr. 1849 | 5 May 1849 |
| James Keating | Ferns | 8 Mar. 1843 ⁸⁶ | Unknown | 7 Sept. 1849 | 6 Oct. 1849 |
| Daniel Murray | Dublin | 10 July 1832 ⁸⁷ | Walter Meyler <i>(priest)</i> ----- John Hamilton <i>(priest)</i> | 26 Feb. 1852 | 1852 |

⁸⁰ Extract will and prerogative of Patrick Burke (N.A.I., Dublin, Commissioners of charitable donations and bequests, 1800-58, vol. 12, 583).

⁸¹ Listing of will for Edward Kernan, Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁸² Extract will and prerogative of William Kinsella (N.A.I., Dublin, Commissioners of charitable donations and bequests, 1800-58, vol. 13, 52).

⁸³ Listing of will for John Murphy (N.A.I., Dublin, PRCT/1/12: 1811-1858 K-Z).

⁸⁴ Extract will and prerogative of Thomas Coen (N.A.I., Dublin, Commissioners of charitable donations and bequests, 1800-58, vol. 13, 93).

⁸⁵ Extract will and prerogative of William Crolly (N.A.I., Dublin, Commissioners of charitable donations and bequests, 1800-58, vol. 13, 182-3).

⁸⁶ Extract will and prerogative of James Keating (N.A.I., Dublin, Commissioners of charitable donations and bequests, 1800-58, vol. 13, 210).

⁸⁷ Extract will and prerogative of Daniel Murray (N.A.I., Dublin, Commissioners of charitable donations and bequests, 1800-58, vol. 15, 15). For a transcription of Murray's will see Evelyn Bolster, 'The last will and testament of Abp Daniel Murray of Dublin (d. 1852)' in *Collect. Hib.*, nos 21-2 (1979-80), pp 149-59, at p. 157-9.

| Name of (arch)bishop | Diocese | Date of Will | Executors | Date of death | Probate date |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| William O'Higgins | Kilmore | Unknown | Unknown | 1853-01-03 | 1853 ⁸⁸ |
| Cornelius Egan | Kerry | Unknown | Unknown | 22 July 1856 | 1856 |
| James Browne | Elphin | 19 June 1855 ⁸⁹ | Unknown | 11 Apr. 1865 | Unknown |
| John Ryan | Limerick | 10 Oct. 1864 ⁹⁰ | Unknown | 6 June 1864 | Unknown |

⁸⁸ Extract will and codicil of William O'Higgins (P.R.O.N.I., Belfast, Pre-1858 wills and admcons, Kilmore diocesan administration bonds)

⁸⁹ Extract will and codicil of James Browne (N.A.I., Dublin, 1865, p. 37). Stated that his total assets were less than £300 (ibid.).

⁹⁰ Extract will and codicil of James Browne (N.A.I., Dublin, 1864, p. 320). Stated that his total assets were less than £35,000 (ibid.).

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