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THE IRISH DOMINICAN PROVINCE
IN THE FINAL DECADES
OF PERSECUTION (1721-1745)

BY
HUGH FENNING O.P.

The reader will find in an earlier number of this journal an account of the Irish Dominican province from 1698 to 1721, a period of crisis which began with the exile of almost all religious from Ireland and closed with the celebration at Dublin of the first elective provincial chapter of the eighteenth century¹. That story is continued here in the same form, that is to say by studying the activities of the successive Irish provincials and working into that framework whatever events of particular importance happened in their time. As in the first article, the opportunity has been taken here of incorporating into the text some original and valuable documents which deserve both the permanence of print and the close attention of future students. The formula, admittedly, is not perfect but neither are the sources at our disposal. One would wish to say more about Irish Dominican writers, about the missionaries of the province in London, Scotland, and the West Indies, about devotion to the Rosary and the local affairs of particular communities, but it is better to establish a solid framework first, by tracing the history of the provincials throughout the century, before embarking on other, perhaps more interesting, themes.

This second period could be described as one of consolidation and growth despite occasional interference and even persecution by the civil authorities. Chapters were regularly held, novices (less regularly) received, convents and even chapels were built; but all this took place in an atmosphere of secrecy and instability since the friars never knew when they might be arrested as the outlaws they legally were. This came to an end in the latter half of 1744 when the government, after a last and savage

¹ H. Fenning, *The Irish Dominican Province under Appointed Superiors (1698-1721)*, in *AFP* 38 (1968) 259-357.

bout of persecution, came to the conclusion that the friars were "not only inoffensive men but objects of compassion"². Hence, in discussing the six provincials who ruled the province from 1721 to 1745, one is hampered by the poverty of the sources. The provincials wrote very seldom, while those who received their letters had every encouragement to destroy them. Even the Roman archives contain only a total of two letters from all six, and one of the two would not have been preserved at all had it not been joined to the acts of a provincial chapter. Fortunately the registers of the Masters General (AGOP IV) are for this period unusually rich in information about Ireland: better still, they have never in this respect been used at all. With their aid one can reconstruct the sequence of events, filling out the narrative with other documents of Roman or Irish provenance.

STEPHEN MACÉGAN, 1721-1726

The first provincial to be elected in Ireland in the eighteenth century was Stephen MacEgan of Dublin who was born about 1681, received the Dominican habit at Holy Cross, Louvain, and made his first appearance in the records of the province on 28 January 1701 as a "choir novice" in that community³. On 18 July 1707, his superiors presented him to the internuncio at Brussels for missionary faculties and a subsidy towards his passage back to Ireland⁴. In the autumn of that year he returned to Dublin where he was destined to remain until his election as provincial in 1721. Conditions at Dublin were very difficult for priests, and more difficult still for friars, but Father MacEgan set about the restoration of the Dominican convent in the city. For a while he acted as curate in the united parishes of SS. James and Catherine⁵. His name appears as prior of St. Saviour's, Dublin, on a document of 7 August 1713, and it is clear that the "convent" was a reality by the following year⁶. Later, about 1716, he succeeded in opening a small chapel in

² Wilmot, writing in 1759 in the name of the Duke of Devonshire. W. P. Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times, 1660-1760*, Waterford 1914, 422.

³ TA (= Irish provincial archives, Tallaght), *Liber Provinciae*, f. 29v.

⁴ APF (= Archivio de Propaganda Fide), SC Irlanda 6, f. 268-271. MacEgan and his companion, James Lynham, were given only part of the subsidy: they had to beg the rest.

⁵ T. Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, Cologne 1762, 197.

⁶ The document of 1713 is in APF, CP 34B, f. 185. As regards the date of foundation of the convent, one may note a dispute of 1728 about a maid who had then been working in the convent for 14 years. AGOP IV. 214, p. 16.

Bridge Street to replace the earlier Dominican church (Cook Street) which had passed to the diocesan clergy of St. Audeon's parish after the exile of 1698. With the help of frequent extensions and repairs, MacEgan's chapel served the Dominicans of Dublin until their removal to Denmark Street in 1780⁷.

After 1717 he played an important part in settling some of the Galway nuns at Dublin. When the provincial Anthony Maguire was transported in August 1718, he chose Stephen MacEgan to be vicar provincial in his absence. MacEgan was also definitor for Leinster at the provincial chapter of 1720, and in the following year was promoted master of sacred theology (S.T.M.) by title of preaching⁸. So much for his *ratio vitae*: on the more personal level we have the testimony of Thomas Burke that he was the finest preacher in Ireland, and the comment of a priest who described him in 1747 as "dry, meek, and charitable tempered"⁹.

The provincial chapter which opened at Dublin on 27 July 1721 brought the province back to normal. It was the first elective chapter since 1694. The new provincial, thanks to the general chapter of 1721, would henceforth enjoy full jurisdiction over the colleges of the province at Louvain, Lisbon, and Rome. No longer would the master general directly govern the colleges or appoint provincials on his own initiative. So, at least, the province thought at the time.

The four definitors (each of whom we are soon to meet again) were James Cormick prior of Dublin, Dominic Brullaughan prior of Coleraine, John O'Brien prior of Youghal, and Colman O'Shaghnessy prior of Tombeola¹⁰. In the election of the provincial only candidates from Leinster were considered, but Stephen MacEgan drew a unanimous vote, twenty-nine in a total of thirty, which meant that the only vote he did not get was his own. Two Irishmen at Rome, John Brown and Gerald Weldon, were appointed to represent the province at the next general chapter.

The legislation of the chapter does not require detailed analysis, since it largely repeated the rules already laid down by the provincial chapter

⁷ H. Fenning, *St. Saviour's Church Dublin: Centenary 1861-1961*, Dublin 1961, 66.

⁸ For these and other details see AFP 38 (1968) 333-334, 341, 343, 346. MacEgan was already preacher general before becoming a master, but I find no trace of that earlier promotion in AGOP IV.

⁹ SCAR, Codex I, Vol. 1, doc. 139. For Burke's comment see *Hibernia Dominicana*, 501.

¹⁰ The original acts are in AGOP XIII. 68095.

of 1720¹¹. Preachers, who had already been warned in 1720 to expound the Gospel and Christian doctrine on Sundays and feastdays, were now told to exert themselves as well in promoting the devotion of the Rosary¹². Special arrangements were made about the goods left by deceased brethren on the continent. The General was to be asked to permit the college at Louvain to recover the goods of those who died in Spain, France, and Germany, and to let the college at Rome acquire the effects of those who died in Italy¹³. Presumably the chapter thought that Lisbon could fend for itself.

The chapter of 1720 having dealt in detail with the reception and training of novices, there was no need to cover the same ground again. One notices, however, in the acts of 1721, a somewhat stronger determination to put an end to abuses in the matter. After naming local examiners of postulants, the chapter warns them to be moderate and circumspect, "since it is perfectly obvious to us that some have gone to excess in the reception of novices". Another part of the same ordination decreed that if the Constitutions of the order were not observed at the reception of a candidate, the novice concerned would be held not to have been received at all¹⁴.

The definitors wrote separately to the master general Augustine Pipia to congratulate him on his recent election and to thank him for the many benefits he had already showered on the Irish province¹⁵. This was a reference to the province's newly recovered rights granted two months previously by the general chapter at Rome. The definitory also asked Father Pipia to help the new provincial by forcing Irish friars, then comfortably ensconced on the continent, to come back to the mission. Their request did not fall on deaf ears. On 11 October 1721, when sending his confirmation of the provincial election to Patrick Diamond prior of Louvain, Pipia asked the latter to compel any Irishmen (already assigned to Ireland) who might have settled in the neighbourhood of Louvain to go back to the mission at once. The acts of the chapter were likewise confirmed on 15 October¹⁶.

¹¹ Discussed in AFP 38 (1968) 342-345. The unanimous vote is noted in AGOP IV. 201, p. 109.

¹² *Ordinatio* 2.

¹³ *Ordinatio* 4.

¹⁴ *Ordinatio* 5.

¹⁵ Dublin, 31 July 1721. Original in AGOP XIII. 68095.

¹⁶ The confirmation of the election and the acts is noted without comment in AGOP IV. 201, p. 109. The full text of Pipia's letter, equally devoid of comment, has been preserved by Edmund Burke, *Dissertatiuncula*, par. LX. AGOP XIII. 68095.

THE NUNS OF DROGHEDA, 1722-1725

The most outstanding event of Father MacEgan's provincialate was the founding of a monastery for Dominican nuns at Drogheda. Although the idea was partly his own, the new venture caused him more trouble than he had a right to expect.

At the beginning of the century there was but one monastery of the order in Ireland, that of Galway. In 1717 some of the sisters moved to Dublin to found a second monastery there. Among the group were two close relatives of Oliver Plunkett († 1681) the martyred archbishop of Armagh, namely Catherine and Mary Plunkett, daughters of Thomas Plunkett a citizen of Drogheda. Both had been professed at Galway on 1 November 1709, Catherine taking the name of Sr. Mary of the Assumption, and Mary that of Sr. Mary of St. Joseph. The latter died at Dublin on 24 June 1719¹⁷. Thomas Burke, who knew Catherine personally (for she lived on to 1757), claims that she never was a member of the Dublin monastery but went at once (in 1717) from Dublin to Brussels where she lived for some years with the English Dominican nuns¹⁸.

Sister Catherine Plunkett, according to the annals of her own convent in Drogheda, was recalled from Brussels in 1721 by the provincial with a view to making the new foundation¹⁹. In the same year, on 27 August to be precise, the master general refused permission to an English nun at Brussels, Margaret Joseph Compton, who wished to go to Ireland to live in a new monastery which she hoped would soon be erected there²⁰. The inference is that Sister Margaret had become friendly with Catherine Plunkett and wished to accompany her to Drogheda. After later requests from the archbishop of Armagh and from Sister Catherine herself, the English nun got the permission she wanted on 29 May 1723, but it was withdrawn on 14 August following when Father Pipia learned that the English community at Brussels needed her and that she was only six years professed²¹.

¹⁷ For these details I am obliged to Fr. Luke Taheney O.P. of Galway.

¹⁸ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 353-354, 361. See also AFP 38 (1968) 333-334.

¹⁹ Cited by P. Moran, *Memoir of Oliver Plunkett*, Dublin 1895, 444.

²⁰ AGOP IV. 201, p. 109.

²¹ AGOP IV. 201, p. 116-117. Sister Compton was professed at Brussels on 1 July 1717 at the age of 22. For this and other details see Catholic Record Society, Vol. XXV (London 1925) 192, 212, 228, 233-235.

On 8 May 1728, in reply to a query from Sr. Catherine Plunkett, the master general said that the provincial had not asked to recover jurisdiction over the mo-

The master general formally "restored" the monastery of Drogheda by a letter dated 28 March 1722 of which the full text has long been published²². The letter subjected the monastery to the jurisdiction of the Irish provincial, named Sister Catherine Plunkett as first prioress, and granted the monastery the right to elect its own superiors, a right already conceded to Galway and Dublin by the general chapter of 1721. The letter presumed the existence of a Dominican monastery at Drogheda in former times, though there is no certain evidence of such an earlier foundation. The most one can adduce is that two Irish nuns, natives of Newhaggard, who fled from Ireland about 1690 and made their way to Paris, may have belonged to a community in or near Drogheda: they certainly had no connection with Galway²³. Besides, the nuns of Drogheda (unlike their sisters in Waterford at a later date) never asked for sanatory letters on the grounds that the alleged earlier foundation had not in fact existed.

The prime movers behind the enterprise were Catherine's mother Rose Plunkett, Hugh MacMahon archbishop of Armagh, and Father Stephen MacEgan. The nuns long preserved a portrait of the Primate and a grandfather clock bearing both his name and the date 1722²⁴. Some difference of opinion unfortunately arose between the provincial, the foundress Rose Plunkett, and her daughter Sister Catherine, for the master general warned Father MacEgan in a letter of 4 December 1723 that he ought rather to help them than to cause them trouble²⁵. One short week later Father Pipia took more drastic action still without waiting to hear what MacEgan had to say in his defence. According to the General's information, the provincial had misbehaved in the monastery

nastery, and that Sr. Mary Compton of Brussels could not be permitted to go to Drogheda. AGOP IV. 214, p. 6.

²² *Hibernia Dominicana*, 360-361. The letter is registered in AGOP IV. 201, p. 111. The term *sorores* used in the letter encouraged a doubt at the beginning of this century as to whether the nuns of Drogheda were of the Second Order or the Third. In this respect one may note that the General's registers of the period use the term *sorores* with regard to the nuns of Bom Successo (Lisbon) and the English nuns of Brussels, both of which communities were certainly of the Second Order.

²³ H. Fenning, *Dominican Nuns of Meath: 1671-1713*, in *Riocht na Midhe*, Vol. III no. 3 (1965) 201-203.

²⁴ A. Coleman, *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh* by James Stuart, Dublin 1900, 277. The Primate also gave them the head of Bl. Oliver Plunkett, which the sisters reverently preserved until the present century. The portrait, if I am not mistaken, is that reproduced by D. Carolan Rushe, *History of Monaghan for Two Hundred Years: 1660-1860*, Dundalk 1921, opposite p. 48.

²⁵ AGOP IV. 201, p. 118.

in the presence of the archbishop of Armagh in such a way as to cause the Plunketts to consider abandoning the whole project. He therefore withdrew the monastery entirely from the provincial's jurisdiction on 11 December 1723 and decided to appoint a vicar to govern the monastery of Drogheda in his, the General's, name²⁶. The new vicar, Thomas Morley S.T.M., was formally appointed on 29 January 1724²⁷.

The provincial explained himself at once, saying that Rose Plunkett was to blame: she had "put the girls out of the convent" — a reference apparently to girls who were being educated there — and had cut the seal from the official letters of foundation. Father Pipia accepted the explanation and wrote to tell Stephen MacEgan that Rose Plunkett's unstable temperament was the cause of the whole trouble: but he did not, for all that, restore the monastery to the provincial's jurisdiction²⁸. Thomas Morley was told to go to Ireland from the Low Countries if he thought his presence in Drogheda would help the struggling foundation: the feeling in Rome was that the monastery could scarcely survive, since word had come that a Protestant was threatening to have Rose Plunkett exiled from Ireland if she did not abandon her plans for a nunnery²⁹.

In a later letter of 17 October 1724, Stephen MacEgan alleged that the sisters of Drogheda treated both him and the province with contempt³⁰. At the time he wrote, the nuns were left very much to their own devices for Thomas Morley, the General's vicar, died at Bruges on 28 September 1724 and the prior of Carlingford (whom Morley had deputed to act in his name) followed him to the grave on 6 October. However, instead of giving jurisdiction over the nuns back to the provincial, Pipia thought it better to name another vicar in the person of Patrick Diamond S.T.M. on 11 November 1724³¹. Peace was soon resto-

²⁶ 11 Dec. 1723. Pipia to MacEgan. AGOP IV. 201, p. 118. The General's information appears to have come from Sr. Catherine Plunkett and Thomas Morley, a native of the Drogheda area. It is quite likely that Patrick Plunkett of the Minerva played a part in this affair.

²⁷ AGOP IV. 201, p. 119. The name Morley also occurs as Marley in this case.

²⁸ 8 Apr. 1724. Pipia to MacEgan. AGOP IV. 201, p. 121.

²⁹ 15 Apr. 1724. Pipia to Th. Morley. *Ibidem*.

³⁰ Dublin, 17 Oct. 1724. MacEgan to Pipia. AGOP XIII. 68095. The full text of this important letter will be supplied below, pp. 264-266.

³¹ AGOP IV. 201, p. 126. Patr. Diamond was earlier a missionary on Martinique (1711) and prior of Drogheda (1720). Later he became prior of Louvain (1721-1724) but had already returned to Ireland before his appointment as vicar. He died at Drogheda in 1729. Hyacinth Watson succeeded him as vicar on 27 Aug. 1729. AGOP IV. 214, p. 22.

red and the foundation of the monastery went ahead without further acrimony. At any event, the only later reference to Drogheda in the registers during MacEgan's term of office occurs under the date 20 January 1725 when the master general told the prioress of Galway to restore Catherine Plunkett's dowry, taking care to add the two years' interest which Sister Catherine had not received³².

NOVICES AND STUDENTS, 1721-1724

When the regular clergy returned to Ireland after 1698, their desire to make good their losses led to a certain amount of indiscriminate recruitment: they took in too many without much regard for quality. The Dominicans of Esker (Athenry) gave the habit to no less than twenty-four postulants between 1711 and 1720³³, and Esker was only one of perhaps ten Dominican "pories" in which novices were then being received. The effects of this policy began to be felt during Stephen MacEgan's provincialate.

Anthony Sall, rector of the Irish Dominicans at Lisbon, wrote to the General in the autumn of 1721 complaining of the "multitude" of religious who flocked to the college and exhausted its meagre resources: he was told to admit those bearing proper letters of obedience and to punish the rest as fugitives and vagabonds³⁴. Similar complaints must have reached Father Pipia from provincials on the continent, for he penned a stiff letter to Father MacEgan on 20 March 1723, warning him to send to Europe only good-living and properly trained subjects, adequately instructed in the rites and ceremonies of the order, so that the flood of protests might cease³⁵.

Adm. R.P.M. Provincialis Salutem,

Rationabiliter vere quarundam Provinciarum superiores conqueruntur subinde ex nostris clericis Hibernis recenter professis ad suas venire Provincias, qui nec de vestitu religioso provisi, nec in Ordinis ceremoniis et rubricis sunt instructi, quibus proinde conventus huiusmodi clericis ex charitate fra-

³² AGOP IV. 201, p. 127.

³³ Calculated from H. Fenning, *The Athenry House Chronicle, 1666-1779*, in *Collectanea Hibernica*, No. 11 (1968) 43-45.

³⁴ 20 Dec. 1721. Pipia to Sall. AGOP IV. 201, p. 110.

³⁵ Registered in AGOP IV. 201, p. 115. The full text is supplied above from the Journal or common-place book of Edmund Burke († 1739), now AGOP XIII. 69159, p. 127.

terna recipientes premature gravantur difficillimis hisce temporibus aliunde sufficienter gravati. Quod ne deinceps fiat, mandamus Paternitati V. A. R. quatenus suae Provinciae talibus provideat subiectis, de quibus spes bene fundata habeatur, quod suo tempore sacro Ordini proficui, et ad missiones apostolicas fructuose exercendas fient idonei. Quos ita habiles, non nisi bene instructos, et necessario Ordinis vestitu, caeterisque pro statu religioso requisitis, decenter provisos, et quidem in numero minime excedente, ad alias opulentiores provincias, in quibus viget regularis observantia, expediat.

Ne autem contingat recenter eiusmodi professos vagationi diuturnae exponi quando benevolos receptores tam facile invenire non possent, ideo priusquam ad aliam mittantur Provinciam, superior illius per litteras requiratur pro certo aliquo conventu designando, ad quem directe se conferre possent. Hoc nostrum mandatum cum rationi sit omnimode consonum volumus ut exacte observetur, ne quoad hoc in futurum amplius inquietemur, ut ultimate tandem etiam obligemur ad quasdam restrictiones ordinandas minus forsitan gratas, in contrario tamen eventu pernecessarias. Valeat, nostri et sociorum ad aram memor.

The attitude of the province, expressed in its reply of 2 September 1723, was that the provincial chapters of 1720 and 1721 had brought an end to all abuses in the matter³⁶. Edmund Burke offered the characteristic comment that the problem existed only for as long as the masters general insisted on naming the Irish provincials themselves³⁷. But, whatever the cause, there was no doubt about the reality: Father Pipia spoke from hard experience. Even if priests on the mission took care to admit only boys of promise whose parents could pay for their journey to the continent after the novitiate year, it was still true that these novices received only the most rudimentary training; they could not risk travelling with a religious habit in their luggage; and the priors in Ireland were in no position to arrange for specific convents to receive them on arrival. Arrangements of that sort must have been left to the priors at Lisbon and Louvain, or the procurator at Madrid, if they were not simply left to chance. On 8 October 1723, Father Pipia forcefully rebuked Patrick Diamond, prior of Louvain, telling him never again to dare to send religious abroad "in rags and tatters" as he had recently sent a cleric named James Deane to Genoa. The Irish province, he felt, ought not to accept more novices than its own (foreign) convents could shelter: and the prior of Holy Cross, Louvain, should first ask the con-

³⁶ Letter of the intermediate chapter at Dublin to Pipia. Original in AGOP XIII. 68095.

³⁷ Edm. Burke, *Journal*, p. 127.

tinental provincials whom they wished to receive, before sending the novices out to convents which did not expect them³⁸.

Another problem was the question of personal documents, baptismal certificates and the like, which young Irish friars abroad absolutely needed for admission to convents or the reception of sacred orders. A group of four young Irishmen (William Clemens, John Ryan, Francis Casey, and Patrick Brullaughan) at the convent of Bosco Marengo in Lombardy, were held back from ordination about this time for lack of proof of their baptism or profession. Pipia had to write on their behalf to Father MacEgan on 27 May 1724, and he took the occasion to insist that the provincial should warn the entire province to see that novices leaving Ireland brought the necessary certificates with them³⁹. It subsequently transpired that the four in Lombardy had in fact left home with the documents in their possession, but lost them along the way: deliberately, perhaps, considering the risk they ran in carrying them.

In 1723 and 1724, the archbishop of Cashel and other Irish prelates complained of the indiscriminate reception of novices to Propaganda Fide. The congregation reached no practical decision at the time, but it is interesting to note that the Dominican superiors came to grips with many aspects of the problem before Propaganda even began to study it⁴⁰. Pipia never had to carry out his threat of limiting the number of novices his subjects might receive in Ireland.

The master general also took an interest in their studies. After the usual theological course, Irish clerics were to do a further two years of moral theology, "controversies", and scripture. Then, provided they were already priests, they might return to the mission with a formal obedience either from the Irish provincial or the General⁴¹. Stephen MacEgan found that foreign superiors would not support the General with regard to the two extra years of study, but sent their Irish students back home (without advising either the provincial or the General) as soon as they finished their basic *quinquennium*, with the result that some of the Dominicans in Ireland were not properly prepared for their work.

³⁸ AGOP IV. 201, p. 117.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 122.

⁴⁰ H. Fenning, *The Undoing of the Friars of Ireland: a study of the Novitiate Question in the eighteenth century*, Louvain 1972.

⁴¹ 24 July 1723. Pipia to MacEgan. AGOP IV. 201, p. 116. It is clear from the list supplied in the appendix to this article that most of those sent to Ireland by the General were resident in Italy. The Irish provincial seems to have assigned many from Louvain and Lisbon on his own initiative.

The provincial asked Father Pipia to command the provincials of Italy and Spain to keep these students until they had completed the supplementary studies he recommended⁴². With that, the General veered away from his own proposal, explaining that the continental provincials could not afford to provide additional teachers for these Irishmen. He recommended Father MacEgan to appoint a special lector who might instruct young priests on their return to the mission⁴³.

THE INTERMEDIATE CHAPTER OF 1723

Stephen MacEgan appears to have remained in Ireland throughout his first four years in office, save for a visit to Louvain in June 1723⁴⁴. Nor did he stay there long, for he was back in Dublin on 22 August (when he attested his approval of Sylvester Lloyd's *Catechism*)⁴⁵ in time for the intermediate chapter held in the following month. The seventeen representatives of the province who attended it in Dublin unanimously approved of MacEgan's conduct as provincial. The chapter also wrote a letter (2 September 1723) to the master general about some problems which had come up for discussion⁴⁶.

The first concerned Edward Fitzgerald, procurator of the province at Madrid. More than fourteen priests attested that although Fitzgerald duly received the royal viatick intended to pay for their return to Ireland, he kept the money himself and let them make their way home as best they could. The procurator had also received large sums of which he gave the province no account. The chapter wished to recall Fitzgerald to Ireland for an interview and asked Father Pipia to permit the provincial to name another procurator should Fitzgerald fail to give a good account of his stewardship⁴⁷. Another problem concerned Lisbon

⁴² Dublin, 17 Oct. 1724. MacEgan to Pipia. AGOP XIII. 68095. The full text is supplied below, pp. 264-266.

⁴³ 10 Feb. 1725. Pipia to MacEgan. AGOP IV. 201, p. 127.

⁴⁴ Mentioned under a later date (1 Apr. 1724) in AGOP IV. 201, p. 120.

⁴⁵ APF, SC Irlanda 8, ff. 154-155. The fact is also noted by C. Giblin from Nunziatura di Fiandra in Coll. Hib. No. 5 (1962) 108-109. MacEgan here styles himself a doctor of theology, perhaps intending his mastership. The other Dominican signatories were Ter. Kennedy, James Cormick, and John Byrne.

⁴⁶ The official result of the scrutiny, signed by Peter MacDermott, Anthony Sall, and Edm. Burke, is in AGOP XIII. 68095. There are no acts of the chapter, but the letter (2 Sept. 1723) written in its name by the secretary, John Donnelly, occurs *ibidem*.

⁴⁷ According to Edm. Burke (Journal, p. 135), the chapter actually named a new procurator at Madrid in the person of Dom. O'Dogherty of Roscommon: hardly had

where the Irish rectors were accustomed to sanction the reception of girls, mostly Portuguese girls, into the monastery without reference to the Irish provincial. The chapter feared that the Irish nuns of Bom Successo would be entirely outnumbered by the Portuguese and that the monastery itself would be lost to the province.

Pipia duly replied to the chapter on 27 November 1723, but only to disagree with its proposals⁴⁸. Since Fitzgerald had been vindicated from earlier charges, the master general saw no reason to replace him by another⁴⁹. Time would soon tell how wrong Pipia was on this point. Nor would the General interfere with Bom Successo since the King of Portugal wished Portuguese sisters to be admitted there. The best Father MacEgan could do, in the General's estimation, was to encourage Portuguese nobles to use their influence towards maintaining the Irish character of the monastery without offending the King.

Evidently the newly recovered jurisdiction over the foreign foundations, with which the province in 1721 had been so pleased, was beginning to crumble away. Pipia supported it in principle, but not always in practice. The Roman convent of SS. Sixtus and Clement, being so close to the curia, had far more to do with the General than with the Irish provincial. Pipia held visitation there in January 1722, sent them a commissary in July, and appointed a vicar in November pending the election of a prior⁵⁰. He confirmed priorial elections, assigned subjects to and from the convent, and appointed the lectors who taught in it. He even gave some form of authority over the community to John Brown (an Irish Dominican), confessor of James III, at whose request he framed ordinations for the betterment of the college⁵¹.

The college of Holy Cross, Louvain, though near enough to Ireland, did not for all that escape the General's attentions. The provincial and he seem to have ruled it amicably between them. Stephen MacEgan visited the college in June 1723, made ordinations which Father Pipia subsequently approved, appointed and removed some members of the staff, and left John MacGhee on the spot to act as vicar-provincial⁵².

he taken possession than Pipia, on the advice of Pat. Plunkett, deposed him and restored Edw. Fitzgerald to the procuratorship.

⁴⁸ AGOP IV. 201, p. 118.

⁴⁹ On Fitzgerald's earlier troubles see AFP 38 (1968) 335-337.

⁵⁰ AGOP IV. 201, pp. 111, 113, 114.

⁵¹ On 28 Apr. 1725. AGOP IV. 201, p. 127. One of the ordinations specified that the community was never to number more than sixteen.

⁵² Dublin, 17 Oct. 1724. MacEgan to Pipia. The full text is supplied below.

MacGhee carried out a visitation of Holy Cross at the provincial's request in April 1724, but made matters more complicated than they need have been by appointing Michael Heaffy vicar *in capite*. The visitator thus exceeded his authority, while Heaffy produced his patents of appointment only on the day after the community had elected a vicar *in capite* of its own⁵³. The result was a stream of letters to the General who naturally took matters into his own hands. By November 1724, Pipia had begun to assign people to and from Louvain as well as to appoint professors there. One feels, nonetheless, that he would willingly have left Louvain to the provincial had the community not appealed to Rome so often.

The same was true of Lisbon, with the added complication that the King was opposed to the jurisdiction of the Irish provincial over the priests and nuns of that city. After the visit to Lisbon of an earlier provincial, Hugh Callanan, a royal decree of 6 October 1713 declared that only Portuguese nationals might hold canonical visitation in the monastery of Bom Successo or the college of Holy Rosary⁵⁴. That explains why the Portuguese provincial, Antonio a Sacramento, was made visitator and vicar-general of both communities on 18 April 1722⁵⁵. Stephen MacEgan did indeed receive the General's licence to visit Bom Successo in July 1723, but there is no reason to believe that he ever laid eyes on that monastery⁵⁶. On 8 January 1724, Father Pipia named five lectors in one day for the college in Lisbon, having been given to understand by the rector that the King would admit no foreign religious authority save that of Rome⁵⁷. So far, then, as Lisbon was concerned, the jurisdiction of the Irish provincial was non-existent, despite the assurances of the general chapter.

The following letter from Stephen MacEgan to Father Pipia — the only surviving letter of his provincialate — refers to his work for Louvain, as well as to other problems upon which we have already touched: the question of supplementary studies, the nuns of Drogheda, and the four

⁵³ Note that the problem about the vicar *in capite* arose only in July, whereas the visitation took place in April 1724. AGOP IV. 201, pp. 120, 122-123. Edm. Burke blamed Pat. Plunkett of Rome for the confusion at Louvain. Journal, p. 137.

⁵⁴ The date of the decree is given in a letter (Lisbon, 9 July 1730) from Humbert Burke to Pipia's successor Ripoll. AGOP XIII. 68098. On Callanan's visitation see AFP 38 (1968) 324-325.

⁵⁵ AGOP IV. 209, f. 50^v.

⁵⁶ AGOP IV. 201, p. 116.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 119.

clerics of Bosco in need of testimonial letters⁵⁸. MacEgan mentioned that there were 175 Dominican priests on the mission, a solid advance over the figure "more than ninety" which we have for 1707, and a number which would not vary greatly until after 1750⁵⁹.

Rme Pater,

Adversa valetudine, summoque labore iam sex integros menses in visitatione nostrae provinciae consumpsi, sed hoc mihi solatium est, quod (vestros Rme Pater) subditos in hoc regno magis assiduos ac indefessos in animarum captura invenerim, quam cum ultimo statum provinciae vobis repraesentaverim. Nec mirum, quia ex certitudine paternae protectionis vestrae (quam semper illis benevole indulsit) ad sua munera peragenda quamplurimum animantur, praecipue cum Deus filium SSmi Patriarchae nostri tam miraculose in diebus nostris, tanquam alterum Machabeum ad redimendum populum suum, exaltaverit in sedem sanctam suam⁶⁰.

Centum septuaginta quinque patres existunt de facto in missione, ex quibus pauci rebelles qui praepropere a studiis reversi, sed hos divina spirante gratia ad pascuas salutare brevi reducam. Licet nostris studentibus in exteris regnis mandaverit tua Rma Ptas ne ad proprios lares redirent, etiam si quinquennium compleverint, quin prius theologiae morali et controversiis duobus vacarent annis, a provincialibus tamen finito cursu ordinario dimittuntur, quamvis inculti et ad missiones inepti. Quare humillime deprecor quatenus V.R.P. ad provinciales Hispaniae et Italiae scribere dignaretur, ut ex solita erga nostros clementia et charitate duos adhuc indulgeant annos, ut magis idonei pro missionibus reddantur.

In reditu meo a visitatione provinciae litterae vestrae circa novam fundationem Pontanensem ad meas accessere manus. Mandatis vestris per illas mihi significatis alacriter submitto, iisque inhaerebo, quamvis illae filiae per exemptiones concessas ducant in quantum possunt me et provinciam in contemptum. Commissarius pro regimine illarum constitutus hactenus ad exequendas vestras ordinationes non apparuit. Constituit nihilominus vicarium, qui erat actualis prior Carlingfordensis. Hoc aegre tuli, sed contraire nolui nesciens facultates quibus munitus fuerit praefatus Commissarius [Thomas Morley] qui obiit Brugis in Flandria die 28 Septembris praeteriti, et dictus prior discessit e vita die sexta currentis mensis. Ita illarum infortunium est, neminem habere de facto qui vel deserviat aut illas regat. Interim, Rme Pater, humilis mea

⁵⁸ Dublin, 17 Oct. 1724. AGOP XIII. 68095. Unfortunately we do not have the earlier report MacEgan mentions here. The General's reply (10 Feb. 1725) is registered in AGOP IV. 201, p. 127.

⁵⁹ The figure for 1707 is given in AFP 38 (1968) 308.

⁶⁰ A reference to Vincenzo Maria Orsini, O.P., archbishop of Benevento, who was elected Pope on 29 May 1724 and took the name Benedict XIII.

petitio est, ut non amoveantur Piores a suis conventibus me inconsulto, ne conventus damnum patiantur ob defectum pastorum, ut casu predicto.

Quod meam visitationem et ordinationes pro integro conventus Lovaniensis bono factas approbaverit, Rmae Pti Vrae infinitas ago gratias. Similia statuta pro isto collegio pernecessaria fuere, ut ex eorum libris (quibus subsignare non potui, nisi iniuste agendo) constat. Totam rem iamdiu ad vos transmissem nisi praeventus desiderio celandi fratrum fragilitates, ne R.P.Vrae tranquillitatem perturbarent, et quod fuerim ductus spe corrigendi errata, propria auctoritate. Hinc est quod Regentem Secundarium P. Hiacinthum Watson tot officii onustum, et tanquam malum administratorem a quibusdam amovuerim, principaliter ab officio procuratoris et magistri novitiorum ob incompatibilitatem culinae et fori cum schola et novitiatu. Futuris malis occurrere desiderans, institui Rdum ac Eximium P. M. [Iohannem] Maghee, a pietate, doctrina, et regulari observantia commendabilem, meum Vicarium Provinciale ut diligentius inspiceret rebus dicti conventus. Ex ipsius epistola intelligo ipsum accusatum esse apud tuam Rmam Ptem a regente secundario, a magistro studentium, et ab artium lectore una cum studentibus iuvenibus qui modo triumphant, quod contra me et meum Vicarium apud vos praevaluerint. Non miror, Rme Pater, illos similia attentare, quandoquidem praefatus lector Laurentius Richardson, nondum sacerdos, scripserit non ita pridem ad quandam religiosum hic commorantem, quaerens ab ipso quem vellet habere priorem Lovaniensem; quod esset in ipsius potestate facere priorem ad libitum in dicto conventu, et cetera. Licet ingenio polleat, superbia et ambitione plenus, et si haec in viridi et cetera. Puerilia sunt sed periculosissima. Pro-regente Watson nunquam praeficerem illum communitati ob rationes antecedenter allatas, et certus sum quod ex libertatis et continui excursus amore, iunxerint manus contra meum Vicarium et alios graves patres.

Quare Rmae Pti Vrae enixe supplico, quatenus patrocinium vestrum meo Vicario pro regimine istius conventus dare, et petitionibus eius annuere dignemini. Oppressi enim sunt, ex mala villicatione, aere alieno, et in sacris celebrandis quamplurimum debitores facti, ita ut hoc triennio elapso quinque millibus sacris pro conventu Lovaniensi satisfecerim, semper tamen intentus exteris illorum obligationibus satisfacere, modo suis rixis et discordia non obstant. Praeferres ergo (Rme Pater) testimonium nostrum falsis puerorum et adolescentium insinuationibus, quandoquidem antiquior illorum in Ordine nostro duodecimum annum nondum est adeptus. Haec omnia sapientiae et iudicio vestro eminenti represento, nihil aliud anhelans quam bonum commune.

Postulationes ad Praedicatorum

Pro laborum munere et ut alii aemulatione spirituali excitentur ad operandum, postulo in favorem R.P.F. Iacobi Lynham, prioris Naasensis, quatenus pro ... laboribus in missione a 14 annis ad Praedicatoris Generalis munus pro conventu Trimmensi, loco R.P. Dominici Plunkett nuper defuncti, pro-

moveri queat. Item supplico, quatenus R.P.F. Christopherus Dillon prior Dublinensis, qui a 7 annis assidue et fructuose laboravit in vinea, ad Praedicationem pro conventu Dublinensi promoveatur. Item rogo pro R.P.F. Iacobo Collins, qui continua praedicationis munera a 17 annis subiit, licet annis incarceratus et ob religionem Patria expulsus, ut loco defuncti R.P.F. Oliveri Davoran subrogari possit pro conventu Traliensi. Annuas, Rme Pater, supplicanti, qui Rmae Ptis Vrae ad aram nunquam immemor existet.

Rmae Ptis Vrae humillimus ac devotissimus famulus et filius

fr. Stephanus MacEgan, O.P.,

Dublinii die 17 Octobris 1724

per Hiberniam provincialis.

Rme Pater,

Circa clericos professos Hibernos, in tua epistola de die 27 Maii 1724 datas, specificatos, inclusa testimonialia ad vos mitto, sperans inde eos ad sacros ordines promoveri posse. De f. Patritio Brullaghan nil certum de professione vel baptismo possum dicere, cum responsum a priore conventus cuius est filius nondum receperim. Quoad f. Ioannem Ryan, ille recepit habitum die 23 Martii 1721 in conventu S. Salvatoris Dublinii et solemnem emisit professionem die 24 Martii 1722. Respectu aetatis et baptismi nil scio, nisi quod piis et Catholicis parentibus sit ortus, et quod fuerit propectae aetatis cum emitteret professionem. Ex quo litteras R. P. Vrae receperim nullum ex parentibus dicti fratris Ryan videre poteram, unde difficile est mihi testimonia aetatis et baptismi ipsi procurare. Interea diligenter inquiram ut quamprimum haberi possint. Quilibet illorum provisus erat in exitu e regno solitis professionis et baptismi testimoniis: nihilominus ut mandatis vestris obtemperem de novo mandavi omnibus ut litteras authenticas testimoniales ante discessum procurerent. Me et totam provinciam protectioni vestrae commendo.

Rmae Ptis Vrae obedientissimus servus,

fr. Stephanus MacEgan, prior provincialis in Hibernia.

GENERAL CHAPTER AT BOLOGNA, 1725

Two events occurred in Italy during Father MacEgan's last year in office which were to have important effects on both the province and himself. In May 1724, a Dominican named Vincenzo Orsini was elected Pope and took the name Benedict XIII: he was to establish close links with his Irish confrères at SS. Sixtus and Clement and appoint three members of the province bishops in Ireland. Being no less lavish with his favours to the Order as a whole, Benedict named Augustine Pipia a cardinal on 20 December 1724, so that it became necessary to convoke an elective general chapter to meet at Bologna on the feast of Pentecost 1725.

Stephen MacEgan foresaw that by going to the chapter he would cease to be provincial (on 27 July 1725) before his return. Since he found that prospect inconvenient, he called a meeting of the provincial definitors whom he asked to apply to the master general for an extension of his term. The definitors refused, fearing that any such interference with the succession of chapters and provincials might compromise their hard-won right of election⁶¹. After naming James Cormick vicar-provincial for the duration of his absence, MacEgan left Ireland at the close of winter and was already at Brussels, visiting the English Dominican nuns, on 28 March 1725. Sister Mary Rose Howard recommended him on that date to James III, the exiled Stuart at Rome⁶².

“ I beg leave to present this deserving and apostolical missionary to your Majesty, who as provincial of Ireland is summoned to the general chapter. His merits make his character known, having been so great an ornament in the Irish mission, and no less known by his present post, both in zeal and example, the best character I now know to entitle him to your Majesty’s favour. And give me leave to present him as my particular friend ”.

Neither John Brown nor Gerald Weldon, though designated definitors general by the provincial chapter of 1721 and resident in Italy, appeared at the chapter which opened at Bologna on 19 May. Instead, Patrick Plunkett was named *auctoritate apostolica* by the master general on 28 April 1725 to go there as definitor of the Irish province⁶³. Plunkett, a theologian of the Casanatensian library in Rome, had already represented Ireland at the preceding chapters of 1706 and 1721. No copy survives of the petitions which MacEgan and Plunkett put before the general chapter, but at least one knows what they were granted. The five ordinations for Ireland may be briefly summarized as follows⁶⁴.

1. The jurisdiction of the Irish provincial over the foreign colleges at Rome, Louvain, and Lisbon, as also over the nuns of Lisbon, is confirmed.

⁶¹ Edm. Burke, *Dissertatiuncula*, par. LXI.

⁶² Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 81, no. 36. Extracts from this collection are quoted with the gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. Father MacEgan also met the internuncio at Brussels, Spinelli, about 6 Apr. 1725 and brought a book to Rome for the secretary of state on Spinelli’s behalf. *Collectanea Hibernica* No. 5 (1962) 113.

⁶³ AGOP IV. 201, p. 127. Th. Burke mentioned but could not explain the absence of Brown and Weldon. *Hibernia Dominicana*, 164.

⁶⁴ The full text is in MOPH XIV (1904) 83-84 and in *Hibernia Dominicana*, 164-165.

2. Permission is granted for the erection of a monastery of nuns in Waterford under the jurisdiction of the Irish provincial.

3. To avoid uncertainty about the time at which the provincial chapter should be held, all future chapters are to begin on the Saturday preceding the Sunday called *Deus qui errantibus* [i. e. third after Easter].

4. In order that the present provincial may attend to the business of the province and assist at the elective chapter which will choose his successor, he is confirmed in office until the day designated for the holding of that chapter.

5. No member of the province is to be affiliated to convents, national or not, outside Ireland itself. All members of the province living abroad are to return to Ireland immediately the provincial orders them to do so.

The province was pleased with this strengthening of the provincial's authority over Irishmen and Irish houses abroad. The provision regarding a monastery in Waterford was left in abeyance for about twelve years. There was, however, no precedent for the holding of provincial chapters so soon after Easter, and Edmund Burke for one was quite displeased by the third ordination⁶⁵. It was felt in Ireland that the date of the chapter could never be uncertain, since each chapter set the date of the next. Chapters had always been held in July, August, or September when "horses were strong" and the vocals could more easily travel from remote parts of the country⁶⁶. But it was the fourth ordination which gave the greatest offence in Ireland.

In virtue of this capitular ruling, Stephen MacEgan obtained at Bologna what the Irish definitory refused him at Dublin before his departure, namely his continuation in office. While yet unaware of this, they wrote on 19 June 1725 to the new master general, Thomas Ripoll, asking that Father MacEgan, who was "soon to go out of office", might visit their colleges and procurators abroad. They praised MacEgan highly for his conduct as provincial and emphasized his great success as a preacher over the previous eighteen years⁶⁷. Shortly afterwards, MacEgan wrote to them himself, explaining that the terms of all the provincials present at Bologna had been extended, and enclosing an affidavit made by the secretary of the chapter to meet his own particular case⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ Edm. Burke, Journal, p. 147. MacEgan seems to have asked the definitory to support this petition too before he left Dublin, but had been refused.

⁶⁶ Ibidem.

⁶⁷ Dublin, 19 June 1725. Original in AGOP XIII. 68095. The signatories were Jas. Cormick and Colman O'Shaghnessy (definitors); Mich. Shee and Jn. Donnelly (pro-definitors).

⁶⁸ The text has been preserved by Edm. Burke, Journal, p. 128.

The definitors at Dublin were not in the least pleased. Edmund Burke, to whom they turned for advice, regarded the whole procedure as illegal and disastrous. In his view the *dies designatus* mentioned in the Bologna text was still 27 July 1725, on which day the province might validly elect a new provincial. For the sake of peace, however, he advised MacEgan's vicar, James Cormick, and the vicar *de iure*, James Dillon prior of Dublin, to act in perfect harmony until clearer instructions came from Rome ⁶⁹. Whatever about the correctness of Edmund Burke's legal arguments, it does seem that the provincial inspired this ordination himself, probably wishing to attend to the business of the province on the continent while still actually provincial. He would not have achieved much in Rome or Louvain merely as a special visitor.

After the chapter closed, Stephen MacEgan went on to Rome where he lodged with his subjects at SS. Sixtus and Clement from June to October 1725. At his recommendation, Father Thomas Ripoll gave honorary degrees to many members of the province and appointed some professors at Rome and Louvain ⁷⁰. MacEgan also carried out a visitation at St. Sixtus ⁷¹. On 23 August he permitted James Barnewall, a sick student, to betake himself to Marseilles ⁷². On the 29th, in the company of one of his predecessors, Hugh Callanan, he presided at the lectoral examination of Michael MacDonogh ⁷³. On 13 and 15 September he witnessed the installation of three new members of the teaching staff, one of whom (John Brett) would later be bishop of Elphin, and another (Michael MacDonogh) bishop of Kilmore ⁷⁴.

BISHOP AND VICAR-GENERAL, 1725-1726

While still at Rome, on 20 September 1725 to be precise, Stephen MacEgan was named bishop of Clonmacnois, a diocese equally remarkable for its long history and its poverty. Another son of the province,

⁶⁹ Edm. Burke, Journal, p. 128.

⁷⁰ The promotions were made between 12 and 21 July: the appointments between 31 Aug. and 7 Sept. AGOP IV. 201, pp. 128-129.

⁷¹ The visitation is mentioned in the house-council book under date 31 July 1725. SCAR, No. 37, f. 67^r. The ordinations were confirmed by Ripoll on 12 October. AGOP IV. 201, p. 130.

⁷² Liber de Ratione Studiorum (1701-1743), p. 44. This volume is now AGOP XI. 3600.

⁷³ Ibidem, f. 74^v.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, f. 4^r.

Dominic Daly of Athenry, became bishop of Achonry on the same day. Both were nominated by James III, either at the suggestion of the Dominican Pope or as a gesture to gratify him ⁷⁵. Edmund Burke simply says that MacEgan asked for the bishopric himself. The provincial was secretly consecrated at the Quirinal by Benedict XIII on 29 September and left Rome a few weeks later. Father Ripoll, with papal permission, named him vicar-general of the Irish province on 22 September, prolonging his term until the second Sunday after the octave of Easter ⁷⁶.

Bishop MacEgan appears to have made his way home through Milan, Frankfurt, and Brussels ⁷⁷, but that did not prevent him from dealing with the procurator at Madrid, Edward Fitzgerald, whom Pipia had defended from the intermediate chapter of 1723. Before leaving Rome, bishop MacEgan told the master general that he intended to depose Fitzgerald and name another in his place. He was as good as his word, for Fitzgerald was removed before 16 March 1726 and the new procurator, Denis O'Daly, makes his appearance soon after in the records ⁷⁸. It was left to O'Daly to discover just how badly Fitzgerald had mismanaged the funds of the province: his first two years in office were spent in paying his predecessor's heavy debts ⁷⁹.

On his journey home, bishop MacEgan lodged for a few days with the English Dominican nuns of Brussels whom he had already visited on his way to Bologna. In the interval between his two visits, the prioress had gone "suddenly and extravagantly mad": her chief obsession was that the nuns were witches ⁸⁰.

"So she continued till March when bishop Egan came from Rome, and to gratify the devotion of our community who desired to see and kiss the mitre

⁷⁵ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 501-504, 530. There are two associated briefs, upholding the royal nomination (not expressly mentioned in the first) in Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 86, nos. 50, 51.

⁷⁶ AGOP IV, 201, p. 129.

⁷⁷ In a letter written in Ireland (13 Aug. 1726) to the King's secretary, bishop MacEgan mentioned his earlier letters written at Milan and Frankfurt. Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 96, no. 52.

⁷⁸ 5 Jan. and 16 Mar. 1726. Ripoll to Pedro Perez de la Cuesta at Madrid. AGOP IV, 209D, ff. 33-34, 49^v. Considering that MacEgan did not reach Brussels until March, it is possible that he paid a visit to Spain, though not to Lisbon.

⁷⁹ There are several letters on the subject in AGOP IV, 209D, ff. 95, 97, 121, 130, 148-149. Edw. Fitzgerald went to Naples on ceasing to be procurator.

⁸⁰ Contemporary, authenticated accounts of this episode have been published in Publications of the Catholic Record Society, Vol. XXV (London 1925) 204-205. For another copy see SCAR, Codex II, Vol. 3, ff. 655-662.

our holy Pope had consecrated his Lordship with, he gave it to us inside the grate with one of the Pope's slippers, which we all kissed with veneration and devotion. It was then carried to the infirmary where our prioress, Mother Agnes Atmore, had been so long and we told her what it was. She sensibly desired to have the mitre placed on her head, and desired all there to pray with her. So kneeling down she begged of God that all the malice and witchcraft be brought to light. Then she rose and was much pleased and was quiet ... She certainly from that time became much more herself and afterwards followed the community exercises for above a year, perfectly in her senses".

After this consoling experience, the bishop continued on his leisurely way to Ireland, almost as though he planned to arrive in April, as he did, just a week or two before the elective provincial chapter at which he was to preside. He had still another election to attend, the election of a prioress in the monastery at Dublin which he had arranged to postpone until his return. For that detail too we are indebted to the acid pen of Edmund Burke⁸¹.

"Proposuit se collegium Ulissiponense visitatum, sed non attentavit. Episcopatum sollicitavit et obtinuit. Sic rebus suae provinciae consuluit. Et electionem priorissae Dubliniensis suspendit ad suum usque reditum et tunc instituit priorissam Iulianam Brown, sibi dilectam".

Burke had other complaints to make, but it is impossible to say now (since he is the sole authority for most of them) whether he was right or wrong. He claimed that the province had no certain knowledge of MacEgan's continuation in office until the bishop arrived in person in April 1726; that some priests accepted MacEgan's vicar, James Cormick, while others obeyed only the prior of Dublin; that Cormick packed the elective chapter of 1726 by naming young priests, fresh from their studies, as priors of purely titular convents; that MacEgan exceeded his authority by actually voting in the election of his successor; and that, since the new provincial was elected by a majority of one, his election would have been null (because of MacEgan's vote) had not the master general chosen to overlook the error⁸².

After the election on 30 April 1726, bishop Stephen MacEgan was free to devote himself to his small and impoverished diocese. Thanks

⁸¹ Journal, p. 147.

⁸² The views expressed here will be found in the *Dissertatiuncula*, par. LXI and in the Journal, p. 140. Also in a letter (Dublin, 27 May 1726) from Edm. Burke to Ripoll, of which the full text will be reproduced below, pp. 276-278.

to the good graces of James III he was translated in 1729 (while retaining the administration of Clonmacnois) to the larger and wealthy diocese of Meath which he ruled until his death on 30 May 1756. Both as bishop of Clonmacnois and bishop of Meath he resided habitually at Dublin, first (for a few years) in the convent, and later in a small house which he rented from the Dominican nuns of the capital.

COLMAN O'SHAGHNUSSY, 1726-1730

The new provincial belonged to a distinguished family, the O'Shaghnessys of Gort, lineal descendants of the high king Dathi († 427). He who knows them not, wrote Thomas Burke, knows nothing of Ireland¹. Colman, who took his name from the family's patron saint, was born in 1675 to Charles O'Shaghnessy of Ardmilevan Castle and his wife Eleanor Lynch of Rafiladown, county Galway. Although both Colman and his father were second sons, the death of close relatives left Colman chief of his name in 1744.

Colman O'Shaghnessy was only a boy of sixteen when the family was ruined by the Williamite war. After the surrender of Limerick in 1691 he went to the continent as a soldier and became a lieutenant in Dorington's regiment in the service of the king of France². Then, about 1700, he forsook the military life to become a friar at Holy Cross, Louvain, where he appears to have been received as a son of the convent of Athentry. We find him there on 28 January 1701 as a "choir novice" in company with Stephen MacEgan³. On 17 April 1706 he was named lector of philosophy but did not persevere long as a professor⁴. When James III attempted a landing in Scotland in March 1708, Colman left his books to take part in the expedition. According to Edmund Burke, O'Shaghnessy "zealously followed His Majesty to Scotland at the first attempt, leaving his office of teacher in Louvain, to serve in what he was capable of the just cause"⁵. However, James failed even to land

¹ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 505. On the family background see W. Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Vol. I, Dublin 1905, 149-152. Also J. Fahey, *The History and Antiquities of Kilmacduagh*, Dublin 1893, 329-336.

² Rome, 5 Mar. 1735. Edm. Burke to Col. John O'Brien. Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 178, no. 63.

³ TA, *Liber Provinciae*, f. 29^v.

⁴ AGOP IV. 166, p. 96.

⁵ Burke to O'Brien, as in note 2. On the political background see C. Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement: the first phase, 1688-1716*, London 1948, 124-128.

in Scotland and the "rising" did not last long enough to keep Colman away from the classroom for more than two months. On 6 October 1708, the master general ordered him to go as a missionary to Ireland⁶.

Father O'Shaghnessy took ship for home in early April 1709 with the help of a subsidy from the internuncio at Brussels⁷. Later in the year he wrote back from Ireland to Belgium giving the internuncio details on the proposed oath of abjuration which all Catholic priests would be obliged to take on 25 March 1710: in another letter (Loughrea, 14 February 1709/10) he spoke again of the oath and its rejection by the clergy of Connacht⁸.

Dominican records, poor as they are, enable one to plot his successive priorships. Shortly after his return (5 July 1711) he was elected prior of Athenry and confirmed in office by the provincial, Hugh Callanan, who happened to be present at the time⁹. O'Shaghnessy would therefore have been at Athenry, or rather at Esker where the brethren settled after the exile, from July 1711 to July 1714. In 1713, when the friars of Connacht were pressing for Callanan's deposition, Colman O'Shaghnessy was one of those they recommended for the provincialate¹⁰. He next appears as prior of Limerick on 10 January 1718/19 when he witnessed the reception of a laybrother to the habit¹¹. At the provincial chapter of 1721, Colman took part as prior of Tombeola and definator for Connacht: the chapter named him examiner of postulants and confessors for that province. In the meanwhile, he was made bachelor of theology by title of preaching (26 June 1721) and subsequently master of theology (12 July 1725), in both cases at the request of the provincial¹². Edmund Burke states more than once that Father O'Shaghnessy was also prior of Galway, but the statement cannot now be confirmed.

⁶ AFP 38 (1968) 354. He was still at Louvain on 8 Nov. 1708 when Ambr. MacDermott, bishop of Elphin, recommended him to Cloche as master of studies at Louvain. AFP 40 (1970) 266.

⁷ C. Giblin, *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, in *Coll. Hib. No. 4* (1961) 118.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 8, 11-12. The text of the latter has been published by P. Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. 2, Dublin 1878, 398-399.

⁹ AFP 38 (1968) 317.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 328-329.

¹¹ TA, *Liber Provinciae*, f. 62^v. The brother was Dom. O'Heyne. Since both the witnesses (Jas. Davocke and Jn. Moran) belonged to Athenry, it is possible that the ceremony took place in Esker and not in Limerick.

¹² AFP 38 (1968) 349. For the promotion to the mastership see AGOP IV. 201, p. 128.

THE PROVINCIAL CHAPTER OF 1726

These notes of dates, places, and promotions acquire deeper meaning when one recalls that the members of the province had no civil rights, but were liable on discovery to imprisonment or transportation. In practice, however, they had little to fear unless misfortune or misbehaviour brought them to the notice of the authorities. The extent to which the law was applied depended on the part of the country in which they worked and on the character of the local magistrates. The friars were usually ignored so long as they confined their ministrations to the Catholic population, but whenever they converted a Protestant (particularly a wealthy one) or solemnized a marriage involving a Protestant partner, they risked exciting the full force of the law. Apart from purely local outbreaks of persecution, there were also occasions when the clergy throughout the country had to be particularly on their guard. Such a general alert occurred in the summer of 1723 when Stephen MacEgan was provincial, because seventeen friars and several trunks of religious books were found on two ships in the port of Dublin. Parliament hurriedly put through a bill "for strengthening the Protestant interest", a bill which (had it ever been approved in England) would have inflicted the penalty for high treason on any unregistered priests found in the country and executed those guilty of giving them shelter¹³. On 22 October 1723, Propaganda's agent at London wrote that all the chapels in Ireland were closed "and God alone knows when the present tempest will permit them to be opened again"¹⁴.

Things had changed very much for the better by the time of Father O'Shaghnessy's election as provincial on 30 April 1726. Sylvester Lloyd, a Franciscan resident in Dublin, described the new political climate in a letter to the Stuart court in Rome¹⁵.

"As to the affairs of religion, the Catholics are treated of late with extraordinary mildness. The judges on their circuits everywhere recommended moderation to the magistrates (as they did in the most earnest manner), good

¹³ London, 14 Feb. 1724. Giacomo Quirici to Propaganda. APF, SC Anglia 2, ff. 412-413. W. Lecky, *History of Ireland in the 18th century*, Vol. I, London 1913, 164. For the parts of the bill dealing with the clergy, see W. P. Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, Waterford 1914, 455-460.

¹⁴ London, 22 Oct. 1723. Quirici to Pietro Caraffa, secretary of Propaganda. APF, SC Irlanda 8, ff. 157-158.

¹⁵ Dublin, 1 June 1726. Lloyd to John Hay. Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 94, no. 54.

behaviour and fidelity to the Catholics. Your Grace may easily judge from what spring we have this change. The oath of allegiance is no longer talked of”.

The provincial chapter of 1726 chose to confirm rather than to repeat the earlier legislation of 1721, citing the Constitutions in favour of few rather than many laws. Of the seven new ordinations, five concerned matters of finance, most of them being aimed against the lodging of money with laypeople. The brethren were to hand over their surplus funds to the provincial who would invest them for the benefit of the convents to which they belonged. This was yet another step towards the reorganization of the province, a reorganization evidenced also in the other ordinations. The chapter named James Cormick procurator of the province and ordered each convent to pay him five shillings and five pence a year to cover postal expenses. Each priest was likewise told to buy and use an *Ordo* or directory for the divine office composed by Father Scanlan.

When confirming the election and the acts on 10 August, Thomas Ripoll asked for only one change in the text, an addition obliging Irish students to travel to the continent decently dressed, carrying proof of their baptism, confirmation, and profession¹⁶. He also obliged the province to provide a lector of scripture and controversies who might instruct ordained students on their return to the mission. This was a point on which his predecessor Father Pipia had written to Stephen MacEgan in 1724. Ripoll also promoted to the *praesentatura* or baccalaureate the five candidates postulated by the provincial chapter. And there the master general's interest in the chapter would have ceased had he not, just a few days later, received a long letter from Edmund Burke. Writing from Dublin on 27 May 1726, Burke complained that the chapter had been packed by James Cormick; that unworthy candidates were being postulated for degrees; and that the nuns of Dublin and Galway needed stricter control¹⁷. Nor were these the only observations he had to make. Considering his high standing on the mission, the long experience to which he himself referred, and the fact that Father Ripoll acted on his proposals, one may offer the full text of his letter here, even though it may have been inspired by pique. Most of his shafts were directed

¹⁶ The acts of the chapter are in AGOP XIII. 68095. The full text of the letter of confirmation occurs in the Fottrell Papers. Public Record Office (Belfast), D. 1449/14. It is registered in AGOP IV. 201, p. 132.

¹⁷ The original is in AGOP XIII. 68095.

against the new procurator, James Cormick, rather than against the provincial whom he felt would be as wax in Cormick's hands. The fact that James Cormick, a master of theology, had never taught nor preached, endeared him even less to Edmund Burke.

Reverendissimo Padre,

En 15 años que he trabajado en esta mission (despues de 8 años en España y 19 en Lovayna) no he molestado a su Corte con una sola carta, ni lo hiciera agora sino para liberar mi alma, informando (como hixo a su Padre) a V. Rma del presente estado desta pobre mission, declarando que no tengo otro motivo sino el dessear se pongan remedios a abusos; pues no pretendo favor ninguno, ni premio, sino la benedicion de V. Rma, ni desseo mal a nadie, sino, la emienda de las culpas.

No digo cosa de lo passado: la presente confusion vino de la continuacion del Señor Egan desde 27 de Julio passado, de la qual no huvimos certeza hasta que llegó en Abril, de suerte que el Vicario Provincial que dexó en partiendo el Señor Egan, fue reconocido por algunos, y otros pretendian que el mando tocava al Prior de Dublin en donde se devia celebrar el capitulo.

El Vicario que dexó el Señor Egan es el p. f. Jacobo Cormick, hombre de capacidad natural, mas no la empleó sino en pleitos. Ni predica, ni enseña, aunque pudiera hacer ambos. No obstante, es Maestro con patentes de V. R., uno de los veinte ya hechos. Como lo es Predicador General mi primo f. Thomas de Burgo, aunque jamas predicó aquí tanto como una simple exhortacion, y el p. f. Juan Moran y otros que no tienen meritos ni capacidad para predicar.

El dicho Vicario Cormick para tener la election a su disposicion instituo Piores en varios conventos desolados a algunos sacerdotes moços que llegaron de los estudios. Tuvo juntas con ellos de noches en las tavernas, y el dia antes de la election enbió un espresso por el Prior de Trim, temiendo que faltaría su voto; y assi sacó la election como quiso, aunque no había excepcion contra la persona del electo, sino que es facil de natural, y que se apprehende que el dicho p. Cormick le dirixirá a su gusto, y por esso solamente algunos votaron contra el.

Aviendo assi salido con lo suio el p. Cormick, se hizo el mismo Procurador General de la provincia en Dublin, compañero del Provincial nuevo, definidor del capitulo general futuro, y aunque ay otros confesores de las monjas nombrados, las mas moças confiessan con el, como las da libertad, y gasta mucho de su tiempo hablando con ellas, aun en sus aposentos como me dicen la Madre Priora que es, y la que fué antes. Pues un ocioso de talentos los empleara en algo, quando ni lee, ni predica, ni enseña. Los que vienen de Lovayna me aseguran que quando fué lector de Artes, y Maestro de Estudios antes allá, passava muchos meses sin enseñar una lection, escribiendo y pleiteando extra Ordinem con un Doctor de aquella universidad, de suerte que

el Rmo Cloche le hechó de allá, y cuando llegó a Yrlanda estuvo con su padre en la villa de Kilkenny por un año sin tanto decir Missa. Despues, como los que professaron fuera deste Reino eligen convento de profession aquí, llegó a Dublin, haciendose hixo deste convento, aunque se ha hecho ordenacion de que los que professan afuera sean hixos del convento más vecino al lugar en donde nascieron. Pues consta que todos los tales querían elegir por su convento nativo a Dublin, o a otra villa grande, para su conveniencia, que pretenden una veç de pertenescer a un convento y otra veç a otro.

Si pareciere a V. R. convendria al bien comun y para prevenir fraudes:

1º De mandar al Provincial pro tempore de no hacer ningun Prior en algun convento en donde no ay a lo menos tres vocales; sino que enbïe un Vicario in capite allá hasta que aya tres vocales.

2º Para prevenir floxedad y negligencia, que no se confirme algun Prior electo que no predica al pueblo a lo menos una veç en seis semanas, pues la predicacion es lo que aprovecha aquí.

3º Que los Graduados sin los meritos que piden nuestras leyes, se casen, y no tengan voç hasta hacer o tener merito, a lo menos del pulpito.

4º Que ningun seglar o religioso entre en las cassas de las monjas especialmente los dormitorios o huertas, sino derechamente a las capillas para decir Missas u oir Confesiones.

5º Que ninguna Monja salga de cassa, sino en tiempo de actual persecucion, o en los casos licitos.

6º Que ninguna se reciva al habito hasta que el fundo llegara a ser bastante para mantener y sustentar las que ay y entonces que se determine el numero que podrán las cassas sustentar. Pues en Galvia ay 44 monjas, el fundo no vasta para la mitad dellas con que se ven obligadas de ir a cassas seglares de sus parientes o amigos, y estos se quexan que la Orden les engaño tomando su dinero y dexandoles el cargo.

7º Que los religiosos que professaron fuera deste Reino, en llegando sean hixos del convento mas vecino al lugar de su natividad, o al lugar en donde devian vivir sus padres. Y que la practica contraria hasta agora se declare nulla y invalida. Assi todos no se juntaren en una parte, dexando a otras partes sin ningun religioso.

Supongo que otros han informado a V. R. de lo mucho que nos attormentan aquí los Curas y Sacerdotes Seglares que vienen de Francia, y traen por mayor parte de su erudicion los principios de allá contra el Papa y religiosos: y assi no cansó a V. R. con cuenta dello, esperando que contribuiera con los Generales de otros Ordenes para tapparles las bocas. De otra suerte succederá aquí como en Olanda. Fuera bueno si ninguno de los nuestros que estudia en Paris hallaría promocion en este Reyno.

Ya asseguré (y asseguro agora como espero morir bien) que no tengo interes ninguno en lo que digo, sino el bien comun de la Orden y mission aquí. Si me engaño, es la falta del entendimento y no de la voluntad. Dios dé a

V. R. el acertar lo que mas conviene aunque contrario a mi dictamen, lo qual sommetto siempre como devo al de V. R. Todo se reduce a que el dicho p. Cormick con sus criaturas moças prevalezcan en floxedad y libertad, o nosotros los ancianos que hemos hasta agora adelantado la mission, y quisiéramos ver la observancia que el lugar y tiempo permite conservada como hasta agora con paz y travaxando. Dios inspire a V. R. los puntos que mas conducen a su honra y gloria de la Orden, y le dé un durable gobierno como desseo y ha menester en Dublin a 27 de Mayo 1726.

B.L.P. de V.R. su rendido hixo y servidor,
fr. Edmundo de Burgo.

P.S. Ay en la mission solos siete Maestros de merito para la escuela. Si V.R. gusta puede mandar que ellos examinen los otros, que estan hechos Maestros, y no tienen meritos, y cargarles en consciencia de declarar en nombre de V. R. los Maestros y Predicadores Generales que no merecieron los grados, tanquam non promotos, etc.

Burke's letter had immediate and complete success. Father Ripoll dictated four more additions to be made to the chapter acts, tightening up its legislation along the lines Edmund Burke suggested¹⁸. New restrictions were placed on the nuns and their confessors; new details were required in the case of those postulated for degrees. The General confirmed the ordination made at Dublin in 1721 whereby those professed abroad were forbidden to choose a convent of affiliation according to their fancy, but were to be reckoned sons of the convent nearest to their place of birth. The question of affiliation was to prove a very live issue between 1720 and 1740, especially at Dublin where friars from the country were wont to settle. Another of Father Ripoll's decrees declared that whenever a convent, through the negligence of superiors, lacked the three priest-members necessary to elect a prior, the provincial would forfeit his right to appoint one and would have to rest content with the nomination of a vicar until such time as there were three vocals in community.

Colman O'Shaghnessy later protested against the removal of his "power" to appoint priors in convents too small to elect their own. His argument was that if he could not appoint priors in such cases, the delicate balance of provincial elections would be upset: the "province" with most priors would outvote the others, ignoring the custom of elec-

¹⁸ The official text of the four additions is registered under the date 17 Aug. 1726 in AGOP IV. 201, pp. 133-134. A draft of the ordinations was written (by Ripoll?) on the blank space at the end of Edm. Burke's letter in AGOP XIII. 68095. Burke mentions the additions in Journal, p. 140.

ting provincials from each of the four "provinces" in turn. Ripoll was not convinced. All were obliged, he felt, to respect the *alternativa*. If appointed superiors wanted to call themselves priors as a title of courtesy, the master general did not object: but they were not entitled to any privileges attached to that office¹⁹. In other words, they might not vote in provincial elections.

It was one thing to make laws, and another to enforce them. As late as November 1728 these supplementary ordinations had neither been published nor obeyed in Ireland. The priests of the province soon discovered on whose information they were based and did not hide their annoyance from Edmund Burke. Fearful of being delated to Rome in his turn, Burke prevailed on four bishops to sign a testimonial in his favour and sent the document to Father Ripoll to forestall all possible accusers. The General was displeased to learn of the fate of his ordinations. If the provincial would not accept them, he remarked, one could hardly expect much more from his subjects. Nonetheless, Father Ripoll was determined not to grant honorary degrees to members of the province until satisfied that his decisions had been obeyed²⁰.

THE FOREIGN COLLEGES, 1726-1729

Thomas Ripoll, like his predecessor Pipia, endorsed the jurisdiction of the Irish provincial over the three foreign colleges. He even appointed a regent of studies at St. Sixtus on the recommendation of the provincial chapter²¹. If difficulties soon arose they were not caused by the master general but by Colman O'Shaghnessy's subjects at Louvain, Rome, and Lisbon, who wished to evade his authority.

In the very first year of the provincialate, on 20 December 1726, Benedict XIII subjected SS. Sixtus and Clement to the General's immediate jurisdiction at the request of the community. There is no record of any prior discussion in the house-council book, nor any trace of the papal decree in the community archives to which Father Ripoll sent it, but we know that one of the motives the friars alleged was their great distance

¹⁹ 8 Feb. 1727. Ripoll to O'Shaghnessy. AGOP IV. 201, p. 136. None of the letters O'S. wrote to Ripoll are known to have been preserved.

²⁰ 4 Dec. 1728. Ripoll to Burke. AGOP IV. 214, p. 15. Burke gives the full text of the letter in Journal, pp. 140-141.

²¹ John Byrne S.T.P. on 4 Nov. 1726. AGOP IV. 201, p. 135. On 28 Sept. Ripoll upheld the provincial's right to appoint lecturers at Lisbon. On 5 Oct. he said he would abide by whatever the provincial or his vicar decided for Louvain. *Ibidem*, p. 134.

from the provincial. A second decree of 18 January 1727 totally removed the convent from the jurisdiction of the Irish provincial *pro tempore*²². Benedict XIII was perhaps the greatest benefactor the Irish Dominicans of Rome ever had. He repaired and furnished their two houses and churches, improved their finances, and even lodged with the community for a while, eating their simple fare and attending choir²³. But in changing their juridical status, he overruled the contrary decision of the general chapter of 1721 for which the Irish province had fought for twenty years²⁴. When the prior of St. Sixtus, Patrick O'Dugan, went out of office in 1728, the Pope procured his re-appointment for a second term instead of allowing the friars to elect²⁵. Patrick O'Dugan and Stephen Dowdall were both affiliated to the convent *auctoritate apostolica* despite the ruling of the provincial chapter (1721) and Thomas Ripoll's ordination (1726) whereby Irish Dominicans professed abroad should have been affiliated to the convents nearest their place of birth²⁶. Benedict XIII's relations with St. Sixtus are but a small, local example of what the Order experienced on a larger scale from the warm but somewhat suffocating benevolence of the Popes.

The same urge for Roman control was felt, though not so strongly, at Louvain. John MacGhee, already vicar-provincial in Flanders under Stephen MacEgan, continued in that capacity under O'Shaghnessy but his attempts to regulate the affairs of Holy Cross were both resented and opposed by the community. When he suggested making a visitation in 1727, they objected almost to a man. MacGhee, they said, had been less than impartial in his previous dealings with the college: he also tended to exceed his authority, if indeed the new provincial had formally appointed him at all. A Belgian Dominican, Jerome T'seraerts, performed the visitation instead in July 1727 and his ordinations were duly approved²⁷. Ripoll declined T'seraerts' proposal — made presumably at the community's request — to take the college under his immediate jurisdiction, but MacGhee was deposed from office and Colman O'Shaghnessy

²² All this is briefly noted in AGOP IV. 201, pp. 135, 139.

²³ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 384-388. The house-council book (SCAR, No. 37) has an excellent account of his benefactions under the date 21 Sept. 1727.

²⁴ AFP 38 (1968) 348.

²⁵ 25 May 1729. Appointed by Ripoll at the express command of the Pope. AGOP IV. 214, p. 20.

²⁶ O'Dugan on 16 July 1729 and Dowdall on 9 Feb. 1730. AGOP IV. 214, pp. 21, 25.

²⁷ AGOP IV. 201, pp. 138-140.

warned to appoint another vicar who would not, as MacGhee had done, overstep the bounds of his authority. Failing that, the General would release the friars of Holy Cross from their obedience to the provincial²⁸.

These developments at Rome and Louvain, coupled with the reservations of the *patres provinciae* about the college in Lisbon where an equal balance between the members of the four "provinces" was not being maintained and where the rector ignored the provincial's appointment of lectors, led Father O'Shaghnessy to leave Ireland in the late autumn of 1727²⁹. By November he had safely reached Louvain. Soon afterwards, the community so completely changed their opinion of John MacGhee (the former vicar-provincial) as to elect him prior of Holy Cross. All we know of the provincial's work there is that he pressed for the removal of three friars as "disturbers of the peace" and closed the conventual novitiate³⁰. Louvain for him was only a stepping-stone to Spain and Lisbon which he had set his heart on visiting.

Long before Pombal rose to power or Josephism acquired a name, Portugal was opposed to foreign jurisdiction in matters of religion. A royal decree issued on 5 July 1728 forbade any correspondence whatever with the court of Rome under pain of perpetual exile from the Portuguese dominions. An earlier decree of 6 October 1713, published after Hugh Callanan the Irish provincial had been to Lisbon, declared that only Portuguese nationals might canonically visitate the monastery of Bom Successo or the college of the Holy Rosary³¹. This was something Father O'Shaghnessy should have known even before the master general warned him not to go there: the certain humiliation awaiting him could only diminish his authority as provincial³².

Colman O'Shaghnessy also wished to visit Spain, but his excuses

²⁸ 16 Aug. 1727. Ripoll to O'Shaghnessy. *Ibidem*, p. 140.

²⁹ Ripoll knew by 13 Dec. 1727 that the provincial was at Louvain. AGOP IV. 201, p. 141. The views of the province with regard to Lisbon are mentioned under date 31 Oct. 1727, *ibidem*.

³⁰ 24 Jan. 1728. Ripoll to O'Shaghnessy. AGOP IV. 214, p. 2. The novitiate was reopened by the General on 18 Dec. 1728. *Ibidem*, p. 17.

The internuncio wrote (Brussels, 9 Apr. 1728) to Propaganda recommending the renewal of its subsidy to Holy Cross: he said they fully met their obligations but were extremely poor. Over the preceding 10 years 17 had taken the missionary oath: 8 of these were still in the convent, but 6 of the 8 were on the point of leaving for Ireland. APF, SOCG 661, ff. 105-106.

³¹ Both decrees are mentioned in a letter (Lisbon, 9 July 1730) from Humbert Burke to Ripoll. AGOP XIII. 68098. There is a printed copy of the second (1728) in ASV, S.S. Portogallo 85, ff. 250-251.

³² 13 Mar. 1728. Ripoll to O'Shaghnessy. AGOP IV. 214, p. 3.

for doing so were no less firmly dismissed by the General. He wanted to clear up the debts left at Madrid by the former procurator Fitzgerald: Ripoll insisted that that had been done already. He wanted to appoint a vicar-provincial in Spain who might save the General trouble by transacting the business of Irish priests and students there: Ripoll said that a vicar was quite unnecessary³³. Nothing daunted, the provincial set off through France about April 1728 — we know he stopped at Rouen — while the Irish rector in Lisbon (hearing of his approach) wrote anxiously to Father Ripoll for advice. If he obeyed the provincial he would offend the king: if he obeyed the king he would offend the provincial. The master general told him to prevent a visitation, but left it to his own discretion to suggest how that might best be done³⁴.

Father O'Shaghnessy reached Lisbon about May or June 1728. The story of his visit there is best told by Humbert Burke, the newly appointed rector of Holy Rosary college. Despite the royal decree forbidding correspondence with Rome, Burke later smuggled out a long letter (9 July 1730) to Thomas Ripoll describing exactly what happened. Reading between the lines, one can see that the Irish Dominicans of Lisbon were glad enough to have a royal decree to use as a shield between themselves and their provincial³⁵.

Ahora P. Rmo dixe con la brevidad possible lo que passó por acá estes dos años. Apenas fui un mes Rector quando llegó aquí el P. Provincial de Irlanda para visitar el colegio y el convento de las monjas del Buensuceso. Lo recibimos con toda afabilidad y agrado, agazajándole conforme la posibilidad del pobre colegio, y alguna cosa más. En el primer día de audiencia que hubo, yo hablé al Rey conforme el estilo dándole parte del arribo del dicho P. Provincial, y para saber qual fuesse su real agrado? Y me respondió su Magestad que quería se observase su real decreto de 6 de Octubre de 1713, en que prohibía a los de Irlanda, o a qualquier otro forastero visitar el colegio o el convento de las monjas. Y que quando hubiese necesidad de visita, se visitassen por algun padre de la provincia de Portugal, deputado por el Rmo General.

³³ 26 June 1728. Same to same. *Ibidem*, pp. 7-8. From the same letter we learn that the provincial had written to Ripoll about an Irish native of Rouen, William MacDermott, who had taken the habit in the Dominican convent there. Since many French convents were « suspected of Jansenism », O'Shaghnessy wanted the novice transferred to another province.

³⁴ 10 July 1728. Ripoll to Humb. Burke. AGOP IV. 214, p. 11.

³⁵ Burke's appointment was dated 10 Apr. 1728. *Ibidem*, p. 5. His letter is in AGOP XIII. 68098. There is a briefer description of the provincial's visit to Lisbon in a letter (Lisbon, 13 July 1730) from Dom. French to Ripoll, bound into the same volume.

El Provincial sabiendo esta respuesta pretendió que no quería visitar, sino sólo ser reconocido por immediato superior de ambas casas, para poder instituir lectores y mandar fuera del colegio a los que el quisiese, y assignar en él a los que le pareciese, y los que quería mandar fuera eran los más necesarios para el buen gobierno de él! Y tambien pretendía la facultad de proponer novicias para monjas. Entonces los successores y herederos de la fundadora del convento de las monjas, que son el Conde de Attalaya, grande deste regno, y su hermano el Deán de la Basilica Patriarchal, se le opposieron porque quieren que su fundación esté inmediatamente sujeta al Rmo General *pro tempore*, añadiendo con algunas amenazas que nunca permitirán que el convento del Buensuceso sea sujeto al Provincial de Irlanda, ni a otro sino a V. Rma y sus successores.

Después que el P. Provincial asistió por mas que seis meses, el Rey mandó al secretario de estado (el qual padrinaba mucho el P. Provincial) que me escribiese a mí y a la priora del Buensuceso en nombre de su Magestad que no admitiesemos al Provincial por visitador, ni reconociésemos su jurisdicción, y lo mesmo intimó al P. Provincial añadiendo que no hiciesse ni executasse cosa que pudiesse perturbar la paz y sosiego de ambas casas.

No obstante lo dicho, quedó por casi cinco meses después en el colegio, buscando empeños de España, Viena, y Flandres para que el Rey le admitiesse, pero nada le valió. Y así después de onze meses partió para Cádiz y Puerto de S. Maria en donde estava entonces la corte de España, y de allí para Irlanda.

Humbert Burke's letter is precise enough to let us know that Colman O'Shaghnessy spent eleven fruitless months at Lisbon, so he must have left the city for Cadiz about May 1729. He landed at Cork on 17 August following, in no very good humour with his subjects at Lisbon whom he accused of having caused his exile from Portugal³⁶. The master general, a steady fount of consolation, said he had only himself to blame³⁷. The provincial's long absence from Ireland also exposed him to one of Edmund Burke's more pointed shafts: "*sic integrum expendit vitae et officii biennium, provinciae arduis negotiis neglectis*"³⁸.

³⁶ The date of his return is given by Wm. Kenney, O.P., in a postscript to a letter (Galway, 27 Nov. 1729) from Ant. French, O.F.M. to Edm. Burke. SCAR, Codex IV, doc. 182. O'Shaghnessy visited the exiled nuncio to Lisbon at San Lucar de Barreda on or shortly before 26 June 1729. On that date the nuncio wrote two letters to Rome, one on the provincial's wish to send Joseph Lynch from Lisbon to Dublin as chaplain to the nuns of Channel Row, and the other on the nuns of Bom Successo who resisted the provincial's authority. ASV, S.S. Portogallo 86, ff. 114-117.

³⁷ 4 Mar. 1730. Ripoll to O'Shaghnessy. AGOP IV. 214, p. 26.

³⁸ Journal, p. 141. The provincial chapter of 1730 asked Ripoll to remedy the situation in Lisbon where the Irish were in rebellion against the jurisdiction of the Irish provincial, appealing from it to the secular courts.

REGULAR AND SECULAR, 1725-1730

The *ardua negotia* of the province, which Edmund Burke accused the provincial of neglecting, consisted largely in a group of controversies in which Edmund Burke happened to play an important part. The Dominicans were not the only friars involved, and Colman O'Shaghnessy was absent from Ireland while the dispute was at its height, but this history would be meaningless without some account, however short, of this chapter in the relations between regular and secular.

With the exile of the friars in 1698, the diocesan priests were left for a while with the mission to themselves³⁹. Then the regulars began to drift back, becoming more numerous and less furtive in their activities as time went on. By 1720 the diocesan clergy began to realize that they had a large number of "competitors" in the field, competitors for the alms and affection of the faithful, who neither led a proper conventual life nor owed direct obedience to the bishops. Since many secular priests were trained in France, where few regulars (save the Capuchins) ever studied, their Gallican attitudes sometimes clashed with the Ultramontanism of the friars. The religious soon began to claim that some of their "adversaries" told the people that they were an unnecessary burden; that they came to Ireland to escape a strict conventual life abroad; that it did not suffice to assist on Sundays at Masses celebrated by friars, nor to confess to them at Easter; that the alms of the faithful were due to the parish clergy, not to the regulars; and that in preaching papal infallibility, the friars were merely acting as the Pope's dragoons.

One of the earliest bones of contention was at Galway where the diocesan clergy, after 1698, had used the cemeteries attached to the chapels of the regulars and did not feel inclined to discontinue the practice when the friars returned. In 1713, and again from 1720 to 1722, the friars held out for their privilege of exemption from the payment of the canonical portion or *quarta funeralia*⁴⁰, but in all this the Franciscans took the lead while the Dominicans played a minor supporting role. The documents on the dispute, which was carried to Propaganda, do however

³⁹ The paragraph follows the summary given by Edm. Burke in his own account of the controversy: *Relatio moderni facti inter quosdam saeculares cleri et regulares in Hibernia ab anno 1725 ad 1728*. Journal, p. 32.

⁴⁰ The case was discussed at a general congregation of Propaganda on 16 Mar. 1723, no. 25. APF, Acta 93, ff. 164-167; SOCG 639, ff. 119-165. Also SC Irlanda 8, ff. 137-138. The printed *Facti* and *Summarium* are also in SCAR, No. 31, pp. 1-26.

throw some light on the Dominicans of Galway. They mention that Gregory French and two others returned to the city within four years of the general exile; that Nicholas Blake was prior there on 1 October 1713 and William Kenney on 27 January 1720; and that in the latter year there were more than seven in the community.

Even while Propaganda was preoccupied by the cemeteries of Galway, another dispute broke out in the neighbouring dioceses of Clonfert and Elphin over the right of the friars to binate, their right to say two Masses on the one day. As regards the "right" to binate, there were two contrasting opinions. In Propaganda's view, hardly a priest in Ireland might binate if the law were properly observed⁴¹. Joseph Power, O.D.C., the Roman agent of the regular clergy, said that the friars and priests of Ireland had been accustomed to say two Masses on feastdays from the time of the Reformation: it was still customary save in Clonfert and Elphin where it was practised by the diocesan clergy but forbidden to the friars⁴². Father Power asked that the regulars be permitted to binate in all dioceses; that secular and regular priests be equally considered Missionaries Apostolic; and that the bishops and religious superiors be urged to live at peace with each other. In 1721 and 1722 the internuncio at Brussels, Spinelli, threw some more light on the question. According to his information there were six convents of friars in the diocese of Clonfert alone, while the desire to binate was dictated, not by necessity, but by the anxiety of the priests (secular and regular) to make some extra money by celebrating a second Mass in the homes of the landed gentry. Spinelli admitted that the practice was widespread in country parts, but it was unknown in all save three cities: Dublin, Drogheda, and Galway⁴³. Propaganda left the whole question to the internuncio's discretion, and in 1722 the friars of Elphin subscribed to a document expressing their esteem for the bishop, Carbry Kelly⁴⁴.

These early and local incidents were but a prelude to the storm. Wider issues became more dominant as the years went by and the friars

⁴¹ Discussed at a gen. cong. of Propaganda on 21 Apr. 1722, no. 10. APF, Acta 92, ff. 190-192; SOCG 634, ff. 268-279. Also SC Irlanda 8, ff. 69-70. For the statement mentioned, see SOCG 634, ff. 270-271.

⁴² APF, SOCG 634, ff. 268, 273.

⁴³ The question was again discussed by Propaganda on 7 July 1722, no. 49. APF, Acta 92, ff. 381-383; SOCG 635, ff. 550-551. The latter reference is to Spinelli's letter (Brussels, 29 May 1722) summarized above.

⁴⁴ Mentioned by Carbry Kelly, the bishop, in a letter (21 Feb. 1727 o.s.) to the Pope. APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 182-183.

became more numerous on the mission. They grew ever more conscious of being unwanted and unloved, ever more concerned about the spread of Gallican ideas which hurt them in their pockets and their pride. Feeling that something should be done, the religious superiors met at Dublin in 1725 and decided to address a common letter to the bishops. When that failed in its intent, they sponsored the publication of a book by Edmund Burke, O.P., which gave the Roman view on papal infallibility, Easter confession, and the precept of attending Mass⁴⁵. Carbry Kelly, bishop of Elphin, who prohibited the circulation of the book in his diocese, was soon involved in a politely insulting correspondence with the author⁴⁶.

At much the same time the regular clergy found still another *casus belli* in a pastoral letter (1725) published by Bernard Dunne, bishop of Kildare, with the intention of preparing his flock to benefit by the indulgences of the Jubilee year. According to the friars, the pastoral contained no less than thirty-seven suspect propositions. After another meeting at Dublin on 28 May 1726, the superiors of the mendicant orders appointed agents on the continent to complain to Rome about the Kildare pastoral and about the secular priests who forbade regulars to quest and told the people that the persecution was caused solely by the presence of the friars⁴⁷.

Peace was soon restored in Elphin through the mediation of bishop Stephen MacEgan, the former provincial. Carbry Kelly withdrew his prohibition of Edmund Burke's book, and the author made full amends in a letter of 13 August 1726⁴⁸. The foreign agents were told to drop the case and a general calm prevailed for about a year: it was broken in June 1727 when Carbry Kelly again attacked Burke in a public letter. In 1728 the bishop himself, or perhaps one of his priests named Peter

⁴⁵ *The Rosaries of the Name of Jesus, etc.* The full title is given in *Hibernia Dominicana*, 549. There is a copy in the library of St. Mary's, Tallaght, Co. Dublin.

⁴⁶ There is a fair copy of the letters in SCAR, No. 50. An earlier and somewhat different set occurs *ibidem*, Codex II, Vol. 2, ff. 361-365.

⁴⁷ The agents were Laur. Richardson O.P. of Louvain and two Franciscans, Fran. Friell and Bon. O'Donnell, who later sent a joint-letter (without place or date) to Rome. SCAR, Codex IV, doc. 180. The provincials at Dublin also wrote directly to their superiors general. O'Shaghnessy, for instance, wrote to Ripoll regarding doctrinal controversies in November 1726 and January 1727, a fact which is known only from Ripoll's answers of 14 Dec. 1726 and 8 Feb. 1727. AGOP IV. 201, pp. 135-136.

⁴⁸ Journal, p. 34.

Conry, published a work under the pseudonym "Philalethes" entitled: *Remarks upon the Book of E.B.D.D. in which Church Discipline is vindicated and the Divine Rights of Bishops asserted: in Answer to a Letter of a certain Clergyman*. Carbry Kelly also wrote to the nuncio and the Pope, protesting his loyalty and the purity of his faith⁴⁹. The friars, he alleged, were not merely trying to exempt themselves completely from episcopal control, but were trying to exempt the faithful as well. He complained that Edmund Burke spoke strongly against bishops trained in France as though they were all anti-regular as a matter of principle, and that his book tended to the overthrow of the hierarchy. Bishop Kelly listed nine offensive propositions which he wanted condemned.

He was not the only one to write to Rome. The friars sent his public letter of 21 June 1727 both to the nuncio and the Holy See, with the result that the nuncio Spinelli commissioned the archbishop of Tuam and the bishop of Kilmacduagh in January 1728 to enquire into the dispute. Tuam at first delayed, then showed disinterest, so the regular clergy again appealed to Spinelli on 13 August. The nuncio merely recommended peace without offering the reparation the friars thought their due⁵⁰. In the same month of August 1728, the regular clergy of Elphin withdrew their earlier declaration (1722) in the bishop's favour. By a fortunate accident, there still survives the original statement on the subject by the Dominican communities of Roscommon and Clonshanville⁵¹.

Infrascripti prior et patres conventus Roscommonensis diocesis Elphinensis in regno Hiberniae, capitulariter congregati, ne privilegia regularium videamur deserere aut illis renunciare dicamur (prout de aliis minus cautis spargi audimus) hisce declaramus quod testimonio in favorem Illmi ac Rmi domini episcopi Elphinensis nobis praesentato non subscripserimus, quamvis instantanter requisiti fuerimus. Nec salva veritate subscribere potuisse, cum privilegia illa indies violari cernamus, non sine S. Sedis (ut credimus) contemptu, imo penes nos litteras originales magistri f. Petri MacDermott nuper defuncti et parochi sub Illmo Elphinensi habemus, quibus se inconsiderate dicto testimonio subscripsisse asserit, quia nec litteras praefati Illmi, nec libellum contra

⁴⁹ The letters are dated 20 Jan. 1728 and 21 Feb. 1727, both old style. APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 180-183.

⁵⁰ Edm. Burke, *Journal*, p. 34-36.

⁵¹ SCAR, Codex I, Vol. 4, f. 996. The Peter MacDermott mentioned in this text is the one-time vicar-general of the province and companion of bishop Ambr. MacDermott O.P.

privilegia regularium tunc vidit. Datum in refugio nostro Montis Mariae, die vigesimo octavo Augusti 1728.

fr. Thomas Mulledy, prior	fr. Dominicus MacDermottroe, praefato subscripsit inconsiderate, et nunc cum reliquis revocat
fr. Thomas Egan, supprior	
fr. Patritius MacBrenan, p.g.	
fr. Thomas de Burgo	fr. Iohannes de S. Maria [O'Connor?]
fr. Guillelmus de Burgo	fr. Petrus MacGeraghty
fr. Patritius MacDermott	fr. Patritius Kennedy
fr. Thadeus Tully	fr. Patritius MacBrenan [iunior]

Infrascripti conventus Cloonsanvalensis ord. praed., instanter requisiti et sedulo circumventi, testimonio in favorem Illmi Elphinensis inconsiderate et ignoranter subscripsimus, et nunc regularium privilegia per praefatum Illmum et adhaerentes cernentes prorsus reiici scriptis, etiam typis publice mandatis, subscriptionem illam revocamus et pro communi regularium causa pro debito nostro declaramus. Datum die secundo Septembris 1728.

fr. Antoninus Tiernans	fr. Bernardus MacDermott, p.g.
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While Edmund Burke and his opponents were arguing in Connacht about the divine rights of bishops, the regular clergy of Dublin, united for the first time in the century in a *Congregatio Regularium Hiberniae* with its own appointed officials, had other irons in the fire. While lending him support, they concentrated on matters nearer to hand such as the Kildare pastoral of 1725, Lord Delvin's *Address to George II* of 1727, their quarrel with the diocesan clergy about questing in 1728, and the succession to the see of Dublin in 1729. Considering the complexity of these disputes, and the fact that none of them has been studied at all, the reader will understand if attention is focussed here on matters more properly Dominican.

Benedict XIII, a Dominican himself and in close contact with his Irish confrères at Rome, was well informed of events in Ireland even if he did not understand them too clearly. He wished to send Michael MacDonogh O.P., a young teacher of the San Sisto community, to settle the differences between regular and secular, and thought that MacDonogh could do so more easily were he to go to Ireland as a bishop. MacDonogh had already gone to Ireland on business connected with the controversy in March 1727, returning again to Rome in April 1728⁵².

⁵² H. Fenning, Michael MacDonogh O.P., Bishop of Kilmore, 1728-1746, in *Irish Eccles. Record* (Sept. 1966) 138-153. The date of his return to Rome is noted in the *Liber de Ratione Studiorum* of St. Sixtus. AGOP XI. 3600, p. 45.

The idea of making him a bishop was opposed by the archbishop of Armagh, by King James III, and by MacDonogh himself, but the Pope had his way and on 12 December 1728 Michael MacDonogh was consecrated bishop of Kilmore at the age of about twenty-seven years⁵³. Nothing could have been less likely to restore peace.

Promotion also came to another member of the province, closer still to the eye of the storm. On 9 April 1729, Edmund Burke was formally appointed theologian of the Casanatensian library in Rome, acquiring the post held for so long (1700-1728) by Patrick Plunkett, a man whom Burke cordially disliked because of his great but unofficial influence with the masters general⁵⁴. The friars of Galway, delighted (as many others were, though for different reasons) by Burke's promotion, named him their Roman agent because of the revival of their old dispute with the clergy of the collegiate church⁵⁵. Edmund Burke reached Rome early in 1730, before the new bishop of Kilmore began his journey to Ireland. It is not surprising that Rome settled most of the subjects of controversy before the year was out.

The case of the Kildare pastoral, alleged to be full of errors concerning sacramental penance and the doctrine of indulgences, was twice considered by the Holy Office: on 29 December 1728 and 16 February 1729⁵⁶. Since the Pastoral was found to need correction, bishop Bernard Dunne was asked to modify his original letter in accordance with the suggestions of the Inquisition. After negotiations between Rome and Brussels, and again between Brussels and Kildare, the bishop issued

⁵³ Armagh recommended the vicar general of Kilmore (probably Michael O'Reilly). James III proposed Peter Mulligan O.S.A. in the belief that the dispute could be resolved by other means than by the appointment of a bishop. Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 114, nos. 99, 179; Vol. 121, no. 137.

⁵⁴ AGOP IV. 214, p. 19. Burke was recommended by Dom. O'Daly O.P., bishop of Achonry. The English province made determined efforts at this time (as appears from AGOP IV) to obtain the vacant place for one of their own.

⁵⁵ He was asked to work in conjunction with a Fr. Madden of St. Isidore's to offset the efforts of "Edmund Lynch and his consistory of vicars" who infringed on the burial rights of the friars of Galway and excluded from Easter communion those members of the laity who offered resistance. There are two letters (24 June and 27 Nov. 1729) from the friars of Galway to Burke in SCAR, Codex IV, docs. 179, 182.

⁵⁶ There are copies of the H. Office discussions in SCAR, Codex I, Vol. 2, ff. 483-498; Vol. 3, ff. 499-531. For some excellent material on the Pastoral, see Giblin's calendar of the Nunziatura di Fiandra in *Collectanea Hibernica* No. 5 (1962) 116-119; and No. 9 (1966) 12-18. There is also a letter (Dublin, 12 July 1729) on the subject by Paul de Cruce O.D.C. in the general archives of the Discalced Carmelites, 273. B. vii.

a second, amended Pastoral which satisfied everyone. Spinelli at Brussels took the bishop's part throughout, claiming that he had been shabbily treated by the friars when his only fault was not to have expressed himself well. Bishop Dunne wrote to James III from Dublin on 29 April 1731 to say that peace had been restored, thanks to friendly bishops recently appointed⁵⁷.

Another Roman bureau, the Congregation of the Index, dealt with Philalethes' printed counterblast to Edmund Burke, the *Remarks upon the Book of E.B.D.D.* The book was solemnly condemned by a decree of 29 August 1730⁵⁸. Here too, Spinelli defended bishop Kelly of Elphin just as he had already supported bishop Dunne of Kildare. Carbry Kelly, he observed, was commonly esteemed one of the best bishops in Ireland. Spinelli forwarded a copy of Edmund Burke's book to Propaganda, asking that it too be censured "so as to maintain a fine impartiality"⁵⁹. The decree of condemnation was sent, not only to Ireland, but also to England, Scotland, and Douai, lest *Remarks upon the Book* should be in circulation outside Ireland⁶⁰.

In most of these disputes, the friars maintained that their only concern was for the purity of the faith, but Carbry Kelly was right (up to a point) in saying that they sought complete exemption from episcopal control. A memorial presented to Propaganda by the regulars of the Three Kingdoms (England, Scotland, Ireland) asked that faculties for confessions and preaching be given to regular missionaries by their own religious superiors without dependence on the bishops. In support of this request they cited the privileges accorded them by ten Popes and complained that the bishops (especially bishops trained in France) refused or withdrew such faculties without sufficient reason. Propaganda replied on 26 September 1730 that their request had already been answered in 1695: the regular clergy were subject to the bishops in all matters pertaining to the *cura animarum* or the administration of the sacraments⁶¹.

⁵⁷ Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 144, no. 152. There are other letters from bishop Dunne in this collection.

⁵⁸ The text of the decree is given in *Hibernia Dominicana*, 165.

⁵⁹ Brussels, 18 Oct. 1730. Spinelli to Petra. APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 179, 184.

⁶⁰ There are references to this in APF, SC Anglia 3, ff. 369-370; Scozia 2, ff. 158-159; Collegio Inglese di Duaco 1, ff. 348-349. Carbry Kelly, the inspirer if not the author of the book, died on St. Dominic's day, 4 Aug. 1731, as is mentioned by Cornelius Kelly in a letter (Tuam, 24 Aug. 1731) to Propaganda. APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 224-225.

⁶¹ The memorial was discussed at a gen. cong. on 26 Sept. 1730, no. 21. APF, Acta 100, ff. 177-178; SOCG 668, ff. 282-283.

COLMAN O'SHAGHNUSSY'S LAST YEARS, 1729-1748

With this long digression on Irish controversies, we have almost lost sight of the provincial with whom it began. After an absence of two years in Louvain and Lisbon, Colman O'Shaghnessy landed at Cork on 17 August 1729 and made his way back to Dublin. He visited the nuns there, the nuns of Channel Row, at the beginning of December. Nothing of importance marked his final months in office. Once his successor had been elected on 18 April 1730, he spent most of his time in the Galway convent which was close to his birthplace and suitably central for the fulfilment of the duties attached to a new office he acquired: from 1730 to 1736, O'Shaghnessy was vicar-provincial of Connacht⁶². Sometimes he used the alias Lynch — his mother's name — to avoid detection, as appears from a government report of 1731⁶³. In that same year he was also vicar and confessor of the Dominican nuns of Galway, but since the nuns did not relish him — he lacked, according to the master general, the special "discretion and moderation required to direct nuns" — the provincial replaced him by another⁶⁴.

Father O'Shaghnessy, however, was destined for higher things. At various times between 1731 and 1735 he was postulated or recommended for the vacant western dioceses of Elphin, Clonfert, Achonry, and Kilmacduagh⁶⁵. Eventually, after many false starts, he became bishop of Ossory in Leinster in October 1736 and laboured in that diocese until death claimed him on 2 September 1748 in his 73rd year.

⁶² Rome, 5 Mar. 1735. Edm. Burke O.P. to (?) Col. John O'Brien. Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 178, no. 63. Burke here mentioned the death of bishop Dom. O'Daly O.P. of Achonry "of a cold" on 10 Jan. 1735 and recommended O'Shaghnessy to succeed.

⁶³ Report on the State of Popery in Ireland, 1731, in *Archivium Hibernicum* 3 (1914) 155, 156, 159.

⁶⁴ AGOP IV. 214, pp. 43-45. This register also mentions (p. 124) a dispute with the prior of Galway over money O'Shaghnessy had paid during his provincialate to a convent in Paris on behalf of Nich. Kenney, a son of Galway, imprisoned there because mentally ill. The prior of Galway was forced to make good the loss to O'Shaghnessy.

⁶⁵ *Collectanea Hibernica* No. 9 (1966) 26, 47-48. There are other references to postulations in Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vols. 141, no. 31; 151, no. 58; 178, nos. 63, 81, 147.

JOHN O'BRIEN, 1730-1734

The new provincial, Father O'Brien, stayed in Ireland throughout his term of office, but there are few traces of his work save in the archives of the master general. One may tentatively identify him with the John O'Brien mentioned in the *Liber Provinciae* who was a novice at Cork in 1684, a professed cleric there from 1685 to 1687, and who left Cork in that latter year to study in the Dominican province of Bethica in southern Spain. On 17 July 1695 he was assigned to the convent of San Pablo at Seville. These details, which probably apply to the same person, agree with the evidence of Thomas Burke who says that he studied and taught in the province of Bethica¹. One reaches surer ground on 5 December 1703 when he was transfiliated from his original Irish convent to that of St. Dominic in Cadiz. At all events he should not be confused, as Papillon confused him, with an older John O'Brien who was a master of theology in 1698 and died shortly before April 1715 as regent of studies at Lisbon².

Thanks to the generosity of a certain captain Miguel de Benavides, a fund was established in 1675 for the maintenance of an Irish Dominican confessor in the convent of San Pablo el Real at Seville. Benavides's heirs, more generous still than he was himself, increased the foundation to provide for two confessors rather than one, who might attend to the spiritual needs of English-speaking and other foreign travellers. The first two confessors, appointed under the new arrangement in 1693, were Edward French and Raymund of St. Thomas³. When this Father Raymund died in 1704, our John O'Brien (now for the first time styled a lector in the registers) was appointed to succeed him⁴. Presumably he

¹ The details from the *Liber Provinciae* (now at Tallaght) were kindly supplied to me by Br. Paul Lawlor O.P. of that community. The assignation to Seville in 1695, when J. O'B. was already a priest, is noted in AGOP IV. 176**, Bethica, f. 19v. See also *Hibernia Dominicana*, 530. Edm. Burke, who left Ireland for ever in 1729, has little to say of the provincials who followed O'Shaghnessy.

² J. O'B. senior was rector at Lisbon from 1708 to 1711. He is mentioned by O'Heyne (ed. A. Coleman), 75-77, and in AGOP IV. 166, 192, 194, 199, 200. His writings are listed in SOP (ed. Papillon) 746-747, who confuses him with the provincial of the same name. O'Brien's transfiliation of 1703 is noted in AGOP IV. 176**, Bethica, f. 28r.

³ From documents concerning this foundation in AGOP XIV, Libri, Vol. I, pp. 117-128. The "number" of this volume is a letter of the alphabet.

⁴ 30 Aug. 1704. AGOP IV. 176**, Bethica, f. 28v; 194, f. 237r. The second confessor in 1704 was Chris. O'Brien (perhaps John's relative) as appears from 194* under date 16 Aug. 1704.

remained at Seville from 1704 until the beginning of 1719 when the master general permitted him to return to Ireland. His place was kept vacant for him on his departure, for he intended merely to visit his parents and then return, but in fact he was destined never to see Spain again ⁵.

Unlike many others, Father O'Brien came to the mission with a long priestly experience behind him, so it is not surprising that he soon came to the fore. Besides, the Dominicans of his native province of Munster were few and far between. In 1721 he was named a preacher general at the request of the provincial, and in the same year attended the provincial chapter at Dublin as prior of Youghal: the chapter elected him definitor for Munster. When signing a petition at Cork in August 1722, he styled himself "professor of theology and vicar-provincial of Munster" ⁶. One suspects that his priorship of Youghal was purely titular and that he spent most of his time in the city of Cork where he twice presided (in 1722 and 1729) at the profession of novices ⁷. Meanwhile, in 1725, Stephen MacEgan obtained his promotion to the mastership of theology and MacEgan's vicar, James Cormick, recommended O'Brien to the General as a candidate for the vacant see of Limerick ⁸. When the provincial chapter met at Dublin in April 1730 it could elect a provincial only from Munster, so the choice of John O'Brien must have been almost automatic. The acts explicitly state that he was elected in great peace and harmony, to the satisfaction of the whole province and of the archbishop of Dublin.

THE PROVINCIAL CHAPTER OF 1730

The election took place on 18 April 1730, the acts were signed at Dublin on the 23rd, and the master general confirmed both on 1 July ⁹. Reading through the provisions of the chapter there is little that strikes

⁵ When assigned to Ireland on 21 Jan. 1719, J. O'B. was actually in Seville and intended to return there within 18 months. AFP 38 (1968) 356. The other details come from AGOP IV. 197, f. 4^v.

⁶ Cork, 31 Aug. 1722. He and seven other priests signed a petition in favour of Thady O'Sullivan, former superior of the Irish college at Toulouse. AFP, SOCG 641, f. 57^r.

⁷ He presided as *praeses-in-capite*, perhaps because vicar-provincial of Munster, on 3 Sept. 1722 and 2 Nov. 1729. Noted in the Cork profession and confraternity book, now in the provincial archives at Tallaght, Co. Dublin. Youghal was described as "almost destitute" in 1735. AGOP IV. 214, p. 128.

⁸ He was promoted S.T.M. on 20 July 1725. AGOP IV. 201, p. 129. His postulation for Limerick was in the summer of 1726, but Ripoll ignored it. *Ibidem*, p. 133.

⁹ The original acts are in AGOP XIII. 68095. The confirmation is in IV. 214,

one as particularly new save a series of ordinations obviously intended to improve the selection and training of students. This was something John O'Brien would insist upon throughout his provincialate.

Instead of deputing senior priests to examine postulants before their reception of the habit, the chapter left it to the provincial's discretion to name examiners himself (ord. 1). Local superiors, whether on the mission or abroad, were warned under pain of suspension from office not to admit any to the habit without the provincial's written permission: similarly, "for grave reasons", Father O'Brien was charged to examine strictly such novices as he encountered in the course of visitation and to dismiss those he judged unworthy (ord. 2). Special arrangements were made for those intending to receive the habit at Louvain. They were to pay a pension for their novitiate year, while both they and others reaching the college already professed were to be admitted by the prior without respect to their province of origin (ord. 3). Seemingly it had been the practice to admit students there according to a rota so that the student body would represent the four "provinces" in equal numbers. Thomas Ripoll's letter of 10 August 1726 insisting that clerics bring certificates of their baptism, confirmation, and profession with them to the continent was now transformed into an ordination¹⁰. Finally, the Louvain professors were told (ord. 9) not to be excessively speculative in their teaching, but to give their students the practical knowledge needed on the mission. The chapter did not attempt similar legislation for Rome or Lisbon. Rome was now under Father Ripoll's jurisdiction by papal decree and its own desire, while Lisbon was beyond the reach, not only of the province, but of the General himself.

Once again, the election and the acts were marred by technical defects, obvious enough in the quiet of the Roman curia, but easily overlooked at Dublin where the capitular fathers met for a few days in secret, wearing lay clothes, and never knowing when the magistrates might arrest them. Thomas Ferrall, prior of Dublin, presided as prior of the convent in which the previous chapter had been held, rather than as prior of the convent in which the chapter was actually being celebrated. Fortunately the chapters were always in Dublin. Ferrall also acted as one of the three scrutators, because he happened to be one of the three priors present who were senior by profession: not knowing this, Ripoll

pp. 28-30. For a copy of the ordinations confirming the acts, see Edm. Burke, *Journal*, 142-146.

¹⁰ Ord. 2. See above, p. 275.

confirmed the election conditionally, condoning the defect, if defect there was, "for the peace of the province"¹¹.

Nor was this all. Besides postulating a large number of friars for the degrees of the order, the definitors postulated three of themselves, a proceeding which was both presumptuous and illegal. Thomas Ripoll ignored most of the postulations, explaining that there were too many *graduati* already. Each of the four nations or provinces was entitled to have three masters of theology *titulo scholae* and one *titulo missionis*: similarly they might have three bachelors (*praesentati*) of theology *titulo scholae* and one *titulo missionis*. A total, therefore, of sixteen whereas by the General's calculation there were actually at least twenty-one. He refused to promote any more until the supernumeraries had been eliminated. Father Ripoll also demanded that whenever a postulation was to be made, full details of the vacancy and of the candidate were to be supplied in the acts.

Ripoll relented somewhat a few days later when he promoted Dominic French of Lisbon and Peter Killikelly of Louvain, both actually teaching, to the *praesentatura* in compensation for the neglect of the definitors who had largely ignored the professors of the three foreign colleges. On the same day (8 July 1730) six priests on the mission were made preachers general¹².

Another of the General's comments on the chapter acts pressed home his views on *graduati*. He urged the provincial to recall to Ireland all the members of the province not really needed on the continent, and to assign out of Dublin the many priests who lived there without permission or occupation. If they resisted on the score that they were masters or preachers, they would be deprived of active and passive voice in all canonical elections, provincial or conventual. Ripoll advised them to reflect that the degrees of the order were conferred as a stimulus to further work, not as a licence for laziness.

The question of Dominicans living at Dublin without proper authorization was one already noticed in the acts of the chapter (ord. 7)

¹¹ The fact that Ferrall was a senior prior is mentioned in AGOP IV. 214, p. 39. Not knowing this, Edm. Burke claimed that O'Brien was rather created by the General than elected by the province. Journal, 143. No vocals from Ulster attended the chapter, which explains why Ter. Reilly and Laur. Richardson, both of Dublin, were definitors.

¹² AGOP IV. 214, pp. 31-32. They were Dom. Newman for Naas, Ray. Hogan for Lorrha, Hy. Tully for Portumna, Jn. Fitzgerald for Cork, Dom. Burke for Tombeola, and Th. Muleady for Roscommon.

which mentioned the evils it occasioned and insisted that no one come to Dublin from the country without the provincial's permission. In part this was a matter of domestic politics, for more noise was made about removing James Cormick from Dublin to his native Kilkenny than the case was worth on its merits, but there was more to it than a clash of personalities or a party dispute¹³. The provincial's authority was severely limited in practice by the operation of the penal laws: not only had he little coercive power, but he ran the constant risk of being betrayed to the government by some discontented subject. The large population of the capital gave harassed friars the opportunity of losing themselves in the crowd and of finding some means of support more easily than they might in the country. Sometimes a priest knew no Irish and was therefore incapable of working outside Dublin where English was the common language. The Dominican convent there boasting only seven rooms, there was not even accommodation for all who were properly its sons¹⁴.

Father O'Brien tried to remove the subprior, John O'Hart, who belonged to the province of Connacht, but the community (feeling that O'Hart was worth his place) appealed to the master general¹⁵. Then the provincial ordered seven priests out of the city of Dublin. Four of them — Dominic and Philip Lynham, John Mullen, and John Archer — were sons of the convent though not, apparently, assigned to it. The others were Michael MacDermott of Clonshanville, Thomas Nolan of Gola, and James Cormick of Kilkenny¹⁶. The excessive number of friars in Dublin — and the Dominicans were not the sole offenders — was an error for which all the religious of Ireland would pay dearly: it antagonized the diocesan clergy of the capital when it would have been more wise not to give them unnecessary cause for complaint¹⁷.

¹³ Apart from numerous references to the Cormick case in AGOP IV. 214, one may note a letter (Dublin, 6 May 1732) from the Dublin community in favour of Cormick's removal which occurs in AGOP XIII. 68095. It was signed by Ter. Reilly, prior, Jn. Fottrell, subprior, Laur. Richardson, Th. Ferrelly, Chris. Fottrell, Jn. O'Hart, and Th. Wm. MacAlpin.

¹⁴ The number is noted in AGOP IV. 217, p. 4.

¹⁵ 17 Nov. 1731. Ripoll to Ter. Reilly, prior of Dublin. AGOP IV. 214, pp. 47-48.

¹⁶ 12 Apr. 1732. Ripoll to the friars named above who had appealed to him against the provincial's decision. *Ibidem*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁷ One could also raise here the question of the reception of novices in Dublin, still being practised in 1735 as appears from AGOP IV. 214, p. 127. Since there was no room for more than seven or eight priests, and others lived in lodgings, one is almost forced to admit that their novices spent the novitiate year in their parents' homes, exactly as Canon John Murphy accused them of doing in 1750. H. Fenning, *The Undoing of the Friars of Ireland*, Louvain 1972.

His own convent gave the provincial better news to report. In summer 1731 he was able to tell Father Ripoll that the Dominicans of Cork, "the second city of the kingdom", had recently built a house in which six religious were preaching and catechizing the poor: the like, he said, had not been seen in Cork for forty years¹⁸. This new "house" was perhaps a Mass-house or chapel which Thomas Blenerhasset of the parish of Shandon described in a letter to the government on 17 November 1731. Blenerhasset said that the Mass-house was built towards the end of the reign of George I, that is before June 1727¹⁹.

"The other [Mass-house], called by some a Friary, was built about the latter end of the reign of his late Majesty. The number of friars is confined to eight, whose business I hear it is to instruct the youth in the principles of the popish religion, and to lecture in philosophy those that are capable and disposed that way. Several or ... seven of their names, if it was necessary, I could make a return of".

Since it is hardly likely that the provincial would report to Rome in 1731 the building of a chapel already completed under his own eyes three years before his election, it is possible that he was referring to some conventual building erected about 1730. Before the end of his term (in 1733) he issued a commission for the recovery of the conventual plate which Fr. Louis or Peter O'Garvan had lodged for safe-keeping at St. Malo in 1690²⁰.

Of John O'Brien's other activities in the first two years of his provincialate, we know very little and nothing of importance. Immediately after his election he set out on visitation, returning from Connacht to Dublin on 12 October 1730²¹. Shortly after, he appointed Augustine Vaughan of London as vicar-provincial for the college in Louvain²². During a second visitation in the summer of 1731 he succeeded in reducing a little the number of novices in the convents of Connacht. Finding only two religious working in Tralee, he took steps to have Melchior

¹⁸ 25 Aug. 1731. Ripoll to O'Brien. AGOP IV. 214, p. 46.

¹⁹ Published as part of the Report on the State of Popery, in Arch. Hib. 2 (1913) 133.

²⁰ The commission (22 May 1733) is mentioned in AGOP IV. 217, p. 19. See also AFP 38 (1968) 263.

²¹ AGOP IV. 214, p. 40. He signed the Athenry account-book (recepta: 1721-1755) on 29 July 1730 and again on 9 June 1732. I owe this detail to Br. Paul Lawlor who consulted the original volume at Tallaght.

²² AGOP IV. 214, p. 40.

Moriarty, a son of that convent, sent back from Italy to join them. He was already preparing to hold an intermediate provincial chapter, but found himself faced by a legal difficulty which no one on the mission could solve. No vocals from Ulster having attended the chapter of 1730, it had not been possible to elect a definator from that province: the problem was how Ulster, which had no definator at the elective chapter, might have one at the intermediate chapter. What in Ireland appeared a canonical conundrum was easily solved in Rome. Dominican definitors, the General kindly explained, ceased to be such when the chapter which elected them was over. The intermediate chapter of 1732 had simply to elect four new definitors, one of whom would be from Ulster²³.

THE INTERMEDIATE CHAPTER OF 1732

At the intermediate or middle chapter, which was duly held at Dublin on 29 April 1732, the vocalsunani mously agreed that Father O'Brien should continue in office as provincial. Judging from the acts, they had little other business to discuss, for they merely postulated yet more members of the province for degrees and asked the General to ignore complaints from Ireland which had not previously been submitted to the provincial. One notices that the original chapter acts bear the number "regesta, folio 9", an indication of some desire to keep proper records in Ireland and yet another reason to believe that John O'Brien was methodical and conscientious. He wrote to Father Ripoll from Dublin (29 April 1732) about some of his problems, using the blank leaf after the text of the acts²⁴. Only for this accident, his letter would probably not have survived. Though not of the first importance, this is the only extant letter from his hand and it would be a pity not to preserve the full text here.

Rme Pater,

Divino adiuvente numine, hucusque ab inimicorum machinationibus haec vestra humillima filia provincia Hiberniae incolumis, se cum suis in capitulo intermedio perfectis actis Rmae V. Paternitati tota submissione devolvit. Tri-

²³ 1 Dec. 1731. Ripoll to O'Brien. The provincial also recommended for the S.T.M. Bern. MacHenry of Ulster who would prove to be his successor. AGOP IV. 214, pp. 50-51. Ripoll wrote a second time on 6 December, which answer was misfiled in 215, p. 86 under Germania Inferior.

²⁴ Both the acts and the letter are in AGOP XIII. 68095. The acts mention that there had previously been only two intermediate chapters. One (1720) with definitors under Maguire; the other (1723) without definitors under MacEgan.

nas R.V. Paternitatis litteras accepi et qua par est reverentia pro temporis et loci circumstantiis earum contenta exequenda curavi, procellasque irruentes et subortas placare Deo adiuvante conabor.

Filii conventus Dubliniensis nativi (in numero proh dolor excessivo) quia Hibernici nostri sermonis ignari, nullibi in hoc regno (Dublinio excepto) missioni idonei sunt: hos Dublinii, sive in sacello Ordinis aut in aliqua parochiali capella inservientes relinqui, exceptis paucis fratribus magnatibus aut viris alioquin clarissimis assistentiae destinatis, quod genus missionis perutile alias, sola me dura necessitas permittere compellit. Iam aliquantulum satisfactum fuit Illmo Midensi²⁵, et plenius accepto V. R. Paternitatis mandato nuperrime, quae omnia ex juvenum arrogantia et ex defectu potentiae coercivae proveniunt.

Recipiendorum numerum et compescui et compescam quamvis aliquos, sed digniores, pro conventibus filiis carentibus ac pro nostris exteris studiis sublevandis, necessum sit admittere.

Prior Dubliniensis [Terentius Reilly], quia iuvenis et regimini non assuetus, in suis quaerelis plurimum Provinciam (inimicorum furore alias depressam) his temporibus afflixit, sed Deo disponente futuras vigilans cautela praeveniet. Utinam in nobis tanta regendi cupiditas (Dublinii praecipue) nimio ardore non ferret, sic et domi pace gauderemus et simul pretiosum tempus A. R. V. Paternitate non arriperemus!

Quos Provincia, non postulando, sed humiliter petendo, pro gradibus benignitati vestrae repraesentat, ea de causa fuit, quia Ultonia modo feliciter reflorescens, nullos habuit idoneos titulo praedicationis, sed vere non ita modo, quia strenue laborant pro quibus petit Provincia, in omnibus se submittere dispositioni V. R. Paternitatis. Quia Provinciae minime constat an Praesentatura titulo scholae vacans pro Conacia fuerit alteri concessa, ideo conditionaliter supplicat pro regente secundario Lovanii [Dominico Kelly], eiusdem gradus non immerito, ut nobis constat. Defunctorum suffragia pariter et vivorum brevitati studens Diffinitorium apud nos perficienda decrevit.

Maiores procellae imminentem aliam ab Illmis E. E. [= Episcopis] pro nunc sedavit. Gravissime patitur in salute p. m. fr. Michael Shee ob huius aeris intemperiem, et cum nostra iactura non modica discedere cogitur. Utinam R. V. Paternitas ipsum Collegio Ulisiponensi assignare dignetur²⁶.

Allegationes partium Diffinitorio expositas circa affiliationem p. m. Cormick subiicio. Dictus magister Cormick assignatus fuit conventui Dubliniensi a P. Provinciali [Antonio] Maguire 3 Iunii 1720, quo tempore nondum emanavit lex affilians extra regnum professos loco viciniore eorum vel parentum

²⁵ Stephen MacEgan O.P., bishop of Meath. There are some references to his dispute with the Dominicans of Dublin in AGOP IV. 214.

²⁶ Michael Shee died at Lisbon early in 1733, four months after his arrival. AGOP IV. 214, p. 79.

nativitati. Consequenter dicta lex ante stabilita non destruit, cum aliam anteriorem assignationem pro aliquo huius regni conventu p. Cormick non habuerit. Allegant patres Dublinii magistrum Cormick nunquam habuisse consensum dicti conventus Dublinii pro receptione, professione, aut affiliatione, imo semper iudicaverunt ipsum (quia Kilkeniae natum) filium fuisse Kilkeniensis conventus. Insuper in assignatione P. Provincialis Maguire leguntur haec verba: « amoventes te a conventu Kilkeniensi, cuius supponimus te esse filium ». Cum ergo magister Cormick nullum habeat argumentum pro sua affiliatione praeter dictam assignationem, videtur dictis patribus Dublinii (salvo semper iudicio Rev.mi) dictum p. m. Cormick non esse affiliatum Dublinio. Determinatio R. V. Paternitatis huic affiliationi et aliis eiusdem naturae nunc ventilatis finem imponet. Quamque enixe petit Provincia cum paternali vestra benedictione, sicut et quod omnia prospere vobis succedant (Revme Pater) ad vota

Dublinii 29 Aprilis 1732 R. V. Paternitatis humillimi et obedientissimi filii, fr. Johannis O'Brien, provincialis Hiberniae.

Terence Reilly, the "young and inexperienced" prior of Dublin of whom the provincial complained in this letter, crossed swords with him again a year later because Father O'Brien expressed the wish (about May 1733) that the priests in Dublin should eat at the same table and recite the divine office in common. For Terence O'Reilly this was an unheard of idea, evident proof that the provincial knew nothing either of Dublin or of the mission. Better, he felt, for religious to hide their status lest the proper practice of conventual life excite fresh persecution against them. Strangely enough, he was able to support his case with a statement to the same effect from one of the vicars general of the city²⁷.

The last six months of the provincial's term of office were marked by persecution and anxiety. A diocesan priest named John Hennessy, at one time pastor of Doneraile in county Cork, denounced the archbishop of Cashel to the government for raising money (with the help of a papal bull) in order to put James III on the throne. His story was all the more readily believed when the papers of a solicitor named Nagle, containing lists of those who had subscribed money to be used in softening the anti-Catholic zeal of parliament, were found during a search in the rooms of the bishop of Cork. The result was the appointment of a special committee of the House of Commons in Dublin and a proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant in January 1734 requiring the ma-

²⁷ 11 July 1733. Ripoll to Reilly. AGOP IV. 214, p. 82.

gistrates to put the laws against "popery" into execution²⁸. This outburst, which ran from December 1733 to April 1734, was evidently of unusual severity. Ambrose O'Callaghan O.F.M., bishop of Ferns, wrote in March that the "storm" was "the most terrible and shocking which has been since Oliver's days. The prints won't tell you half"²⁹. It is not clear whether he meant Oliver Plunkett, the martyred primate, or Oliver Cromwell, so well remembered in the bishop's city of Wexford. The archbishop of Cashel, supposed author of the whole plot, said in a letter of 12 April that most chapels had already been closed for five weeks³⁰.

John O'Brien was worried lest the persecution should prevent the election of his successor and the holding of the provincial chapter on 4 May 1734. When explaining the difficulty, he asked Father Ripoll to urge the capitular fathers to insist on the practice of a common table, on choral recitation of the office, and on moderation in admitting novices: they should be told to permit the reception only of better and Irish-speaking candidates, and then only in such convents as were more suited for their training³¹. To obviate confusion with regard to the government of the province, he proposed the names of three Ulster friars — Dominic Brullaughan, Bernard MacHenry, and Hyacinth Watson — one of whom the General might designate as his vicar until such time as the chapter could be held. On 8 May 1734, Thomas Ripoll appointed Dominic Brullaughan vicar-general of the Irish province, unaware that the elective chapter had actually begun four days before³². The persecution, which had seemed so fierce in March, died out before the beginning of May³³.

²⁸ W. P. Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, Waterford 1914, 218-219. It is strange that this book should have nothing to say of the persecution of 1734 apart from its cause. The proclamation is noted by J. Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the 18th century* Press, Maynooth 1965, 53. The printed 12-page "Report from the Committee appointed to inspect the original papers seized" is listed in the Catalogue of the Bradshaw Collection of Irish Books, Vol. I, Cambridge 1916, 132. There are other valuable details in Giblin's catalogue of the *Nunziatura di Fiandra* in Coll. Hib. No. 9 (1966) 37-43.

²⁹ Dublin, 20 Mar. 1734. O'Callaghan to Edgar. Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 169, no. 21.

³⁰ Cashel, 12 Apr. 1734. Butler to Valenti-Gonzaga, nuncio at Brussels. APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 334-335. See Coll. Hib. No. 9 (1966) 40-41.

³¹ 17 Apr. 1734. Ripoll to O'Brien. AGOP IV. 214, pp. 97-98. This request indicates that the provincial was unable to impose his will in the matter.

³² 8 May 1734. Ripoll to Brullaughan. Loc. cit., p. 99.

³³ On this point there is an interesting letter (23 Apr. 1734) from Stephen Dowdall, bishop of Kildare, to James III in Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 169, no. 183.

On ceasing to be provincial, Father John O'Brien was immediately elected prior of his native convent of Cork and remained so for the usual term until 1737³⁴. His successor in the priorship (1737-1740) was Albert O'Brien, probably a close relative. One finds him prior again on 24 June 1741 when with other religious superiors he signed a formal protest against the attempted establishment of the Discalced Carmelites in Cork: in July, as a result of the petition, the bishop suspended some priests of that Order — O'Neal, Fitzgerald, and Flynn — who had opened a public chapel in the southern suburbs of the city³⁵. Considering the date (1741) and his strict views on novices, John O'Brien was probably the Dominican prior of Cork who turned a novice named William Inglis out of the Order about this time. Inglis or English later joined the Augustinians of Cork and made a reputation as a poet in the Irish language: one of his poems contains a reference to his leaving the Dominicans, from which one gathers that he was "thrown out" — the phrase is his own — because he and the prior did not agree on the meaning of the vow of poverty³⁶.

To these somewhat scattered details one could add that he was definitor for Munster at the provincial chapter of 1738 and that he was elected prior of Holy Cross, Louvain, on 6 February 1740. His age and sickness (he suffered from rheumatism) did not permit him to accept this latter honour³⁷. John O'Brien died at Cork on 11 January 1743, to the loss both of the province and of his convent³⁸. By a strange and unmerited oversight, he has never been mentioned in any of the historical booklets devoted to the priory of Cork. His death inspired another

Dowdall was at London in January 1734 when he heard of his promotion to Kildare. Ireland, as he wrote, "being then in turmoil", he was persuaded by friends to stay in London, working in the embassy chapels, until the storm died down. He returned to Ireland in April, having been assured by the French and Spanish ambassadors that the Catholics "would be connived at as hitherto. This is all the afflicted Catholics can hope for there till (it) please God to restore your most sacred Majesty".

³⁴ On 13 Aug. 1734 he presided as prior at the profession of Dom. MacCurtin. TA, Cork profession book. According to AGOP IV. 217, p. 21, Alb. O'Brien was prior in December 1737.

³⁵ There are copies of the protest and of the bishop's decision in SCAR, Codex IV, doc. 90.

³⁶ R. O Foghludha, *Cois na Bríde: Liam Inglis O.S.A., 1709-1778*, Dublin 1937, xv, 19. I owe this information to Fr. Conleth Kearns, O.P.

³⁷ Strictly speaking, his rheumatism was mentioned in 1737 when he was proposed as rector for Lisbon. AGOP IV. 217, pp. 12-13, 58.

³⁸ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 530.

John O'Brien, a priest and a poet, to compose an Irish elegy in his honour, a poem of small literary merit which is disappointingly poor in biographical detail. It does, however, praise him as a theologian and preacher, a priest full of zeal for the reformation and honour of religious orders, with the suggestion that he was descended from the Fitzgerald's on his mother's side³⁹. The introduction and first quatrain (transcribed by Fr. Michael MacGrath O.F.M. of St. Isidore's) give one the flavour of the whole.

An tAthair Seán Ó Briain cecinit ar bhás an bhráthar bheannaighthe
broinsráidhteach agus an dochtúra fhoghlamtha riaghalta d'Ord St.
Doimínic, i.e. an tAthair Seán Uí Briain 1738 [recte 1743].

Mo chiach mo cheas mo chreach mo bhrón mo sgíosl
Diadhaire dleacht na cceacht gan smól gan tímheal
An Brianach geal d'fuil Ghearailt chródha ghroidhe
A mbliaghna leagtha lag fá'd bhord a liag.

BERNARD MACHENRY, 1734-1738

The practice of choosing provincials from each of the four "provinces" in turn had the automatic effect that none could expect re-election at the end of his four-year term. To enjoy a second term, if enjoy be the proper word, an outgoing provincial had to wait another twelve years before he might possibly be elected again. Only three provincials achieved this feat during the eighteenth century, and the first of the three was Bernard MacHenry, elected for the first time on 4 May 1734 and for the second on 17 June 1749.

The new provincial, an Ulsterman and a son of the convent of Coleraine, was born about 1693 in the parish of Glenravel, county Antrim⁴⁰, and was a Louvain student on 23 September 1716 when he received clerical tonsure, minor orders, and subdiaconate at Malines⁴¹. One finds

³⁹ It was Fr. Conleth Kearns O.P. who drew my attention to the existence in manuscript of this poem in the Royal Irish Academy, 23 M 14, p. 9 (Catalogue, p. 868). Fr. MacGrath O.F.M. made me a complete transcript and translation of the four verses, but the poem does not merit full publication here.

⁴⁰ J. O'Laverty, *An Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor*, III (Dublin 1884) 470-471.

⁴¹ B. Jennings, *Irish Names in the Malines Ordination Registers, 1602-1794: Part IV*, in *Irish Eccles. Record*, Vol. 76 (1951) 233. This entry was missed by A. M. Bogaerts, *De Dominikanen in de Wijdingsregisters van het Aartsbisdom Mechelen*, Brussels 1965.

him still a student at Holy Cross in a list of December 1718. Soon after, he began to teach in the college, first as lector of philosophy and then as master of students, in which latter office he was still employed on 11 November 1724 when the master general permitted him to forsake the classroom in favour of the Scottish mission⁴².

One must leave to another occasion any detailed account of Irish Dominicans in Scotland. Enough to say that two young Sligo priests of San Sisto — Peter Cluan and John Gusman (alias Gildea) — volunteered to go there in 1706. Peter Cluan did indeed spend seven years as a missionary in Scotland at some later though unspecified date, but there is no compelling evidence that John Gusman ever laboured there⁴³. Bernard MacHenry was the next Dominican to interest himself in Scotland, but although he received his patents at Louvain about Christmas 1724, it would seem that he went to Ireland first and appeared in the Highlands only in 1726⁴⁴. Another Irishman, Michael Ryan, mentioned him indirectly in March 1727 when he asked Propaganda for leave to go to Scotland on the score that there was but one other member of his Order in that country⁴⁵. However, MacHenry was not destined to stay in Scotland long. The vicars apostolic, writing in May 1728, stated that an Irish Dominican — surely MacHenry — had recently been forced to leave the mission because of poor health⁴⁶.

Father MacHenry's labours earned him the postulation of the provincial chapter of 1730 and immediate promotion to the baccalaureate of theology (S.T.P.) by title of preaching: the citation read, "qui pluribus annis in Scotia et Hibernia missionem fructuose exercuit"⁴⁷. John O'Brien sought his promotion to the mastership in the autumn

⁴² On 6 Dec. 1718 the entire community of 20 subscribed to Unigenitus. Their names are noted in *Acta Ecclesiae Mechliniensis anni M.DCC.XVIII circa Bullam Unigenitus*, Brussels [1719]. His assignation to Scotland is mentioned in AGOP IV. 201, p. 126. I find no record of either academic appointment in this series, but that he held both offices successively was mentioned by the definitory in May 1734 when recommending him to the General. AGOP XIII. 68095.

⁴³ On Cluan and Gusman see AFP 38 (1968) 353. The chapter acts of 1738 postulated Cluan, remarking that he was 60 and had spent 7 years preaching in Scotland. AGOP XIII. 68095.

⁴⁴ His name appears in the list of missionaries in 1726 supplied by J.F.S. Gordon, *Journal and Appendix to Scotichronicon and Monasticon*, Vol. I, Glasgow 1867, 632.

⁴⁵ APF, *Acta* 97, ff. 101-102; SOCG 655, ff. 387-399.

⁴⁶ APF, *SC Scozia* 2, f. 142^v.

⁴⁷ The acts are in AGOP XIII. 68095. The promotion (1 July 1730) is in AGOP IV. 214, p. 30.

of 1731, describing him as an outstanding preacher, but this was an honour for which MacHenry would have to wait⁴⁸. His name came up in 1733 when he was suggested for the rectorship in Lisbon, and in November of that year he was unanimously elected prior of Holy Cross, Louvain. But he declined that flattering offer and we find him early in 1734 helping bishop Michael MacDonogh O.P. in the diocese of Kilmore⁴⁹. Upon his election as provincial a few months later, the definitory wrote a special letter to Thomas Ripoll asking that he be promoted master of theology. It is this letter which tells us that MacHenry was successively lector of philosophy and master of students at Louvain, and might have finished out his academic career in the usual way had not zeal for souls moved him to apply for permission to work in Scotland⁵⁰.

The provincial chapter of 1734 respected the views of Father O'Brien, the outgoing provincial, for almost the only original legislation it attempted bore on the question of novices. In future, postulants for the habit would either have to speak Irish or prove themselves capable of doing so with a little practice: they would also have to guarantee that their parents or friends would provide them with enough money and clothes for their journey to the continent after profession. This latter provision (ord. 3) was intended to stop the abuse whereby young friars, newly professed, went begging about the countryside to collect the cost of their passage. Another ordination (2) forbade any member of the province to receive sacred orders, least of all the priesthood, on the mission itself. Previously it had not been unusual for the newly professed to become priests before ever they went abroad, largely in order to have a means of livelihood during their studies. These new laws, taken in conjunction with earlier legislation, were more than sufficient to meet the case, but Thomas Ripoll (when confirming the election and the acts on 3 July 1734) ordered the following addition to be made⁵¹.

Ut bono communi provinciae ac negotio missionis magis prospiciatur, districte praecipitur ut numerus subditorum ad habitum recipiendorum attemperetur, ne recipiantur quaevis subdita obvia et inepta, sed pauca et selecta, ac praecellentia in moribus et talentis et origine, in quibus effulgeat

⁴⁸ AGOP IV. 214, pp. 50-51. Obviously, the provincial had met him during the course of the visitation which he was here reporting to the General.

⁴⁹ AGOP IV. 214, pp. 77, 94, 98-99. It is not to be excluded that MacHenry refused the priorship in Louvain because of the probability of his election as provincial within six months.

⁵⁰ Undated, but written in May 1734. The original is in AGOP XIII. 68095.

⁵¹ AGOP IV. 214, p. 102.

certa spes profectus, nedum in obsequium religionis sed et maxime missionis apostolicae. Nec ullus recipiatur sine expressa licentia patris provincialis in scriptis habita, et nonnisi in locis congruentibus ubi ab examinadoribus deputatis coram patribus a consilio diligenter examinari, et eius idoneitas sufficienter probari possit: de qua idoneitate detur conscientiosa relatio patri priori conventus qui et patrem provincialem informabit.

Et quia pro missionibus summopere necessaria est lingua Hibernica, maxime ruri ubi maior est messis, severe inhibetur ne ullus recipiatur ad habitum aut ad professionem admittatur, qui non calleat linguam Hibernicam, aut saltem iudicio discretorum adsit certissima spes et capacitas brevi eam addiscendi.

There is no indication that either the Irish Dominicans or their master general knew of a discussion then in progress at Propaganda Fide as to whether it would be opportune to prohibit all ordinations and all religious professions in Ireland for a certain number of years, but it would be strange had no hint of it reached them. Although the archbishop of Cashel and some leading Irish priests at Paris were much in favour of such an embargo, cardinal Imperiali (protector of Ireland) succeeded in postponing a decision ⁵².

VISITATION OF THE PROVINCE, 1734-1735

Father MacHenry had a busy provincialate and the records of this period are remarkably full. Since they largely deal with the restoration of convents or disputes connected with them, it is fitting that our earliest eighteenth-century list of convents and friars in Ireland should have been compiled by him. The notes he made during visitation between summer 1734 and summer 1735 still exist in manuscript, but because they were used also by his successor they have hitherto been wrongly called the Fottrell list. Worse still, the only printed edition made two lists out of one, dating the first part correctly to 1734 and ascribing the second erroneously to 1738 ⁵³.

⁵² APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 271-287. Also Acta 103, ff. 370-375.

⁵³ The original Fottrell Papers, among which this list occurs, are now preserved in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland in Belfast, D. 1449/14. They were edited by L. Murray in *Louth Archaeological Journal*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (1930) 124-152 from a faulty transcript prepared by Dr. Chart the deputy-keeper: Murray never saw the originals.

The two parts of the list are on paper of the same size and texture; they are written in the same hand (MacHenry's hand); and the material is arranged in the same unusual format, the names of the convents being written sideways-on to the page

The full text of the MacHenry list, if one may use its proper title for the first time, is given below in the first appendix, so there is no need to analyse it here. It shows the substantial recovery of the province from the exile of 1698, for there were now thirty-four more or less thriving convents staffed by 172 priests. Among the convents of Leinster there was no mention of Naas⁵⁴, Athy had only one "son", and Aghaboe was described as "destitute". In Munster the entry for Tralee was left blank and Youghal not even named. In Connacht, where there were eleven convents, almost all with large communities, the only missing name seems to be that of Tulsk near Roscommon. Two of the Connacht entries can be dated precisely, for MacHenry was in Galway on 14 July and in Atheny on 16 July 1735⁵⁵. Even Ulster, where conditions for friars under the penal laws were so much more difficult than elsewhere, had seven fairly numerous communities, including the recently founded convent of Cavan.

In the autumn of 1735, the provincial reported to Rome on his visitation. His letter has been lost, but it was summarized in the registers of the General and one may reproduce that summary here as a fair example of the indirect way in which some of the letters of the Irish provincials have been preserved⁵⁶.

Patri praesentato provinciali describenti statum provinciae post visitationem, in qua reperiuntur 38 conventus in quibus nominavit priores, exceptis tribus, scilicet Naas, Aghaboe, et Youghal fere destitutis⁵⁷. In quibusdam aliis est prior solus, in aliis duo, aut 3 aut 4 religiosi, qui sunt 172 et sorores 72. Numerum recipiendorum ita attemperavit ut hucusque nonnisi 12 iuvenes

at the left-hand side. The friars mentioned in the list as having been postulated for degrees were so honoured by the chapter of 1734. Internal evidence too from the second, undated portion, shows that it cannot be so late as 1738. Colman O'Shaghnessy, for instance, appears merely as a master, whereas he was a bishop from October 1736.

⁵⁴ MacHenry appointed Th. Curtis prior of Naas on 13 Feb. 1738, but Curtis tried to evade the responsibility by appealing to the General. AGOP IV. 217, p. 25.

⁵⁵ He signed the account-books on these dates, as appears from the originals in Tallaght. For these details I am indebted to Br. Paul Lawlor.

⁵⁶ 21 Jan. 1736. Ripoll to MacHenry. AGOP IV. 214, p. 128. I omit the reply in which Ripoll, presumably taking his cue from MacHenry's report, regretted that though there were so many convents, the number of good "labourers" was very small. He hoped that greater care in admitting novices would eventually solve the problem.

⁵⁷ In fact there were only 34 real convents, or 35 if one allows for Tralee which the provincial did not describe in his list. Adding to 35 the three destitute convents mentioned, one gets the General's total of 38.

electos susceperit ad habitum. Mittit etiam catalogum graduatorum⁵⁸. Lis inter conventum Galviensem et p. m. O'Shaghnessy dirimetur licet non facile: fietque illi iustitia⁵⁹. Pater magister Iacobum Cormick moniales Dublienses unanimiter petunt confirmari in munere confessarii, quem et proponit pro rectore Ulissiponensi, vel p. m. Iacobum Fitzgerald existentem in Italia, cum ordo [i. e. alternativa] sit in Lagenia. Patrem Michaellem Fleming pro ratha Ultoniae instituit lectorem philosophiae Lovanii ad requisitionem professorum, petit ut Rmus hanc institutionem rati habeat. Item p. m. Hyacinthum Watson terminat officium vicarii generalis et confessarii monialium Pontanensium, ut Rmus vel illum continuet vel alium instituat.

Father MacHenry noted in his list that certain communities "live regularly"; this, though he did not say so, was equally true of other convents, such as that of Galway, which are known to have been more than purely titular. But many another convent was such only in name. Bishop Michael MacDonogh of Kilmore, a Dominican himself, asked Thomas Ripoll in 1732 to force the superiors and their subjects to live in their priories of assignation. Perhaps he was thinking chiefly of Ulster where he lived and worked, but his complaint applied equally to places such as Arklow or Athy in Leinster where the priests were few and did not live together.

Bishop MacDonogh made every effort to found — or, as he thought, to restore — a Dominican convent at Cavan in his own diocese. Finding the parish of St. Mary's, Drumlahane, vacant in 1734 the bishop thought it would be feasible to establish a community which might rely on the parochial income for its support. Before the end of 1735 there were five Dominicans assigned there, but the project soon aroused the opposition of the primate. Archbishop Bernard MacMahon of Armagh challenged the proposed perpetual union between the parish and the priory in 1738 and bishop MacDonogh had to take his case to Rome⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ This list of *graduati*, in MacHenry's hand, also occurs among the Fottrell Papers in Belfast. Three names were added by Fottrell in 1738-39, but the list itself is certainly of 1734-35.

⁵⁹ On this dispute see above, p. 291.

⁶⁰ H. Fenning, Michael MacDonogh O.P., in *Irish Eccles. Record*, Vol. CVI (Sept. 1966) 144-145. On 2 July 1737 Ripoll wrote to thank the bishop for having established the convent. The register mentions that MacDonogh was then presenting a petition to the Pope on the subject through Corsini, protector of Ireland and of the Order. AGOP IV. 217, p. 9. The copy of Stevens' *Monasticon Hibernicum* in the library of San Clemente (Rome) bears marginal notes in the hand of bishop MacDonogh — some referring to Cavan — notes mutilated in the last century when the book was rebound and recut.

Another Dominican bishop, Stephen MacEgan of Meath, ran into the same obstacle when he tried to bestow a parish on his brethren of Mullingar who had been living south of the town at Killenough from the time of the exile. About 1733 the prior was appointed parish priest of Mullingar and a layman named Mathew Casey began to build a chapel and a house for them in the town. That is why the MacHenry list of the following year says: "they now begin to live together under the patronage of Mathew Casey". Despite difficulties raised by the primate in 1738, the Dominicans held the parish until the close of the century ⁶¹.

In this period of conventual restoration, the superiors of the order had to contend with the local magistrates, the bishops, and other religious, each of whom might object to the building of a particular convent. The following case reveals a more unexpected source of opposition. It concerns the restoration of Tulska, a small Dominican convent near Roscommon, a project opposed by no one so strenuously as by the Dominicans of Roscommon itself. The following valuable letter tells the story clearly enough ⁶².

Copia epistolae transmissae ex Hibernia ad p. l. f. Thomam Brenan degentem in conventu SS. Xysti et Clementis de Urbe, a p. f. Thadeo Tully, filio conventus Roscommanensis, nomine suo et aliorum confratrum, die 29 mensis Maii anno 1734.

Omnes huius conventus filii enixe rogant P. V. ut omnem curam et diligentiam adhibeat in praesenti rerum discrimine ad iura nostra tuenda, et ad gravia toties huic domui et familiae intentata damna eliminanda. In variis siquidem capitulis provincialibus, in hoc praesertim ultimo habito Dublini die 2 huius mensis agebatur de prioratu stabiliendo in oppido Tolska paucis abhinc miliaribus distante et de auferendo ab hoc nostro conventu quaestu 20 parochiarum, quo quaestu ablato, extremas sine dubio patiemur miserias, nec diutius hic vivere poterimus. Adversarii nostri (inter quos est Illmus D. Iohannes Dowle asserens domum Tolskensem fundatam fuisse a suis maioribus, quod tamen negatur ab aliis adscribentibus foundationem alteri familiae) praetendunt relatam domum fuisse conventum et filium eiusdem fuisse Illmum

⁶¹ A. Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, II (Dublin 1867) 454-472. There are some interesting letters (dated 1738) on the subject in SCAR, Codex IV, docs. 18-20. See also Coll. Hib. No. 10 (1967) 84-85 for details on Barnaby Barnewall O.P., appointed pastor on 3 Mar. 1737/38. His predecessor as prior and parish priest was Th. Hyland of Roscommon, transfiliated to Mullingar on 6 Oct. 1736. AGOP IV. 214, p. 141.

⁶² The letter (a copy) was formerly slipped loosely into AGOP IV. 214, facing p. 99, but is now more properly filed in XIII. 68095, I find no trace of the General's decision on the matter. There was no community at Tulska in 1756 (*Hibernia Dominicana*) nor in 1767 (Netterville list).

R. D. Ambrosium MacDermott, olim paenitentiarium ad S. Mariam Maiorem, Romae ⁶³. Nos contrarium scimus, et invenimus in libro professionum, praefatum Illmum et Rmum Dominum professionem emisisse pro hoc conventu Roscommanensi die 14 Ianuarii anno 1667. Exploratum insuper habemus Illmum et Rmum D. Stephanum Eagan attestationem dedisse patribus vocabilibus convocatis in hoc ultimo capitulo Dubliniensi, die et mense supradicti, quod ipse audiverit ab Illmo et Rmo D. Ambrosio MacDermott, quod domus Tolskensis fuit solum vicariatus conventus Roscommanensis, et quod pro sui sustentatione habebat quaestum trium tantummodo parochiarum. Hoc idem nobis referunt et confirmant antiquiores huius patriae familiae, quibus omnem fidem adhibere tenemur in hoc, similiter et in aliis rebus, cum temporum iniuriae authentica magis monumenta nobis abstulerint.

Denuo igitur rogamus, ut cuncta haec candide exponat, ad hoc ut intentata huic conventui damna repellantur, nosterque hucusque vivendi modus, et quaestus servetur immunis. Gratissima haec munia praestando, me caeterosque confratres devinctos semper habebis, etc.

THE NUNS AND FRIARS OF WATERFORD, 1735-1737

Bishop MacDonogh's concern for the good of the province extended as far south as Waterford, for it was he who took up the question of founding a monastery of Dominican nuns in that city. The general chapter of 1725 authorized such a foundation, but it had still to be attempted ten years later. Acting on the bishop's advice, Father Ripoll told Bernard MacHenry in a letter of 12 November 1735 that he was to apply himself to the business ⁶⁴. The provincial lost so little time in doing his duty that he obtained the written approval of William O'Mara, vicar general of Waterford, before the following autumn. The original document has fortunately been preserved in the archives of Propaganda ⁶⁵.

Whereas formerly in this city of Waterford there was (as we are informed) a convent of nuns of the holy order of St. Dominick under the title and protection of St. Catherine of Siena, and said convent by the ruin and destruction of other monasteries fell along with them and was, to the great detriment of the Catholick religion, abolished like the rest of the sanctuaries for the nurse-

⁶³ H. Fenning, Ambrose MacDermott O.P., in AFP 40 (1970) 231-275, esp. p. 233 where the above letter is mentioned.

⁶⁴ AGOP IV. 214, p. 126.

⁶⁵ APF, CP 88, f. 135. The bishop, Richard Pierce, lived permanently in France, leaving the care of the diocese to his vicar general.

ries of Christian piety and sanctity in this kingdom. And whereas the general chapter of friars preachers held in Bologna in the year 1725, in the chapter *pro provincia Hiberniae*, ordered that the said convent of St. Catherine of Siena in the city of Waterford should be restored and re-established and kept up according to the way and means that other religious houses of said Order of St. Dominick are established in this kingdom. And whereas the Most Rev. Fr. Thomas Ripoll, master general of the whole Order of Preachers, has lately ordered the execution of said act of the aforesaid general chapter, and that (with the assistance of God) the having a religious house of nuns of said Order here will be an ornament here to the Catholick religion, [and] means to instruct the young ladies of this city and country in piety and Christian education.

We therefore, overseers and directors of this diocess of Waterford, doe approve of said establishment of religious nuns in this city of Waterford, according as they will be fixed and settled by their General or Provincial, and according to the rules and constitutions of the friars preachers and the nuns of the order of St. Dominick. And said establishment soe approved of and permitted by us, we recommend the same to all those of said city and others under our care and direction. Given in Waterford this the 22nd of October 1736.

William O'Mara, vicar general of Waterford.

With this permission in hand, Father MacHenry sent two nuns to Waterford: Sr. Anastasia Wyse of Channel Row in Dublin, a member of a prominent local family, and Sr. Margaret Brown of the Galway community. Both lived on the interest of their dowries⁶⁶. The two nuns rented a house in which they began to teach girl boarders and after some time gave the habit to Catherine Wyse, a niece of the prioress. After Catherine made profession (1740?) with the approval of the new bishop, Sylvester Lloyd O.F.M., the sisters proceeded to admit a second postulant named Mary Pilkington. It was then the first difficulty arose, for while Mary was still a novice the infant community began to doubt whether their monastery had a proper legal title. So far as one can judge, other religious of the city objected to the foundation and the Franciscan

⁶⁶ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 362-365. Also AGOP IV. 217, p. 16. The capital of the dowries remained in their original convents. There are further interesting, though partly contradictory, details in H. Fenning, John Kent's Report on the Irish Mission, 1742, in *Archivium Hibernicum* 28 (1966) 85-86. According to Kent, the bishop refused to approve the clothing of Catherine Wyse, and equally refused to examine her before profession. Kent, however, may not have stated the case correctly. Sister M. Thérèse O.P., archivist in Cabra (Dublin), recently sent me an interesting unpublished article, *Dominican Nuns in Waterford, 1735-1758*, written by Fr. Benedict O'Sullivan O.P. in February 1970 shortly before his death.

bishop could not afford to ignore their arguments. At all events the nuns, failing to find any evidence that there had ever been a monastery of Dominican nuns in Waterford, felt obliged to apply to Rome for a *sanatio in radice*. At this juncture the bishop gave them his full support while a former provincial, Colman O'Shaghnessy bishop of Ossory, rallied to their aid. Here again, the archives of Propaganda preserve bishop Lloyd's original letter of procuration ⁶⁷.

Whereas some doubts and scruples have arisen in the city of Waterford concerning the foundation of Mrs. Anstace Wise and her Sisters. It's therefore that I doe by these presents impower my good friend Mr. Colman O'Shaghnessy jointly with saide Mrs. Wise and her friends to concert the proper measures for removing all doubts and scruples, so as to prove an ancient foundation, or obtaine a new one if necessary, and I shall most willingly, not only approve of such measures as they shall take, but shall most earnestly recommend to our superiors the advantage it will be to the publick, that the saide Mrs. Wise her house be built upon a sollid foundation, beyond all contradiction for the future. As witness my hand this 13th day of July 1740.

S. Lloyd, etc.

With the help of John Brett O.P. at Rome this problem was soon solved, for the Pope issued a brief on 11 May 1742 regularizing both the foundation and the profession of the novices ⁶⁸.

The Dominican priests of Waterford seem to have been stimulated by the presence of the sisters to improve their own, already comfortable, position. They were living in community, and none too poorly, at the time of Bernard MacHenry's visitation in 1735. The provincial noted the names of three "sons" of the convent — Antoninus Sall, James Dominic Ferrall, and Robert Elliot — but Ferrall went to Lisbon in spring 1736 and Elliot is found in Spain soon after. Elliot was not, in fact, a son of Waterford at all, but a son of the convent of San Pablo at Seville where he occupied one of the Irish places in 1743 ⁶⁹. Be that as it may, John

⁶⁷ APF, CP 88, f. 137.

⁶⁸ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 363-366. On the Roman negotiations connected with the sanatory brief see SCAR, *Miscellanea* (shelf-number 22), docs. 53-55. APF, SC Irlanda 10, ff. 68-71; CP 88, ff. 120-140; *Udienze* 5, f. 48. It is mentioned in these papers that the S. C. of Bishops and Regulars issued a rescript on the subject on 21 July 1741.

⁶⁹ AGOP IV. 217, p. 84. He had earlier held one of these places from 10 Nov. 1731. *Ibidem*, 209C, f. 65^r. The arrival of Dom. Farrell (or Ferrall) in Lisbon is mentioned in AGOP IV. 214, p. 136 with the detail that he had been 16 years (1720-36) on the Irish mission.

Newman (presumably prior of Waterford) wrote to the General at the close of 1736 explaining that although the city was populous and the people devoted to the Rosary, the convent had only two sons: Antoninus Sall who was old, and another (Dominic Ferrall) who was confessor to the nuns in Lisbon ⁷⁰. There were also two novices in the convent. The provincial, Father Newman continued, had agreed to send them some from the well-stocked priories of Connacht, but the new arrivals would have to be transfiliated to Waterford by the master general. This Father Ripoll did on 26 January 1737 when he transfiliated Peter Costelloe from Roscommon, which had twenty sons, and Peter Lagnan from Strade which had fifteen. The General remarked that the case showed considerable negligence, since the Waterford community had only two sons advanced in years and two prospective ones not yet professed ⁷¹.

THE AUGUSTINIANS OF LIMERICK, 1733-1739

The Dominicans of Limerick, after a long, unsettled period in which they lived and served where best they could, opened a chapel in Fish Lane about 1730 and began to pick up the threads of a community life they had not known for forty years. Apart from the Franciscans, they were the only religious in the city. They also believed — wrongly, as events would prove — that the Franciscans and themselves were the only religious who had any right to be there. When two Augustinians moved into Limerick from Adare in 1733, the Dominicans and Franciscans felt their livelihood was threatened, so they laid a formal protest before the bishop, Cornelius O'Keeffe, on 14 June of that year. The bishop handed the document over to the Augustinians, but since he was forced almost at once to leave for France, nothing could be done until his return ⁷².

⁷⁰ 26 Jan. 1737. Ripoll to Newman. AGOP IV. 217, p. 2. The General declined to transfiliate the prior (Newman?) since that was forbidden by Dominican law. It is interesting to note that on 5 June 1731 Jn. Newman was prior of Kilkenny and Peter Costelloe its subprior. C. Giblin, Catalogue, in Coll. Hib. No. 9 (1966) 21.

⁷¹ One may note here the intended restoration of another convent in Munster. On 16 Feb. 1737, the General permitted Bonav. Nagle of Louvain to go to Ireland where he wished to restore the convent of Clonmel. AGOP IV. 217, p. 3.

⁷² From the bishop's statement of 2 Jan. 1735/36 in APF, SC Irlanda 9, f. 705. Some of the earliest documents on the question are copied on nine unnumbered pages at the back of the James White Mss which are preserved by the present bishop of Limerick. They show that Albert O'Brien O.P. was already prior in 1733. See also J. Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick from 1691 to the Present Time*, Dublin 1938, 196-197.

When bishop O'Keeffe came back, the injured parties approached him again on 18 September 1735 and a series of meetings was held in the Franciscan friary between 26 September 1735 and 2 January 1736 to hear both sides of the dispute. On that latter date the bishop gave judgement against the Augustinians, commanding Edmund Durkan and Nicholas O'Brien of that order under pain of suspension not to celebrate Mass nor hear confessions anywhere in the diocese save where they had monasteries before. He also ordered them to quit the city of Limerick within twenty days.

So firm a decision would have daunted most, but not the Augustinians. They appealed to the metropolitan (Cashel) and, when he told them to approach the Roman congregation of Bishops and Regulars, they appealed over his head to the primate in Armagh. Bernard MacMahon of Armagh, pleased with this recognition of his theoretical authority — and pleased too because the nuncio in Flanders had recently snubbed him on a question connected with this very dispute — appointed the bishop of Raphoe as his commissary and delegate. On 12 April 1736, Raphoe called on Albert O'Brien O.P. and John MacNamara O.F.M. (the prior and guardian of their respective orders in Limerick) to appear before him at Bellafin near Maryborough in the house of Mr. Denis Dulany on 18 May following to present their case against the Augustinians⁷³. By now the point at issue had grown more serious, for the Augustinians had begun to build a chapel in Fish Lane itself, only a stone's throw from the Dominican one.

Two weeks later (on 30 April) the Franciscans and Dominicans, with the support of their respective provincials, asked the primate to withdraw the commission given to Raphoe, and appealed to the court of Rome for final judgement. A document to this effect was given to the bishop-delegate on 14 May, four days before the date fixed for the meeting at Bellafin, but Raphoe went ahead and gave judgement in favour of the Augustinians. Where he did so one cannot say, but it was certainly not at Bellafin: the procurator whom the Dominicans and Franciscans sent to that remote spot on the appointed day failed to catch so much as a glimpse of bishops or Augustinians.

The case now moved to Rome, for on 12 June 1736 the Augustinian definitory asked Propaganda Fide to appoint an impartial commissary⁷⁴.

⁷³ Raphoe's citation is in APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 706-707.

⁷⁴ APF, SOCG 692, ff. 95-96. The decision of 1 Oct. 1737 is in Acta 107, ff. 405-413 and the originals in SOCG 692, ff. 88-105.

About the same time, Albert O'Brien O.P. sent to the master general an appeal he wished to lodge with the congregation of Bishops and Regulars ⁷⁵. Propaganda took more than a year to make any decision at all, and then (1 October 1737) merely agreed to lift *usque ad exitum causae* the censures imposed on the Augustinians. After a second interval of fourteen months, the Congregation decided (15 December 1738) to ask the nuncio in Flanders for more information ⁷⁶. Propaganda was not entirely responsible for the delay, for the Dominicans and Franciscans do not seem to have pressed their case at Rome with the energy they had shown in Ireland. Perhaps opposition to the Augustinians abated with the removal of Albert O'Brien from Limerick to Cork in 1737 and the death of bishop O'Keeffe of Limerick in the same year.

So matters dragged on into 1739 while the new bishop, Robert Lacy, waited impatiently for a decision ⁷⁷ and the Augustinians, provisionally freed from censure (though lacking faculties in the diocese) attracted ever more people to their chapel. At last, in 1740, the Franciscan and Dominican papers arrived in Rome: but they arrived too late. George Vaughan, the Augustinian provincial, had reached Rome first and put certain facts before Propaganda which, had they been presented earlier, would have saved a great deal of trouble for all concerned.

What neither the clergy nor the people of Limerick knew in 1733 was that there *had* been Augustinians in the city long before. The appointment of Augustinian priors of Limerick was mentioned in the acts of their provincial chapters in 1661, 1670, 1673, and 1685. Granted, the Augustinian friars had no medieval foundation in the city, but they inherited the foundation of the Augustinian Canons Regular of the Holy Cross (*fratres cruciferi*) in virtue of a brief issued by Urban VIII on 18 October 1632 ⁷⁸. This was the document which closed the case at Rome and guaranteed the Augustinians the right to peaceful coexistence with the other religious of Limerick.

⁷⁵ This appears to have been lost. It is mentioned in AGOP IV. 214, p. 138.

⁷⁶ APF, Acta 108, ff. 413-417; SOCG 697, ff. 431-438.

⁷⁷ Limerick, 22 June 1739. Lacy to nuncio. A copy. APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 641-642.

⁷⁸ Undated petition. Vaughan to Propaganda. Ibidem, ff. 708, 713. Vaughan mentions this early brief of which there is a copy in APF, SOCG 294, ff. 447-448 described by B. Millett in Coll. Hib. No. 8 (1965) 37. It was published by T. Burke in the Supplementum Hiberniae Dominicanae (1772) 929. The point is mentioned by A. Gwynn and N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland, London 1970, 304. And by A. Downey who wrote three articles on the Augustinians in Limerick in the diocesan magazine Catholic Life, Christmas 1959, Spring 1960, and Summer 1960.

The controversy was not a complete defeat for the losing parties: their determined stand against the Augustinians scared off the Carmelites and Capuchins who in 1733 were equally interested in making foundations at Limerick ⁷⁹. To end on a more friendly note, one may mention that George Vaughan O.S.A., the Irish provincial, was treated to a special dinner by the Irish Dominicans of San Sisto in May 1739 ⁸⁰.

THE IRISH REFUGE AT BRUSSELS, 1733-1738

The central figure in this interesting and hitherto unknown chapter of Irish Dominican history was Sister Julia Browne who is said to have belonged to the family of Browne of the Neale in county Mayo. She entered the Order at Galway in 1711, made profession there on 27 December 1712, went to Dublin as one of the founding sisters about 1717, and was prioress of the Dublin monastery in Channel Row from 1726 to 1729 ⁸¹. On ceasing to be prioress she got leave to take the waters at Spa near Liège and Sister Mary O'Daly of Dublin was permitted to go to the continent as her companion. In the course of this journey, Sister Julia spent some time with the English Dominican nuns of Brussels and made so favourable an impression on her hosts that they elected her prioress in the autumn of 1730 for the usual three-year term. Unfortunately, Julia's term of office and her honeymoon with the English sisters ended together in 1733. Raymund Greene, the nuns' confessor, alleged that she wished to be affiliated to the English monastery and that she also wanted to take some of the nuns for a new monastery she planned to found in Brussels. So fearful were the English nuns of her strong personality that they refused to proceed to a fresh election until Julia Browne was safely out of the house ⁸².

Sister Julia's plan was to establish a small monastery or refuge at Brussels to which the nuns of Dublin might retire should the following

⁷⁹ APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 701-702.

⁸⁰ The other guests were bishop Sylvester Lloyd of Waterford and George Byrne, dean of Dublin. SCAR, Account-book 1730-47 (section on expenses), p. 168.

⁸¹ Anon., *Annals of the Dominican Convent of Cabra, Dublin 1912*, 21-43. This work says nothing of the Brussels foundation, and very little about Sister Julia. I am indebted to Fr. Luke Taheney for the date of profession which he copied from the original register in Taylor's Hill, Galway. The name in the register is "Sister July Jesus Browne".

⁸² AGOP IV. 214, pp. 20-21, 82, 89. There are innumerable references to Julia Browne in this particular register.

parliament oblige them to go into exile. The famous "Report on the State of Popery" had only recently appeared, and in 1732 (as the following text testifies) the Franciscan, Augustinian, and Dominican nuns of Galway had been forced by the magistrates to disperse. Her scheme, therefore, can appear visionary only in retrospect. In March 1733 some Irish bishops recommended the plan in a petition to the Archduchess Maria Elizabeth, governess of the Austrian Netherlands. Their formal request has survived in the archives of the archdiocese of Brussels-Malines and is reproduced here by courtesy of the historian who found it, Fr. A.M. Bogaerts O.P.⁸³.

Serenissimae Austriae Archiduci, necnon Belgii Austriaci Gubernatrici, & &.

Nos infrascripti in regno Hiberniae episcopi humillime exponimus Serenissimae Celsitudini Vestrae Catholicos huius regni plurimas calamitates, necnon continuas, saevasque persecutiones ab anno 1698 ob Iesu Christi fidem sustinuisse per decreta parlamentaria iam inde condita, et singulis bienniis condenda contra universum clerum et populum orthodoxum, ita ut nisi Deus O. M. se tanto opposuerit malo, Catholica fides in hoc regno erit brevi penitus eversa.

Et quandoquidem plures sint praenobiles filiae, quae vitam monasticam in hac quondam sanctorum insula amplexae sunt, quae religiosae virgines inevitabili periculo et ruinae per leges iam latas obnoxiae sunt, quoties magistratui leges exequi placuerit, prout anno praeterito [1732] in civitate Galviensi perluctuose tres monialium aedes diversorum ordinum expertae sunt, cum per magistratum domus deserere, fugam arripere, et ad parentum aedes pro azylo recurrere impellerentur.

Hinc est quod nos ad instantiam religiosarum sororum Ordinis S. Dominici Dublinii Ser. Cel. Vrae humillime representamus, quantum illis opus est veniam obtinere ab aliquo Catholico et Christiano Principe, ut azylum in eius ditione (propriis illarum sororum expensis) sibi comparare queant.

Nos, S. C. Vrae oratores, ardentem optamus quatenus vestro Catholicissimo Diplomate praefatis sororibus S. Dominici permittatur, ut sibi domum et hortum emant in aliqua commoda civitate vel villa sub dominio augustissimae Do-

⁸³ Fr. Bogaerts found and listed (in a typed but unpublished volume which calendars all the Dominican documents at Malines) seventeen documents bearing on the Irish refuge at Brussels. He courteously sent me photographic copies of them. So far as I can judge, the proper archival reference for them all is Archives of the archdiocese of Malines, VII. Deel 1, § II. Vrouwenkloosters.

The document reproduced above was undated, but bears a secretarial note of 16 March 1733. After the text of the petition there follows the decree of Maria Elizabeth (6 July 1734) declaring that the petition had been favourably received by the Emperor.

mus Austriacae, quae sua conspicua pietate et zelo Ecclesiae Dei, et Christianesimo tot retro saeculis sustentaculum fuit et est.

Huius nostrae supplicationis praesentationem S. C. Vrae sorori Iulianae Browne actuali Dominicanarum Anglarum Bruxellis priorissae, vel cuicumque procuratori ab illa deputato committere aequum iudicavimus: cum praefata priorissa fuerit de primis quae hanc familiam Dubliniensem instituit, quamque laudabiliter rexit.

Cum hae religiosae sint futurae nec oneri gubernio nec subditis augustissimi et catholicissimi Imperatoris praeiudicio, nos in summam expectationem adducit illas hanc gratiam et permissionem obtenturas esse sub clientela S. C. Vrae; et semper pro S. C. Tuae Augustissimaeque Domus Austriacae prosperitate et incolumitate orabimus.

Erat signatum: Hugo [MacMahon] archiep. Armacanus, totius Hiberniae primas.

Lucas [Fagan] archiep. Dubliniensis et Hiberniae primas.

fr. Stephanus [MacEgan O.P.] Medensis episcopus.

fr. Dominicus [O'Daly O.P.] ep. Accadensis.

fr. Michael [MacDonogh O.P.] ep. Kilmorensis.

fr. Patritius [French O.F.M.] ep. Elfinensis.

fr. Petrus [Mulligan O.S.A.] ep. Ardaghadensis.

fr. Silvester [Lloyd O.F.M.] ep. Laonensis.

Sister Julia Browne seems to have expected some support for the scheme from the English nuns already on the spot. Perhaps, as they alleged, she wished two or three of them to form the first community until the Irish sisters should arrive. This would have raised serious financial difficulties for the English Dominicans, because the transfer of a nun automatically meant the transfer either of her dowry or of the interest on it, so it is not surprising that Julia was politely told to manage the refuge herself. At first she intended to stay with the Belgian nuns of the order at Oudergem near Brussels, but in January 1734 the cardinal-archbishop of Malines brought her in his own coach to a Benedictine monastery where the nuncio permitted her to remain until such time as her business was concluded. She owed this high patronage to a recommendation from Hugh MacMahon, archbishop of Armagh, who had played such a large part in the foundation of the monastery in Drogheda.

Eventually, Julia's negotiations bore fruit and the nuns of Dublin were permitted to buy a house and garden in Brussels which they might turn into the refuge they required. The conditions imposed, however, were rather stiff. They are set forth at length in the imperial indult or

octroi issued by the Emperor Charles VI at his castle in Luxembourg on 2 June 1734: this document too is preserved at Malines ⁸⁴.

1. Que les dittes religieuses devront avant tout exprimer l'endroit ou elles auroient envie d'establi leur demeure.

2. Qu'elles seront obligées de paier pour la première acquisition les droit de lot et vente, appelez pont-penninghen, et de continuer ce payment tous les trente ans en deux fois, c'est a dire de 15 en 15 années regulièrement la moietie.

3. Pour eviter qu'avec le tems cet etablissement ne retombe point a la charge de la ville, les dittes religieuses devront preallablement faire conster d'être pourvues des moyens suffisans pour la subsistance du nombre actuel des religieuses, a quel effect l'argent necessaire devra être employé a interet en notre Pais Bas.

4. Que le nombre des religieuses n'excedera jamais celui que notre susditte tres chere et tres aimée sœur [Marie Elizabeth] trouvera bon de fixer, et avant d'admettre quelque novice, on devra faire conster des moyen necessaires pour sa subsistance.

5. Que les dittes religieuses ne demanderont jamais aucune exemption des accises ou d'autres charges quelconques.

6. Qu'elles n'auront jamais des ecole publiques, ni pourront admettre des pensionnaire natives de mon dit Pais Bas.

The archbishop of Malines found a suitable property offered for sale at £ 600. Sister Julia made a part-payment of two hundred and wrote to the monastery in Dublin which she expected would pay the balance and send out six sisters to launch the foundation. Impressed by the rank of the patrons who were working on Julia's behalf, the master general consented to the foundation on 11 September 1734 and instructed the prior at Louvain, Dominic Brullaughan, to give her every assistance in his power ⁸⁵. On the same day, he wrote to the provincial, Bernard Mac-Henry, outlining the conditions imposed by the imperial decree. Julia Browne went herself to Ireland at this juncture, in company with Father Peter Killikelly of Louvain, to find the extra £ 400 needed for the house and the sisters who were to staff it.

⁸⁴ The reference here is as in the preceding note. The text of the conditions printed above is merely an extract from a notarial copy of the original ten-page document. Note that some of the plural nouns are given the singular form (droit, moyen, pensionnaire).

⁸⁵ AGOP IV. 214, pp. 106-107. Among the Malines documents there is a letter in French (Dublin, 10 July 1735) which Sister Julia wrote to a business friend in Brussels.

Despite the support of two Dominican bishops — MacEgan of Meath and MacDonogh of Kilmore — Julia Browne's mission in Ireland was a failure, for the nuns of Dublin unanimously refused to buy a house in Brussels on the grounds that they neither needed nor could afford it: they would go to Brussels only if persecution left them with no alternative. The most Sister Julia could do was to use her own dowry of £ 150 which had been held by her brother from the time of her transfer in 1717 from Galway to Dublin. Even this drew energetic protests from Channel Row, but the master general gave the required permission: if Galway, he said, had not been ruined by the loss of seven dowries, Dublin would not be ruined by the loss of one⁸⁶.

The whole project was thus opposed by the very nuns in whose name and for whose sake it had been broached. But Julia Browne, a woman of infinite resource, had no intention of stopping now. By the autumn of 1736 she was once more in Brussels, sheltering with the Canonesses Regular of St. Augustine at Berlemont. Her first step was to obtain a companion from the English Dominican monastery nearby, and her choice fell on a nun already mentioned in this story — Sister Margaret Joseph Compton who had so earnestly wished to take part in the foundation of Drogheda in 1722. The English sisters refused to give her up; the General refused to let her go without the consent of the community; but Sister Julia procured a papal decree (dated 28 August 1737) which permitted Sister Compton to betake herself to the Irish refuge without the consent of the English nuns, and she was whisked away in a coach by a commissary of the archbishop of Malines before the English sisters could even inform their vicar-provincial⁸⁷.

In the meanwhile, Bernard MacHenry and the nuns of Dublin made a written statement unfavourable to the Brussels foundation. Father Ripoll felt that this "decree" did Julia Browne an injustice, but since it did permit her to use her dowry of £ 150 for the immediate purchase of a house, he said that it granted the point on which she most insisted. Sister Julia found another ally in the English priest Francis Goddard, administrator of the nunciature in Brussels, who took her part against the Irish provincial and the nuns of Dublin. By June 1737 she was living with three girls (her nieces, apparently) in a rented house which she had fitted out with a grille and chapel at a total cost of £ 500. The cardinal-archbishop of Malines not only took care of the decoration of

⁸⁶ 3 Aug. 1736. Ripoll to the sisters in Dublin. AGOP IV. 214, p. 137.

⁸⁷ AGOP IV. 214, p. 141; 217, pp. 11, 14, 21.

the chapel, but sent his own secretary to supervise the workmen. Two of the Galway community, Sisters Mary and Elizabeth Browne, were permitted in August 1737 to set out for Brussels: it was intended that they should live on the interest on their dowries, the same arrangement as that under which Father MacHenry had recently permitted Sister Margaret Browne of Galway to go to Waterford⁸⁸. Margaret Compton too, when she arrived, had the interest on her dowry, though the capital sum of £ 350 remained in the hands of the English Dominican nuns.

In the summer of 1738, where we must break off this story for a while, Sister Julia Browne was installed in her rented house at Brussels with Sister Compton and Sister Mary Browne of Galway. There was little to eat and not much room, but they tried to make a start by receiving " pensioners " or boarding pupils.

" DE MISSIONE ET MISSIONARIIS ", 1735-1737

Dominic Brullaughan, the author of the book in question here, was an outstanding missionary in the north of Ireland where his memory was preserved in oral tradition up to recent times. He was a professed cleric of the convent of Coleraine in 1688 and 1689, a student at Holy Cross, Louvain, from 1690 to 1696, and a preacher in Ireland thereafter until 1734. Most probably he ignored the general exile of 1698, for one finds that he was made prior of his native convent of Coleraine on 5 October 1702. He held the same office in 1713 when suggested as a possible provincial, and again in 1721 when elected a definator at the provincial chapter in Dublin⁸⁹.

Though not an official lector or reader within the Order, Brullaughan published more writings than many who were. While still a youth, he printed some scholastic theses at Louvain and in 1726 published a treatise on simony in response to some Irish clergyman who had written on

⁸⁸ AGOP IV. 217, pp. 2-12. This volume, like the preceding one (214) is full of references to the Brussels refuge. The present account, long as it is, does not do full justice to the sources. And it is quite likely that there are further details still in the archives of the nuns of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, successors of the English nuns of Brussels.

⁸⁹ AFP 38 (1968) 289, 303, 328. The details of his early life are taken from the *Liber Provinciae* now in Tallaght. There is an excellent but undocumented article on Dom. Brullaughan by Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig, An Bráthair Bán, in *An tUlltach*, Vol. 37 no. 3 (Mar. 1960) 4-5. Some local traditions about him, collected in 1918, were noted by Fr. MacInerney in his notebook G 10, now in the Tallaght archives.

that subject. No copy of his book on simony is known to survive, but since it offended many — particularly Hugh MacMahon archbishop of Armagh — it probably dealt with forms of “simony” to which Irish bishops were exposed: the acceptance of money from candidates for ordination or from pastors upon their collation to parishes ⁹⁰.

As has been mentioned already, Dominic Brullaughan was active in the Cavan area in the early part of 1734 when Thomas Ripoll appointed him vicar-general in the belief that the provincial chapter of that year would not take place as planned. In the event, he pleaded old age and sickness as excuses for not attending the chapter at all, and wrote to the definitory offering to resign his mastership in favour of a younger missionary of their choice. Perhaps he intended to bequeath the degree, as it were, to the new provincial Bernard MacHenry, with whom he was working in Cavan and who was like himself a son of Coleraine. However, the master general declined the offer because of its novelty and suggested that Father MacHenry might wait until a vacancy arose in the usual way ⁹¹.

Dominic Brullaughan may have been old and sick in the summer of 1734, but he was able to travel to Louvain about six weeks later to take up the priorship of Holy Cross and to assist Julia Browne in her negotiations at Brussels. He proved a strict prior and conscientious administrator ⁹², but his efforts to improve religious observance among the lectors did not prevent him from turning his hand once more to literary pursuits. In March 1735 he obtained the General's licence to print two books, one on St. Patrick's Purgatory (a place of pilgrimage in Derry), and the other on Irish missionary method. The appointed censors were Martin Brasseur, a Belgian Dominican, and Patrick Brullaughan, the author's nephew, who was second regent at Holy Cross ⁹³.

⁹⁰ SOP (ed. Papillon) 827-828. Licence to publish this work on simony was given by the General on 27 Apr. 1726. AGOP IV. 201, p. 130. Brullaughan himself said that it was approved at Louvain. AGOP IV. 214, p. 142. Armagh's annoyance is mentioned loc. cit., p. 145. That the book was actually printed appears from Brullaughan's *De Missione* (2nd ed., Metz 1747, p. 177) where he says: “Sed de simonia in alio opusculo satis tractavi”.

⁹¹ The definitory wrote to the General about Brullaughan's offer in May 1734. The original letter is in AGOP XIII. 68095. The reply (10 July) is registered in IV. 214, p. 104.

⁹² Jerome T'seraerts, visitator of Holy Cross in October 1735, described him as follows: “bonus, pius, zelosus, et religiosus, sed zelus saepe non discretione sed passione regitur”. AGOP IV. 214, p. 125.

⁹³ 5 Mar. 1735. Ripoll to Dom. Brullaughan. AGOP IV. 214, p. 113. That Pa-

The first book raised no difficulty: it seems to have been a Latin version of the English work on Patrick's Purgatory which he had published at Belfast in 1726 and would later re-publish at Dublin in 1742. The volume appeared in duodecimo at Louvain about 1735 under the title: *In nomine Iesu Christi opusculum de Purgatorio Sancti Patritii Hyberniae patroni*⁹⁴.

The second book, *Opusculum de Missione et Missionariis*, caused the author rather more trouble, and reading through the volume now one wonders why. An elaborate use of scriptural allusion heavily overlays Brullaughan's advice to missionaries in Ireland. The very fact that it was written in Latin ensured that few laymen would read it. In modern times it has been quoted chiefly to show how itinerant friars and priests, working under the penal code, assembled the people in the fields for Mass and imparted to them the rudiments of Christian doctrine before admitting them to the sacraments. But in speaking of the temptations to which missionaries were exposed, Brullaughan came rather too close to the bone and it was for this, rather than for grammatical or doctrinal error, that his *Opusculum* was opposed.

The storm broke in September 1736 when half the intended number of copies had come from the printers. Some bishops and priests in Ireland, still smarting at the recollection of his earlier work on simony, wrote to Francis Goddard at the nunciature in Brussels to say that whatever Brullaughan might write on missionaries would give offence in Ireland. Worse than Pharaoh, said the author, to condemn the child unseen, no matter whether it was male or female. When Goddard made enquiries at Holy Cross, Patrick Brullaughan (the censor) presented him with an annotated copy indicating the passages which he had recommended should be changed. But, after trying to save his own skin by accusing his uncle of ignoring the censor's comments, Patrick Brullaughan stole a copy of the book from his uncle's room and sent it to John Fitzmaurice O.P. at Lisbon. Thanks to the immediate, energetic action of Goddard and Ripoll, working in concert, an embargo was placed on the publication of the book in Portugal and the stray copy ended up in the hands of the Inquisition at Lisbon.

Goddard had already brought the matter to the notice of the cardinal

trick was Dominic's nephew is stated loc. cit., p. 140. This Patrick was later *theologus Casanatensis* (1742-1756).

⁹⁴ SOP (ed. Papillon) 827-828. J. C. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, I - première partie, Paris 1860, c. 1289. A later Dublin printing (1810ca) of the English version is listed in the Catalogue of the Gilbert Library, Dublin 1918, 45.

archbishop of Malines to whom Brullaughan (without permission) had dedicated the *Opusculum*. An examiner appointed by the cardinal subsequently declared that there was a grammatical error on almost every page and that the book insulted the bishops and missionaries of Ireland ⁹⁵. Another copy was sent to Propaganda Fide by the administrator of the nunciature who ordered the author to retrieve the entire stock from the printers and to keep it under lock and key until Rome gave its verdict. On 24 November 1736 the master general put Dominic Brullaughan under formal precept to hand all the copies over to Goddard or to burn them in his presence ⁹⁶, so the unfortunate author put the books into a sack and deposited them in the archives of the nunciature pending a decision from Rome. Father Thomas Ripoll would not even permit Brullaughan to write to Propaganda in his own defence, which perhaps explains why he resigned his priorship at Louvain in January 1737 ⁹⁷.

The book was formally condemned by the Holy Office in Rome on 2 July 1737 ⁹⁸. Dominic Brullaughan survived the blow until 1746 when he died in his native county of Derry at the age of about eighty years. In 1747, a second printing of his *Opusculum* appeared in mysterious circumstances at Metz, and it is thanks to this pirated edition that the book is known at all ⁹⁹.

REGULAR AND SECULAR, 1733-1736

Some of the problems which brought the regular and secular clergy of Ireland into conflict about 1725 came again to the fore ten years later. Hyacinth Keaghry, prior of Athenry, wrote at length on the subject to cardinal Imperiali in 1735, complaining particularly of the Gallicanism

⁹⁵ C. Giblin, *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, in *Coll. Hib. No. 9* (1966) 65-67. See also APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 456-469.

⁹⁶ AGOP IV. 214, p. 145.

⁹⁷ AGOP IV. 217, p. 3.

⁹⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 10-11. Three copies of the official Roman broadside condemning the printing or reading of the book occur in APF, SC Olanda 10, ff. 742-744. Because of this decree, it is likely that all the copies of *De Missione* in the archives of the nunciature at Brussels were burnt.

⁹⁹ There are copies of the Metz edition at San Clemente (Rome) and St. Mary's, Tallaght, Co. Dublin. It is not extremely rare. Neither edition, nor the work on simony, is mentioned by T. Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 550, who gives a notice of the author. The Metz edition was printed by François Antoine and includes a letter of approbation (Paris, 1 Dec. 1745) by A. Le Seigneur, doctor of the Sorbonne, who had examined a printed copy of the book at the request of the Chancellor of France.

of the diocesan clergy¹. According to the prior, bishops and parish priests who had studied in France were rejecting Roman decisions (e.g. with regard to prohibited books) unless subsequently endorsed by themselves. The bishops claimed to rule by divine right and sought to destroy the regulars whom they called the "Pope's Dragoons", upholders of a papal infallibility which they for their part did not accept.

As usual, the complaint stemmed from more practical considerations. Bernard O'Gara, archbishop of Tuam, had recently commanded the friars not to absent themselves from their dwellings for more than three days at a time. If Hyacinth Keaghry may be believed, he also withdrew from the regulars their faculties to hear confessions and refused to examine friars presenting themselves for his approval. The archbishop felt that the mission stood in no need of regulars who had, in any case, been founded for the contemplative and not the active ministry. His decisions excluded the friars from much of their normal apostolate and *ipso facto* made it difficult for them to earn a living.

Keaghry's letter was forwarded to Mgr. Spinelli, archbishop of Naples and cardinal Imperiali's nephew, who for ten years (1721-1731) had directed the nunciature at Brussels. Spinelli thought that since the Irish regulars and seculars were always at odds, the prior's letter probably exaggerated the position. He suggested that Rome should prohibit the circulation in Ireland of books on papal authority and appoint only bishops notoriously attached to the Holy See².

Two other sources of friction — bination and questing — also reappeared at this time. The archbishop of Armagh, speaking for the entire hierarchy, elicited a ruling from the nuncio at Brussels in 1734 that no one was to binate save in cases of urgent necessity and with the express permission of the local bishop³. Michael MacDonogh of Kilmore claimed that some bishops used this decree to the disadvantage of the

¹ Imperiali was protector of Ireland. A slightly imperfect text of the letter (28 Oct. 1735) was edited from SCAR by H. Fenning, *Some Problems of the Irish Mission*, in Coll. Hib. No. 8 (1965) 64-67. There is a better one in APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 390-391.

One may also note an anonymous letter (6 June 1735) from a friar to the nuncio calling for more active measures to maintain the purity of the faith in Ireland. The writer listed 12 propositions he wished condemned. Loc. cit., ff. 369-372.

² Naples, 4 Feb. 1736. Spinelli to Monti, secretary of Propaganda. Loc. cit., ff. 389, 392. After 1740 the bishops of Connacht were remarkable for their good relations with the regular clergy, perhaps because of the type of policy recommended by Spinelli.

³ C. Giblin, *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, in Coll. Hib. No. 9 (1966) 68.

friars, forbidding them to say two Masses on Sundays and feastdays (hitherto the general practice) while permitting the secular clergy to do so. The favoured parish clergy then proceeded to beg from the altars, leaving the friars to content themselves with the empty title of mendicants⁴. The Franciscans raised the same two points after their provincial chapter in 1736: they applied to Brussels for redress, but got very small satisfaction with regard to questing and none at all on the bination issue⁵.

Bination seems to have been a local and passing problem, confined between 1733 and 1736 almost exclusively to the archdiocese of Armagh. So much at least was stated by the regulars and townspeople of Drogheda who appealed to the nuncio against the archbishop in December 1736⁶. The fact explains why bishop MacDonogh, a suffragan of Armagh, took such a keen interest in the question. Questing, on the other hand, posed a widespread and persistent difficulty. Parish priests and curates had little choice but to beg at their chapel doors and to collect turf, grain, hay, and so forth throughout their parishes at certain times of the year.

So far as is known, Propaganda never laid down the law with regard to the quest. Perhaps there was no need to do so, for the friars had little legal basis for complaint. As Thomas Ripoll remarked in reply to Michael MacDonogh, the privilege of questing was not a privative one and the diocesan clergy might quest if they pleased⁷. But the Propaganda decrees of 1751 for Ireland did include a ruling on bination, a ruling which simply re-echoed the nuncio's decision of 1734⁸.

NOVICES IN SCOTLAND, 1737

Father Bernard MacHenry's interest in Scotland did not slacken with the years. The reader will recall that in 1729 his place in the Highlands was taken by Michael Ryan or Mulrian who laboured in Glengarry until 1731 when circumstances forced him to retire. At the time

⁴ H. Fenning, Michael MacDonogh, Bishop of Kilmore, in *Irish Eccles. Record*; (Sept. 1966) 143.

⁵ C. Giblin, *loc. cit.*, 67-68. The letter of 12 Oct. 1736 calendared here occurs also in a copy in APF, SC Irlanda 9, ff. 472-473.

⁶ Drogheda, 12 Dec. 1736. Signed by Jn. Donnelly, O.P., prior-elect, among others. Forwarded from Brussels to Rome on 25 Jan. 1737. APF, SC Olanda 10, ff. 727-729.

⁷ 12 Mar. 1735. AGOP IV. 214, pp. 113-114.

⁸ T. Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 180.

of Ryan's departure, another Dominican named Ambrose O'Connor had already been a year in Scotland. This priest, if the identification be correct, had studied in Spain from whence he returned to Ireland as a lector in 1729⁹. A list of missionaries compiled in 1734 tells us that O'Connor served in Moidart, taking care of an area of 1,800 square miles which included Letterlochshiel, Glenaladale, Glenfinnan, Ardnamurchan, Sunart, Morven, and the islands of Shona, Coll, and Mull. The list expressly states that he was then four years on the mission¹⁰.

At the suggestion of Father Membrive, a Dominican attached as theologian to the court of James III, the provincial (imagining that Membrive spoke in the name of the General) advised Ambrose O'Connor in 1737 to give the habit of the order to some Scottish boys of promise. The master general was quite displeased. If, he said, novices could not properly be trained in Ireland, it was still less likely that they could be cared for in Scotland where "only three or four Dominicans" lived. Father Ripoll insisted that if any had actually received the habit they were either to be dismissed or admitted to the Irish province. Father MacHenry was bluntly told to leave Scotland alone and to attend to his own affairs¹¹. The provincial, who recalled O'Connor to Ireland in July 1737, was later instructed by the General to withdraw him completely from the Scottish mission¹².

There is little more to add about Father MacHenry's first term of office. The account-books of Esker and Galway show that he visited those communities in June 1737. In the following October he got leave from Rome to hold the coming provincial chapter in whichever convent seemed most convenient, for it appeared undesirable to hold the chapter in Drogheda as had been planned. On the same occasion he asked

⁹ He is mentioned as having received the royal viatick to return to Ireland in October 1729. Simancas, Segretaria de Hacienda, no. 966. From the notes of Reg. Walsh in the provincial archives, Tallaght. After his spell in Scotland (1730-37), O'Connor went to the West Indies where he died before 1743. A homonym left Louvain for Ireland in 1729 and spent most of his life as a parish priest in the Wicklow area.

¹⁰ APF, CP 86, ff. 119-120. The only other Irish missionary mentioned here was Ant. Kelly O.F.M. at Barra in the Hebrides who had served 8 years. Both Kelly and O'Connor signed a letter to Propaganda on 21 Apr. 1735. Loc. cit., ff. 207-208.

¹¹ 20 Apr. 1737. Ripoll to MacHenry. AGOP IV. 217, p. 5. It is hard to credit that there were even 3 or 4 Dominicans then in Scotland. Pat. Reynolds at Carpentras got leave to go to Scotland on 5 Oct. 1734. AGOP IV. 214, p. 107.

¹² 12 Oct. 1737. Ripoll to MacHenry. AGOP IV. 217, p. 16. O'Connor's removal from Scotland in July 1737 is noted by J. F. S. Gordon, *Journal and Appendix to Scotichronicon*, 635, where O'Connor is mistakenly described as a Franciscan.

Thomas Ripoll to favour the promotion of bishop Michael MacDonogh to the vacant diocese of Armagh¹³. After the election of his successor, John Fottrell, on 22 April 1738, Bernard MacHenry appears to have returned to the scene of his former labours in the diocese of Kilmore. A list of addresses in Fottrell's hand indicates that MacHenry was living "near Belturbet" in 1738: Belturbet was in or beside the "Dominican" parish of Drumlahane, now Drumlane, given to the order by bishop MacDonogh. In 1743 he was described as a pastor in the diocese of Kilmore¹⁴. With the death of Dominic Brullaughan in 1746, the way was clear for MacHenry's promotion to the mastership of theology which he duly received in August 1748¹⁵. A year later he was elected provincial of Ireland for the second time.

JOHN FOTTRELL, 1738-1742

The new provincial, elected on 22 April 1738, was remarkable for three things: he was elected almost by accident, was arrested in the course of his visitation, and survived his term of office by more than forty years. The English surname Fottrell, borne by several members of the province at the time, indicates that he came from the Dublin area where that family had lived since the fifteenth century. He was born about 1701, joined the Order in or for the convent of Dublin about 1720, began his studies at Lisbon, and on 7 April 1726 (the first definite date in his career) was assigned as a student of theology to the convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence¹⁶.

Fottrell soon became a lector, for in July 1727 the master general appointed him to teach philosophy at Lisbon, having been given to understand by the rector that such was the wish of the provincial chapter. The rector, Joseph Lynch, was being less than honest, since the Irish provincial had recently named John Fitzmaurice for the same post: but Lynch calculated that he could get Fottrell instead of Fitzmaurice by ignoring one superior and deceiving the other. He did not succeed¹⁷. Instead of returning to Lisbon, John Fottrell went back to Dublin where he began

¹³ 12 Oct. 1737. Ripoll to MacHenry, *ut supra*.

¹⁴ Brussels, 7 June 1743. Nuncio to card. Petra, prefect of Propaganda. The full text is given below, pp. 343-344.

¹⁵ 20 Aug. 1748, on the postulation of the general chapter. AGOP IV. 217, p. 109.

¹⁶ AGOP IV. 213, f. 2^v. *Hibernia Dominicana*, 197, 530.

¹⁷ AGOP IV. 201, pp. 138-139; 214, p. 1.

his ministry in 1729¹⁸. One finds him there as subprior in 1732, 1733, and 1737, and as prior of the convent from March of that latter year¹⁹.

Fottrell's election as prior of Dublin involved him in a bizarre episode which has already been described elsewhere and need not therefore detain us very long²⁰. After the prioral election was confirmed by the provincial in the usual way, all went well until 21 December 1737 when a letter from the General (dated 15 October) arrived in the post, cassating Fottrell's election. The provincial, Bernard MacHenry, thereupon called a second election in which, out of eleven votes, there were six for Fottrell, three for his predecessor Laurence Richardson, one for James Sexton and one blank. This result being inconclusive, the matter was referred to Father Ripoll who declared that he had never cassated the first election at all. Investigation revealed that the "cassation" was a forgery perpetrated with the intention of having Laurence Richardson named "perpetual vicar" of the Dublin community. Philip Lynham, Nicholas Crump, Laurence Ford, and Richardson himself were the prime suspects.

The mystery was still being probed when the chapter met in April 1738 to elect a provincial from Leinster. According to Thomas Burke the historian, writing thirty-five years after the event, there were only two candidates in the field: Terence O'Reilly and the suspected forger Laurence Richardson²¹. When the election opened, "a stiff contention" developed between those who were for O'Reilly and those, of equal number, who favoured Richardson. And since neither block would yield to the other, the provincialate finally fell into the surprised hands of John Fottrell, prior of Dublin. His election was confirmed by the General on 16 August²².

The legislation framed by the elective chapter fell into what was quickly becoming the accepted pattern: most of the acts was taken up by innumerable postulations for the degrees of the Order, many of them in

¹⁸ The chapter of 1734, when postulating him for the P. G., said that he had laboured for five years in Dublin. He obtained the promotion on 25 Aug. 1736. AGOP IV. 214, p. 138.

¹⁹ On 6 May 1732 he signed a letter at Dublin as subprior. AGOP XIII. 68095. That he was subprior in 1733 and 1737 is mentioned in AGOP IV. 214, p. 89; 217, p. 4. His election as prior in March 1737 is mentioned in 217, pp. 22-23.

²⁰ H. Fenning, Laurence Richardson O.P., Bishop of Kilmore, in *Irish Eccles. Record* (Mar. 1968) 144-145.

²¹ Kilkenny, 9 Dec. 1773. Burke to J. T. Troy at Rome. Dublin diocesan archives.

²² Possibly on 19 August, since there is an error in the register. AGOP IV. 217, p. 33.

favour of priests who had spent no more than a few years on the mission. One novel and (to us) useful feature was the addition of a list of those who had died since the previous chapter of 1734. The total number was twenty-three or about six a year, from which it is evident that the province was still expanding: they were certainly receiving at least twice as many as they lost by death²³. The chapter repeated earlier laws respecting novices and complained strongly of the foreign colleges which sometimes gave the habit to candidates already rejected in Ireland (ord. 3). From what we know, the fault lay more often with the superiors on the mission. Patrick Kindelan, a student who gave signs of mental illness before ever leaving home, was in 1728 committed to a Roman asylum where he had to remain until his death²⁴. Coming closer to the date of the chapter one finds a priest, John Dougherty, who after ordination in Ireland was sent to begin philosophy at Forlì about 1740. Not merely had he wretched health, but his Italian professors failed to teach him how to write a lesson or a letter, so that Father Ripoll was forced to send him back to Ireland as innocent of learning as he had left it²⁵.

When confirming the acts on 27 September 1738, the General made an addition requiring students bound for Louvain or Lisbon to reach those colleges by the feast of Holy Cross (14 September), the beginning of the scholastic year: students bound for Rome were to be at St. Sixtus before the end of June so as to avoid travelling in the full heat of summer²⁶. This ordination was prompted by the late arrival in Rome of three clerics (James Bodkin, Patrick Kirwan, and John Browne — obviously Galwaymen) on 9 January 1738: the community had been waiting for them since 1 July of the previous year for the beginning of the philosophy course²⁷. The General also explained a point about the postulation of candidates for degrees. Those lacking academic experience were to be postulated first as preachers general, then at some later chapter for the baccalaureate (S.T.P.) *titulo missionis*, and finally for the mastership in theology by the same title: this order or gradual progress from one degree to the other was to be invariably observed.

²³ Bern. MacHenry reported in autumn 1735 that only 12 had been received in Ireland over the previous year. See above, pp. 307-308.

²⁴ AGOP XI. 3600, f. 46^r. This is the *Liber de Ratione Studiorum* of St. Sixtus (1701-1743). It mentions that Kindelan died on 15 Jan. 1739.

²⁵ AGOP IV. 217, p. 71. See also the last appendix to this article, where there are more details on Dougherty.

²⁶ AGOP IV. 217, pp. 34-35.

²⁷ AGOP XI. 3600, f. 48^v.

THE PROVINCIAL VISITATION OF 1739

In the year immediately following his election, John Fottrell was preoccupied by many things, but by nothing of outstanding importance. There was, for instance, a dispute between the convents of Dublin and Trim with regard to certain parishes (Dunboyne, Kilbride, Donaghmore, Ratoath) in which both claimed the right to quest. He had to deal with *graduati* who claimed exemption from the three faculty examinations, usual within the Order, because of the titles they held: this exemption covered those actually teaching, but not the "masters" and others in Ireland, many of whom had never taught at all²⁸. Another troublesome affair was the case of Fr. Edmund Stones, a priest long suspended from the hearing of confessions. In order to make his suspension formal, the provincial surprised Stones in a chemist's shop in Thomas Street, Dublin, and began to read the official document in his presence. While attempting to escape, Father Stones cut his finger on the glass door of the shop, and the story (magnified in the telling) came to the notice of the master general. On 9 May 1739, Father Ripoll threatened to appoint a vicar general if the provincial did not restrain his impetuosity²⁹. Soon after, John Fottrell set out on his first visitation of the Irish houses.

The most unusual aspect of the visitation was that the provincial was arrested in the course of it. While he was travelling with bishop MacDonogh O.P. near Lough Neagh — apparently heading for Coleraine where the bishop wished to reorganize his native convent — some magistrates seized them both on 6 June. Although they were soon released, their confiscated papers remained in the hands of the magistrates and came to light only in 1924 among the muniments of the Lenox-Conyngham family of Springhill, Moneymore, county Derry³⁰. For a member of the regular clergy, and as such liable on discovery to imprisonment or transportation, Father Fottrell was carrying quite a collection of documents. Among them were the acts of five provincial chapters held since 1721, with the relevant confirmatory letters of the masters general. Another large bundle of papers concerned the visitation in which the provincial was engaged at the time of his arrest: formal pre-

²⁸ 15 Nov. 1738. Ripoll to Fottrell. AGOP IV. 217, pp. 37-38. The provincial had recently deposed Bon. Nagle, prior of Cashel, for misconduct. The exemption of the *graduati* is mentioned again on pp. 40-41.

²⁹ AGOP IV. 217, p. 41.

³⁰ See above, p. 306, note 53.

cepts, ordinations, and exhortations given to the nuns of Dublin and the priests and nuns of Drogheda, with a long address in English which Father Fottrell had delivered at a profession ceremony in Channel Row. The rest of the documents in this class lacking any indication of the communities to which they refer, they create the impression that John Fottrell had scarcely begun his visitation at the time of his arrest. The provincial was also carrying ten formal assignations, a formulary for official letters in Latin, notes (MacHenry's notes) on various convents and their personnel, lists of addresses and *graduati*, and some papers recording financial transactions. A good half of the so-called Fottrell Papers were in fact the papers of his predecessor, Bernard MacHenry³¹.

After regaining his liberty "with the connivance of friends", the provincial made a hasty retreat back to Dublin and after a short while began his visitation again. By October 1739 he was able to send the General an account of it which we find thus summarized in the registers in the usual indirect form³².

Patri Provinciali scribenti se visitasse totam provinciam, et se invenisse 38 conventus virorum, 182 fratres sacerdotes, 10 novitios bonae indolis, et 5 conversos, 3 monasteria monialium suae curae subiecta, quartum Pontanense. Moniales sunt in tribus monasteriis 66 chorales, 2 novitiae, 3 conversae. In omnibus conventibus habitant fratres simul in communi, excepto Culraniae in Ultonia et Gaulae³³. Culraniae mandavit priori ut conducat domum in qua simul habitent; Gaulae posset idem fieri, si pater Thomas Nolan qui est ad latus episcopi Midensis [Stephani MacEgan] fratris nostri, cum licentia Magistri ordinis ut episcopus asserit, tribueret conventui quod deberet. Nam pater magister Antonius Maguire³⁴ reliquit conventui huic suo 250 lib. sterl., et pater Thomas eius nepos, qui 13 annis manet Dublini, percipit totum fructum huius capitalis, vix aliquot tribuendo conventui.

³¹ On the bishop's papers, similarly confiscated and similarly preserved, see H. Fenning, Michael MacDonogh O.P., Bishop of Kilmore, in *Irish Eccles. Record* (Sept. 1966) 147.

³² 14 Nov. 1739. Ripoll to Fottrell. AGOP IV. 217, pp. 54-55. Fottrell probably did this visitation hastily: he seems not to have signed the books in Galway or Athenry.

³³ The convents of Coleraine and Gola (near Enniskillen). It is curious that the Dominicans of Coleraine should have claimed in 1743 that they had had a "domicilium" there for more than 20 years. This was mentioned in the course of a dispute about questing between the Franciscans and Dominicans in the diocese of Connor. SCAR, Codex IV, docs. 24, 28.

³⁴ This is the former provincial (1717-1721) who died at Dublin on 4 July 1724. See AFP 38 (1968) 338-350.

Pater Dominicus Burgo, Conaciensis, qui ab octo annis male vivit, ante annum apostatavit a fide. Patres Thomas Roche et Iacobus Nune, Conacienses, carceribus per 15 menses ab haeretico magistratu addicti sunt ob assistentiam clandestinis matrimoniis. Similibus matrimoniis assistit pater Ambrosius Gillman, qui se subtraxit obedientiae superiorum. In Momonia sunt similes inobedientes, patres Iacobus Condon, Patritius Hurly, Iohannes Ryan. In monasterio Waterfordiensi duae sunt sorores et una novitia [Catharina Wyse]: priorissa [Anastasia Wyse] desiderat adhuc aliam Dublini sororem Barbaram Esmond, sed Dublinienses nolunt ei dare fructum dotis. In causa falsificationis patentum examinavit patrem Philippum Lynham, qui totum negat. Patri magistro commissario [Iacobo Dillon] in causa patris [Edmundi] Stones ad omnia quaesita respondit. Si necdum per hoc sit satisfactum Reverendissimo, mittatur alius commissarius, etc.

THE FOREIGN COLLEGES, 1738-1740

Since the Roman college of SS. Sixtus and Clement had exchanged the jurisdiction of the Irish provincial for that of the master general in 1726, it gave Father Fottrell little cause for concern. His only duty was to send enough students there and to ensure that they arrived on time. At Lisbon, the situation had changed somewhat since 1728 when foreign jurisdiction (whether from Ireland or Rome) was prohibited by royal decree and the Irish Dominican college left to its own devices. After a few years, correspondence with Father Thomas Ripoll was renewed and the Irish provincials began to appoint, or at least to recommend candidates for the various offices in the convent. The Irish priests at Lisbon, finding themselves under the direction of two distinct and very distant superiors, tended to play one off against the other according as it suited the domestic politics of the house. There, as at Louvain, rivalry between members of the four "provinces" was intense.

It was only a matter of time before the community had to pay for its independent policy. The Irish provincials lost much of their interest in so troublesome a college and ceased to maintain the supply of students. According to a calculation made in 1736, the college was capable of supporting a minimum of sixteen students and a maximum of twenty, which number (with seven professors or other officials) would have constituted a total community of at least twenty-three³⁵. Two years later, however, only fourteen were assigned to the college, and seven of the fourteen

³⁵ 8 Sept. 1736. Ripoll to the rector, John Donnelly. AGOP IV. 214, p. 139.

were from the province of Munster³⁶. Some interesting details on Lisbon students of this period (1738-1740) have been preserved in the registers of the master general, details which it would be a pity not to mention here since the records of the college have been lost and one knows so little about those who studied there³⁷.

The lector of philosophy began class in the autumn of 1738 with one solitary student, so that when another five later arrived (most of whom were destined for convents in Spain) the rector kept them all, even though four of the five were from Munster, appealing with convenient piety to an old ordination whereby students were to be admitted irrespective of their provinces of origin. Father Ripoll told him to keep the one student who was not from Munster, to send the other four to their arranged destinations, and to write to the Irish provincial for students from Leinster, Ulster, and Connacht. Reluctant to obey, the rector (Dominic Ferrall) sent away only two of the Munster students, which left him in April 1739 with a total of seven students, three of philosophy and four of theology. Although he had written to Father Fottrell asking for a priest who might act as vicar and sacristan, he had neither received a reply nor did he expect one: "for since Lisbon was withdrawn from his jurisdiction, the Irish provincial has no regard for the common good of the college, if indeed he does not injure it". Father Ripoll eventually wrote himself (11 July 1739) to the provincial, telling him to send out more students with strict regard for the parity of the four provinces.

By a happy accident, the registers give more details on the sequel than is usually the case. Christopher Fottrell came out from Ireland early in 1740 to be sacristan and vicar, while a lector named Eugene MacCrohan came to teach the "second course" of philosophy. The three philosophy students of the course begun in 1738 were Patrick MacDonogh of Connacht, and Thomas Keaghy and Hyacinth Sheasty, both of Munster³⁸. Those who began the new course in 1740 had been carefully chosen by Father Fottrell, for each of the four belonged to a different province: John Frihy (Leinster), Dominic Kiernan (Ulster), Laurence Connillan (Connacht), and Louis Walsh (Munster). The master general assigned all seven philosophers to the college on 2 July 1740.

³⁶ AGOP IV. 217, p. 36.

³⁷ The details are in AGOP IV. 217, pp. 36-44, 63-64.

³⁸ The name is given as Kheacki in the text, but as Keaghy (a much better form) in the index to vol. 217. Sheasty or Cheasty was from Waterford.

Even before beginning his visitation in 1739, John Fottrell wished to visit Louvain, and Father Ripoll agreed that a canonical visit was necessary. Once his tour of the Irish houses finished in October, Fottrell set out for Holy Cross, the first provincial to leave Ireland since O'Shaghnessy's ill-fated expedition in 1728. He reached the college before Christmas and stayed there for two or three months. During the priorship of James Cormick, then drawing to a close, regular observance at Holy Cross had become rather slack, largely because the prior suffered from some form of paralysis which confined him frequently to bed. The provincial had to deal with James MacNamara, one of the lectors, who had seriously injured the cook with a blow, and also with Paul Slattery who circulated copies of letters written by another member of the community (John Goulden) to a woman of his acquaintance. MacNamara was also guilty of retaining some of the goods, notably a watch, left on his death by John MacGhee, formerly vicar-provincial in the Low Countries. There was another domestic problem too. Edmund O'Reilly, a lector, Thomas Browne, the bursar, Joseph Joyce, and a student named Philip O'Reilly, had invested a sizeable sum in the lotteries of Ruremund and Mons instead of putting it into the common fund in favour of the building program on which the college had recently embarked.

All these difficulties were quickly solved. James Cormick resigned his priorship on 3 February 1740 and was replaced in the following August by Albert O'Brien of Cork. MacNamara, Slattery, and probably Goulden too, were sent back to Ireland after some months of severe penance. The lottery money was restored to the convent; Goulden's incriminating letters were burned; and Father Fottrell supervised the construction of a conventual prison, explaining to the General that it would at least serve as a deterrent³⁹.

While still at Louvain, the provincial received Father Ripoll's dispensation from the holding of an intermediate provincial chapter on the plea that no one (save four of the Dublin community) wanted to have one⁴⁰. He was referring to the circle surrounding Laurence Richardson — whom Fottrell described as an old enemy — a group which had twice already mistreated him: once by procuring his removal from office as prior of Dublin with the help of forged letters, and a second time by representing his treatment of Edmund Stones as a public scandal.

³⁹ All these details are taken from AGOP IV. 217, pp. 44, 53-59.

⁴⁰ 27 Feb. 1740. Ripoll to Fottrell. *Ibidem*, p. 58.

THE IRISH REFUGE AT BRUSSELS, 1738-1740

An outline history has been given on an earlier page of the refuge for Irish nuns which Sister Julia Browne began to prepare in 1733 and actually founded in 1737. The story was brought up to the summer of 1738, at which time Sister Julia was living at Brussels in a rented house with the English sister Margaret Compton and Sister Mary Browne of Galway. A fourth nun, Sister Mary Evangelist O'Kelly, obtained on 5 July 1738 the General's permission to join them, and was by the same authority made prioress of the infant foundation on 30 May 1739⁴¹. Two other sisters from Galway — Elizabeth Browne and Catherine Lynch — though long expected, never came.

Their basic problem was a lack of money, whether because the interest on their dowries was too little or because Galway was slow in remitting it. Father Ripoll would not permit them to receive choir novices, nor would Sister Julia buy the house outright, until the refuge proved a success. Lack of money also prevented them from having Mass celebrated daily in the house. They could, and did take in pensioners or student boarders, but there were only two spare rooms and two of the nuns (Sisters Compton and Mary Browne) would not tolerate pensioners at any price.

Whatever the causes, their situation in September 1739 was described as desperate. The first to feel the strain was Sister Margaret Compton who asked leave to return to the monastery of the English nuns: after refusing repeated requests, Father Ripoll finally allowed her to go in October. The next was the prioress, Mary Evangelist O'Kelly, who said she had accepted office "as a pure act of obedience" and complained that the Brussels refuge did not at all correspond to what she had been led to imagine before leaving Ireland. The General insisted that the three Irish sisters should remain in Brussels until the provincial, John Fottrell, came out in person to see them.

The visitation at Brussels was held about Christmas 1739, and Father Fottrell's impressions were gloomy. The house was small and unsuitable. What few girl students they had withdrew to the English monastery on 2 January 1740. The prioress was suspicious of Julia Browne's intentions and fearful lest Galway should withhold the interest on their dowries. Father Ripoll, who favoured the project to the very last, thought that their only hope lay in the education of boarders, insisting indeed

⁴¹ AGOP IV. 217, pp. 29-30, 43. The following section is based entirely on Vol. 217, pp. 43-76 *passim*.

(and this is a new detail) that that had been the primary aim of the foundation and the reason why the Queen of Portugal had lent it her support. Accordingly, he fell in with the provincial's suggestion that Sister Mary Browne (who would not or could not teach) should return to Galway and that two other Galway sisters, Catherine Lynch and Elizabeth Browne, should come out to Brussels in her stead.

While the provincial and the master general were solving the problem on paper, the sisters found another solution themselves. In February 1740 the prioress again insisted on returning to Ireland and Father Ripoll had not the heart to say no. Sister Mary Browne simultaneously withdrew to Antwerp *en route* to Ireland, leaving the foundress Sister Julia Browne on her own to witness the final collapse of her plans. Catherine Lynch could not afford to travel out from Galway, and a scheme (suggested in April 1740 by the bishop of Kilmore) to send Sister Henrietta Plunkett to Brussels from Drogheda came to nothing. Eventually, in September or October 1740, Sister Julia Browne admitted defeat and went to stay with her brother at Paris. She moved to London before November 1741 but soon returned to her own monastery at Dublin where she died in 1747⁴².

Her most faithful supporter, Thomas Ripoll, was deeply disappointed, regretting most of all that the opposition of her own Dominican brothers and sisters in Ireland had caused Julia's plan to fail. On the other hand, the increasingly more favourable political climate in Ireland soon removed whatever justification there might have been for such a refuge.

JOHN FOTTRELL'S LAST YEARS, 1740-1785

On finishing his work at Louvain in March 1740, John Fottrell proposed to visit the nine members of the province who worked in London as assistant priests in the various embassy chapels, but the General insisted that they were subject to the provincial of England and not to him. The provincial had to take fifteen pounds from the funds of Holy Cross to pay his passage home: it had already cost him as much for the single passage out from Dublin, and the province (he complained) was too poor even to pay his postal expenses⁴³.

⁴² The date of death is given, without reference, in the published annals of the Cabra community in Dublin. Fr. Luke Taheney tells me that there is a note "Mass offered for Mrs. Browne" under the date 1747 in one of the books of Taylor's Hill monastery, Galway, which is an indication that she died in that year.

⁴³ 26 Mar. 1740. Ripoll to Fottrell. AGOP IV. 217, pp. 59-60.

The rest of Father Fottrell's provincialate was uneventful, save for another dispute he had with the Dublin community. It concerned a certain John Byrne, a son of the convent and a schoolmaster, who transferred his school from Dublin to county Kilkenny about 1735. After some years he was ejected by the Protestant bishop and returned once more in 1741 to teach in the capital⁴⁴. Although assigned to the convent, as was his right, the community refused to receive him and it fell to the provincial to patch the matter up.

Father Fottrell performed a second visitation of all the Irish houses in the course of 1741. One may pick up his traces at Athenry where he signed the account-books on 8 August. In this case too, the provincial sent his report to the General in late autumn, but the surviving details chiefly refer to nine reprobate priests and tell us almost nothing of the state of the convents⁴⁵.

Quidam tamen sunt qui male se gerunt, ut p. Dominicus Doyle qui ab uno anno cum femina malae famae vadit de loco in locum. Pater Philippus Lynham a duobus annis propter debita contracta Dublino fugit, et pariter est suspectus de mala familiaritate. Patres Thomas Roche et Iacobus Nune ex carceribus dimissi irreligiose vivunt; sicut et p. Ambrosius MacDonnel qui propter assistentiam matrimonii clandestini 16 mensibus fuit incarceratus. Pater Iohannes Connor ab aliquo tempore exercet artem medicam nec ab ea vult desistere: uno anno non celebravit et adstitit aliquot matrimoniis. Pater Iacobus Condon a 5 annis se subtraxit obedientiae. Pater Patritius Reynolds propter assistentiam matrimonio et ebrietates a 10 mensibus est suspensus a divinis. Pater Dominicus Burgo a fide apostata modo religiose vivit.

Soror Iulia Browne est Londini. Moniales volunt eam suscipere Dublini, si consignet suam dotem monasterio, velitque ibi manere assignata. Cum patres Lovanienses pacifice vivant, ad parcendum expensis rogat se dispensandum a visitatione ultra. Quidam fratres habentes curam animarum, frequenter tamen venientes ad conventum ad praestandam obedientiam superiori, in quibusdem conventibus admittuntur ad vocem activam, excepto conventu Pontanensi. Petit ut Rmus determinet, ut aut ubique gaudeant voce, aut ubique careant illa »⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ Jn. Byrne took the habit at St. Sixtus in 1714, returned from Bologna to Dublin in 1720, went to Rome again as first regent at St. Sixtus (from 1726) and returned to Dublin for the second time in 1728. On the dispute mentioned above, see AGOP IV. 217, pp. 71, 73-75.

⁴⁵ 30 Dec. 1741. Ripoll to Fottrell. AGOP IV. 217, p. 76.

⁴⁶ With regard to the active voice, Ripoll merely said: "disponat ipse secundum Deum et conscientiam". AGOP IV. 217, p. 76.

John Fottrell ceased to be provincial on 8 May 1742 and spent the rest of his long life in his native convent of Dublin. One finds details of his activities as prior of Dublin (1745-1748), vicar-provincial of Leinster (from 1748), confessor to the nuns of Drogheda (1749-1756) and those of Channel Row (1754). In 1749 he was named a master of sacred theology *titulo missionis*⁴⁷. One of his letters (Dublin, 30 November 1781) to the rector of the college in Lisbon is still preserved in the provincial archives⁴⁸. The *Freeman's Journal* on 18 January 1785 noted his recent death, so that Father Fottrell must have reached the great age of about eighty-four years⁴⁹. He left some £ 400 in his will to the Roman convent of St. Sixtus, with a very light obligation to say Masses for the repose of his soul⁵⁰.

PETER KILLIKELLY, 1742-1745

The new provincial, elected on 8 May 1742, was evidently born to rule: his whole early life (until he became a bishop) was a rapid passage from one position of responsibility to another, so rapid a passage indeed that he rarely finished a term of office before yet higher duties were thrust upon him. Even his provincialate was shortened in this way. Killikelly was a Galwayman, born near Kinvara about 1699, who took the habit in the convent of Galway, and went to Spain after profession for his studies. Like many another at that time, he was already in his early twenties when he entered the order. He first appears in the records in May 1727 when he was professor of philosophy and sacred scripture at Holy Cross, Louvain, although not yet a deacon⁵¹.

Peter Killikelly's progress at Holy Cross from one academic duty to another is well documented. He was master of students for some time

⁴⁷ AGOP IV. 217, pp. 76, 80, 94, 113, 116, 142, 161.

⁴⁸ TA, Lisbon 6, bound in at the back of the volume.

⁴⁹ J. Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the 18th-century Press*, Maynooth 1965, 321.

⁵⁰ The sum was 1,500 scudi. SCAR, No. 57. House-council book (1749-1797), p. 141.

⁵¹ He was said on his death (29 May 1783) to have been in his 84th year. J. Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the 18th-century Press*, 222. The inscription on his tomb in the Dominican chapel at Galway has fortunately been preserved in the journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead: Ireland, Vol. IV (Dublin 1900) 58. His novitiate at Galway (1723ca) and studies in Spain are attested only by T. Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 509, 531. His duties at Louvain in 1727 are mentioned in AGOP IV, 201, pp. 137, 140.

before 5 June 1728 when he was appointed second regent at the request both of the provincial and of his fellow-teachers in the college. Subsequently he was promoted first regent on 18 March 1730 and took up the duties of that office in the following June. Father Ripoll named him a bachelor of theology (S.T.P.) on 8 July of the same year. As if all this did not suffice, the community unanimously elected him prior in November 1730 and the master general granted him the unusual dispensation to be both prior and regent at once. This confidence was not misplaced: Peter Killikelly's rule at Louvain, though not untroubled, reflected only credit on himself. Greatly pleased with the *relatio status* submitted by the prior at the close of his three-year term, Father Ripoll expressed the hope that Killikelly's successor would do as well. On finishing his priorship (November 1733) and his regency (June 1734), Killikelly left for home in the company of Sister Julia Browne who was, like himself, a native of the Galway area ⁵².

At Galway, as at Louvain, Peter Killikelly's presence is well attested. One finds his name at the head of the community in the MacHenry list of 1734-1735. His signature appears for the first time in the conventual account-books under the date April 1735 ⁵³. In the following year (6 October 1736), Father Ripoll promoted him master of theology at the request of the provincial chapter, giving him the title vacated by Colman O'Shaghnessy, then but recently named bishop of Ossory ⁵⁴. Believing Killikelly to be the provincial's vicar of the Galway nuns — whether rightly or wrongly one cannot say — the General asked him a month later to settle a dispute which was troubling the peace of the monastery. Apparently the prioress, Sister Mary Browne, was unable to control two of her subjects (Sisters Cecilia Kelly and Anastasia Vaughan) who were at odds with their confessor, Anthony O'Dogherty O.P., because he had forbidden them to correspond with a certain young Jesuit of the town ⁵⁵. Peter Killikelly was prior of Galway between December 1736 and August 1738 (for he signed the books as such within those dates), and the fact is partly confirmed by the acts of the provincial chapter which he signed in April 1738 as prior of Galway and definitor for Connacht.

The future provincial's residence in Galway was brought to a close

⁵² Details taken from AGOP IV, 214, pp. 5, 7, 26, 31, 42, 95, 103, 108.

⁵³ This and other details on K.'s career were supplied to me by Fr. Luke Taheaney O.P. in a letter of 9 June 1961. The account-books are now in Tallaght.

⁵⁴ AGOP IV. 214, p. 141.

⁵⁵ 17 Nov. 1736. Ripoll to K. Ibidem, p. 144. The "young Jesuit" may have been Michael Fitzgerald.

by his election (10 December 1739) as *theologus Casanatensis*: he set out early in 1740 to take up his new duties at the Minerva in Rome⁵⁶. Killikelly was the third Irishman to be honoured in this way, and by a strange coincidence his two predecessors were both from Connacht as he was himself: Patrick Plunkett of Roscommon was theologian of the Casanatensian from 1700 to 1728, and Edmund Burke of Athenry from 1729 until his death on 23 May 1739. The third Irish theologian, however, was not destined to grace the Minerva for quite as long as the first two. Hardly had he settled into his new duties than the Irish provincial chapter elected him provincial in May 1742. He left Rome in July, after attending a special recreation which the community of St. Sixtus held in his honour⁵⁷.

Some of the decisions of the elective chapter deserve mention. The second ordination, for instance, reveals that some of the brethren had been writing defamatory lampoons or songs against the Order: the fourth added two years "or at least one" to the course of studies followed in the foreign colleges. There were also two petitions concerning the nuns of Lisbon, petitions intended to exclude useless postulants and to protect the Irish element in that monastery from being overwhelmed by the Portuguese. The postulations too had a novel feature, for they indicated the age and years of profession of each priest put forward for a degree. The number of the dead for the period 1738-1742 was somewhat higher than it had been in 1734-1738: a total of thirty-one as against the earlier figure of twenty-three. The province was now losing eight a year instead of six, but the loss was still being outweighed by the number of fresh recruits annually received.

Father Thomas Ripoll confirmed the election on 19 July. When confirming the acts on the 31st, he commanded all students of the province to study theology for four full years. With regard to the monastery of Bom Successo he declined to make a new ruling, preferring to insist on the observance of the appropriate ordination framed by the general chapter at Bologna in 1706⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ AGOP IV. 217, p. 55. P.K. was recommended for the post by Denis O'Daly, the Irish procurator in Madrid, which may corroborate Burke's statement that K. studied in Spain. The Spanish prior in Salamanca also proposed an Irish candidate whose name does not appear in the registers. AGOP IV. 209F, ff. 102^r, 111^r.

⁵⁷ SCAR, Account-book 1730-1747 (expenses), p. 270. P.K.'s place at the Minerva was taken by Pat. Brullaughan (mentioned above in connection with his uncle's book, *De Missione*), who was elected *theologus* on 25 Sept. 1742. AGOP IV. 217, p. 81.

⁵⁸ AGOP IV. 217, pp. 78, 80. On the Bologna chapter and Ireland see AFP 38 (1968) 296-299.

MISSIONARIES FROM LOUVAIN, 1722-1743

While travelling back to Ireland, the provincial passed through Louvain where he made a visitation of Holy Cross of which almost no details survive⁵⁹. Presumably he reached Dublin before Christmas 1742. Roman archives are virtually silent on his provincialate, partly because he did not finish out his term of office, partly because the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) disturbed postal services, and partly because of the severe persecution of ecclesiastics in Ireland in the first three months of 1744. So far as the master general was concerned, the chief event of Irish interest was the promotion of John Brett, penitentiary of Mary Major's, to the see of Killala in August 1743. Brett had the warm recommendation of his confrère, Michael MacDonogh of Kilmore, who described him as "the son of a gentleman, more worthy than many who killed horses" galloping about in search of postulations in their favour⁶⁰.

Although one knows so little about Peter Killikelly's day-to-day activities, some interesting lists of Irish Dominicans survive from precisely this troubled period, and in some respects they more than compensate for the silence of the records on which one usually depends. Two of them concern Holy Cross, Louvain, which was still obliged to seek the renewal of its annual subsidy from Propaganda Fide and therefore obliged to furnish some account of its activities. Mgr. Tempi, the nuncio at Brussels, wrote a fine appeal to cardinal Petra, prefect of the Congregation, in their favour on 7 June 1743, explaining their financial distress, praising the quality of their community life, and naming many of the thirty-three religious who had left the college for Ireland since 1722⁶¹.

⁵⁹ The provincial visitation, which I presume to have been P.K.'s and not Fottrell's, is mentioned in AGOP IV. 217, p. 86 under date 5 Oct. 1743.

⁶⁰ 30 May 1743. MacDonogh to Edgar. Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 250, no. 43. Brett left Rome on 10 October and went to Ireland via Avignon whence he wrote to the Stuart court in February 1744. Ibidem, Vol. 252, no. 194; 255, no. 167. He obtained the General's licence to accept the bishopric on 9 July 1743. AGOP IV. 217, p. 84.

⁶¹ The letter is misfiled in APF, SC Collegi Olandesi ed Irlandesi di Lovanio, Vol. 1, ff. 308-309. It should be in the SOCG series, for it was discussed at a general congregation on 19 Aug. 1743, no. 29, when the subsidy was in fact renewed. APF, Acta 113, ff. 278-281.

Emo e Rmo Signore, Signore Padrone Colendissimo,

Colla dovuta rassegnazione agl'ordini di cotesta S. Congregazione, che V. E. si degnò ingiongermi fin sotto il 23 Marzo prossimo scorso, mi dò l'onore di renderla informata dello stato presente del convento di S. Croce dei Padri Domenicani Irlandesi di Lovanio in seguito delle diligenze da me fatte per averne una vera ed intiera notizia.

In questo convento adunque vengono intrattenute ordinariamente trentaquattro persone, cioè ventiquattro religiosi (parte professi e parte studenti) oltre il Priore, sei frati laici, e tre serventi secolari. Per sostentamento dei suddetti, e per tutte le altre spese di riparazione di fabbriche ed altro, viene annualmente e necessariamente impiegata la somma di quattro mila fiorini di questa moneta. Le rendite poi dello stesso convento, oltre l'essere per la maggior parte incerte e casuali, vengono ad essere inferiore alle spese, conforme costa dai Libri de Conti, di maniera che, con tutta la parsimonia e strettezza in cui vivono i religiosi, si trovano soggetti ogn'anno all'escrescenza di qualche debito, per non aver essi altre rendite certe e fisse che la pensione annua di cotesta S. Congregazione e la somma di quattrocento fiorini annui di fondazioni perpetue di Messe.

Il casuale o incerto che proviene ogni anno dalla sagrestia per le Messe ed altro ascende alla somma di cinquecento fiorini in circa; quello che si ricava dalle cerche di grano, pane, carne, legna, fa annualmente la somma di cinquecento fiorini. Le cerche di denaro che fanno ordinariamente in una o due diocesi circonvicine, all'or che piace ai Vescovi di accordar loro la permissione, è intorno a mille fiorini. A tutto questo si aggiungerebbe la pensione che questo Governo aveva altre volte accordata al convento di seicento fiorini, ma per la penuria dei tempi presenti è come perduta da due anni in qua, poiche con tutte le suppliche fatte alla Regina appena ne ha potuto ottenere per una sol volta la somma di quattrocento fiorini, di modo che le rendite casuali non ascendono ora di la di duemila fiorini, e non ostante tutta l'economia colla quale si vive appena arrivano ordinariamente alla metà delle necessarie per far sussistere il detto convento.

Con tutto questo il caritativo sussidio che cotesta S. Congregazione ha la bontà di fornirgli ogni anno viene effettivamente impiegato per il fine prescritto al sostentamento di quattro religiosi per abilitarli al servizio delle Missioni del regno d'Irlanda, costando apertamente dai registri del sudetto convento, che nello spazio di venti anni prossimi scorsi, cominciando dall'anno 1722, ha mandato alla missione trentatre religiosi da uno fino a quattro per volta nominati anno per anno, quantunque in detto spazio non fusse obbligato mandarne più di quattro ogni cinque anni, che è il termine del corso de studi, e perciò solamente sedici.

Di questi trentatre soggetti propri alle missioni, eccettuati due o tre che sono già passati a miglior vita, alcuni travagliano in Irlanda utilmente come sussidiari de Parochi, dai quali sono impiegati nel governo dell'anime; cinque

di essi sono Parochi attuali, cioè nella diocesi di Kilmore il P. Bernardo Mac-Henry, altre volte lettore in Lovanio, poi vicario provinciale, quindi Provinciale. Nella diocesi Midense il P. Giacomo Cruise ed il P. Giovanni Byrne. In quella di Cashel il P. Antonio Meagher, ed in quella di Dublino il P. Ambrosio O'Connor.

Il P. Domenico Colgan è attualmente missionario in Scozia. Li padri Patrizio Ferrall e Giovanni Brennan a Londra. Il P. Vincenzo Lonergan è missionario nell'Indie soggette agl'Inglesi. Tra gli altri poi che sono usciti da venti anni in qua dal detto convento sonosi segnalati il P. Pietro Killikelly, prima Priore e Regente, poi missionario, quindi teologo Casanattense, ora attualmente Provinciale. Il P. Lorenzo Richardson, prima Regente a Lovanio, poi predicatore per tredici anni a Dublino ed esaminatore sinodale. Il P. Giacomo Dillon, Regente e Priore in Lovanio, poscia due volte vicario provinciale, ora missionario molto zelante. Il P. Giacomo Sexton, predicatore molto applaudito nella chiesa principale di Waterford da sei o sette anni in qua, e finalmente i padri Giacomo Watson, Antonio Dogherty, e Ambrosio Magrath ad istanza del capitolo provinciale dichiarati Predicatori Generali in Irlanda dal P. Maestro Generale a causa del loro zelo ed eloquenza.

Questo è il frutto che la missione d'Irlanda ha nel decorso di venti anni riportato dalla carità della S. Congregazione, a cui venendomi supposto esser già noto quello che si è ritratto avanti l'anno 1722, mi è parso per ora sufficiente spazio il di sopra menzionato, dal che mi giova con molto fondamento sperare che non sarà per essere minore in avvenire; poiche rendendo giustizia alla verità, posso assicurare l'EE. loro che il convento di S. Croce di Lovanio è un'ottima scola di dottrina, di disciplina regolare, e di edificazione per i religiosi che quindi partono per l'Irlanda, dei quali ho molto di che lodarmi in particolare, e pochissimo o niun soggetto di dolermi, quanto al generale della maniera che colà si comportano i soggetti che da Lovanio si trasportano alle missioni. Tanto devo umiliare a V. E., e profondamente m'inchino.

Umilissimo, Divotissimo, Obligatissimo Servitore
Brusselles, 7 Giugno 1743. L[uca] A[rcivescovo] di Nicomedia.

While one is grateful to the nuncio for preserving these details so carefully, one also regrets that he supplied the names of only sixteen of the thirty-three missionaries who left Louvain for Ireland between 1722 and 1743. Fortunately there is a second list, intended like the first for Propaganda Fide but now preserved only in the archives of San Clemente⁶². This second list (composed about 1747) gives fifteen names for the period 1732-1743, and it is a very curious circumstance that only three names occur both in this list and in the nuncio's one.

⁶² SCAR, Miscellanea (shelf-number 22), doc. 42. For the purposes of the above edition, the initial titles of these priests have been omitted. Only the former regents

Patres qui iverunt ad Missionem ex conventu S. Crucis ord. praed. Hibernorum
ab anno 1732 ad annum 1743

- f. Dominicus O'Kelly, regens, qui modo est in insulis Anglorum in America.
- f. Petrus Killikelly, regens, qui modo est episcopus in Hibernia.
- f. Iacobus Sexton, lector, est Waterfordiae in Hibernia.
- f. Bonaventura Nagle, lector, est in domo Cassellensi [Cashel].
- f. Iohannes Kennedy, lector, obiit in Hibernia.
- f. Iohannes Golden est in Hibernia.
- f. Ambrosius Magrath est in Hibernia.
- f. Thomas Hurly est in Hibernia.
- f. Thomas [Patritius?] O'Kelly est in Hibernia.
- f. Iacobus Murry missus in carcerem anno 1745 et transmissus in exilium 1746.
- f. Dominicus Colgan per aliquot annos missionarius in Hibernia et postea in Scotia, ex qua compulsus fuit aufugere cum Principe [Carolo Stuart] anno 1746.
- f. Michael MacDermott est in Hibernia.
- f. Augustinus O'Kelly est in Hibernia.
- f. N. Davidt [*lege* Iohannes Davett] est in Hibernia.
- f. Thomas Walsh obiit in Hibernia.

THE PERSECUTION OF 1744

Yet another promotion, this time to the episcopate, prevented Peter Killikelly from finishing his term of office as provincial. James III nominated him bishop of Kilmacduagh (his native place) on 1 January 1744; Thomas Ripoll permitted him to accept the honour on 11 January; and his brief of appointment was issued on the 22nd⁶³. A second brief (30 January) addressed to James III assured him that his right of nomination was in no way prejudiced by the fact that it had not been mentioned in the first⁶⁴. While it was not unusual for regulars to be appointed bishops in Connacht — John Brett, for instance, had been provided to Killala only the year before — there may in this case have been good

and lectors were accorded the title "reverendus". The rest were given merely as "pater frater".

On putting the two lists together one gets a total of 28 names out of 33, so that only five are missing. One may suggest the following additions: Cornelius Egan (1722), Jas. Moran (1730), Jas. Aug. Plunkett (1733), Jas. MacNamara and Paul Slattery (both 1740). The references will be found below in the second appendix.

⁶³ Hierarchia Catholica, VI, 201. AGOP IV. 217, p. 86. The brief is published in Hibernia Dominicana, 509-510.

⁶⁴ The brief is preserved in Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 255, no. 111.

reason for not giving Kilmacduagh to one of the secular clergy. On the one hand, it was very small and poor: and on the other, Father John Lacy of Madrid, although warmly recommended for Kilmacduagh in 1741, had been excluded at the request of the archbishop of Tuam⁶⁵. Unfortunately, the archives of Propaganda throw no light on the affair.

The provincial can scarcely have received word of his promotion when persecution broke out in Ireland. It began about 17 February 1744 with the arrest of some priests in Dublin (among them Dominic Kelly and Thomas Nolan, Dominican chaplains to the nuns of Channel Row) and was formalized by government decree on the 28th⁶⁶. Large rewards were offered for information leading to the arrest of bishops and priests, while severe penalties were threatened against those who harboured them. According to Thomas Burke, who narrowly escaped capture, this was the only *general* persecution after the death of Queen Anne (1714), as it was also the last ever inflicted on the Catholics of Ireland. Father Killikelly had to postpone his consecration until the storm died down.

As usual, the bishops bore the full brunt of the onslaught. Ambrose O'Callaghan, the Franciscan bishop of Ferns, died at Dublin on 13 August, worn out by his efforts to avoid arrest⁶⁷. Michael MacDonogh O.P., bishop of Kilmore, had to change house twelve times in two months because high treason was sworn, and a bench-warrant issued, against him⁶⁸. Another Franciscan bishop, Sylvester Lloyd of Waterford, already mentioned as protector of the Dominican nuns of that city, escaped to the continent "by a miracle". Although blind and so paralysed as to be hardly able to mount a horse, he avoided his pursuers for three weeks, took ship by night, reached Jersey in five days, and went on thence to La Rochelle⁶⁹.

The second target, as in all persecutions, was the regular clergy, less obnoxious to the government than the bishops were, but still considered

⁶⁵ Loc. cit., Vol. 232, nos. 118-121.

⁶⁶ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 175-176 and 717-719, at which latter place the full text of the decree is supplied in Latin translation. Slightly different dates are given by J. Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the 18th-century Press*, 65.

⁶⁷ 15 Aug. 1744. Linegar to Corsini. Calendared by Giblin in *Coll. Hib. No. 10* (1967) 99-100. There is a better, dated copy in SCAR, Codex I, Vol. 2, f. 306.

⁶⁸ H. Fenning, Michael MacDonogh, in *Irish Eccles. Record* (1966) 151. Also Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 256, no. 15.

⁶⁹ Windsor, Stuart Papers, Vol. 249, no. 98. APF, SC Irlanda 10, ff. 147-148. This latter is a letter (Brussels, 2 May 1744) from the nuncio to cardinal Petra.

more dangerous or more of a nuisance than the diocesan priests. Dominican records tell us nothing of what happened to the friars, but it appears from government or judicial sources that many of them absconded before being cited to appear in court. One could compile an incomplete but interesting list of Dominicans sought by the magistrates at this time, using the details provided by W. P. Burke in his *Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, but that is something the reader may easily do for himself. The book is particularly valuable in that it names almost every member of the Dominican communities in Dundalk, Drogheda, Galway, Esker, Portumna, Sligo, Ballindoon, and Rathfran, the last three lists being based on the examination of Ambrose Gilligan, a Dominican of Sligo ⁷⁰.

When the persecution died out with the approach of summer 1744, the provincial was able to write once more to the master general. It was still practically impossible to hold an elective chapter, so he obtained leave (on 29 August) to continue as provincial, although a bishop, until Sunday, *Deus qui errantibus*, or in modern terms until 5 May 1745 ⁷¹. His bulls were still (in August 1744) at San Sisto in Rome where John Rocheford was keeping them until they could safely be despatched. Thanks to a lull in the war on the continent, Peter Killikelly received these essential documents soon afterwards and was consecrated at Channel Row in Dublin on 14 October ⁷². For the following seven months the province was ruled by the bishop of Kilmacduagh, just as it had been ruled by Stephen MacEgan, bishop of Clonmacnois, from September 1725 to April 1726.

THE FOREIGN COLLEGES, 1745

Thanks to what is probably a unique coincidence, one can list the members of the three foreign colleges as they were in the first half of 1745. For Lisbon, the most poorly documented of all, there is a letter

⁷⁰ W. P. Burke, *Irish Priests*, Waterford 1914. The page references to the various Dominican communities are: Dundalk (292), Drogheda (293), Kilkenny (323), Mullingar (332), Longford (336), Cashel (359), Waterford (369), Limerick (397), Galway (417-419), Esker and Portumna (428), Sligo, Ballindoon, and Rathfran (437-438). This Amb. Gilligan may be the "Amb. Gilman" of whom Jn. Fottrell complained in 1739. See above, p. 333.

⁷¹ AGOP IV. 217, p. 88. It would perhaps be better to say that he continued to rule the province as vicar general, but that term is not used in the register.

⁷² *Hibernia Dominicana*, 509. The consecrating prelates were Jn. Linegar, archbishop of Dublin, Stephen MacEgan O.P. of Meath, and Ml. MacDonogh O.P. of Kilmore.

(9 February 1745) from the rector, Charles O'Kelly, to the master general indicating the sums contributed by the various members of the college to the expenses occasioned by the canonization of St. Catherine de Ricci ⁷³.

Reverendissime Pater,

Desideratam notitiam canonizationis S. Catharinae de Riciis communicavi R. Patribus collegii et monialibus Boni Successus. Deum optimum maximum pro tanto beneficio laudamus et exoramus quatenus V. R. P. gratiam et vires concedat ad ulteriorem suam, Ordinisque nostri gloriam promovendam.

Libentissime vellem largius concurrere ad expensas canonizationis, verum tanta est paupertas utriusque communitatis quod nihil quidquam contribuere possunt. Enimvero nova edificia et reparationes quae utrobique actualiter facimus, nos ad magnam redigunt angustiam; sed temporis decursu redditus utriusque communitatis notabiliter augebunt. Interim, ne ingrati videantur particulares collegii V. R. Paternitati (cui addictissimi et devinctissimi sunt et semper erunt) contribuerunt pro posse (licet non aequaliter omnes) ad importantiam acclusae litterae cambialis. Videlicet

R. P. Magister F. Bernardus Brullaughan	Regalia	1200
R. P. Magister F. Iohannes Fitzmaurice		4800
R. P. Praes. F. Dominicus O'Kennedy		1200
R. P. Praes. F. Dominicus O'Ferral		3000
R. P. Dominicus MacDonnell, procurator Boni Successus		4000
R. P. Christopherus Fottrell, vicarius		0960
R. P. Iosephus Lynham, capellanus navis Indicae		4800
R. P. Antonius Dun, capellanus navis Indicae		1600
R. P. Thomas Burk, lector vesperarius		0480
R. P. Eugenius Crohan, magister studentium		1200
R. P. Ricardus Nugent, lector artium		1200
R. P. Iacobus Dillon, lector artium		0960
Quattuor studentes (caeteri enim non habuerunt unde contribuerent)		2080
Soror Anna Butler, quae unica fuit in monasterio monialium Boni Successus quae contribuit		4000
		31:480

Mille regalia communiter efficiunt unum scutum Romanum, quod igitur ultra triginta unum scutum cum dimidio receperit V. R. P. ut tantulum servire poterit, et licet totum simul parvi sit momenti, defectum non arguit meae incuriae aut R. Patrum benevolentiae, sed potius mediorum, quae si uberiora essent largius contribuissimus. Nos ergo excusatos habeat, meque specialiter V. R. P. debita obedientia, veneratione et amore prosequentem. Liceat hic

⁷³ The original is in AGOP XIII. 68098.

agere gratias pro litteris patentibus quas recepi pro R. P. Laurentio Connelane. Brevi se itineri accinget et V. R. P. se sistet. Benedictionem vestram implorans, maneo omni qua par est humilitate,
 Ulissipone in Collegio SSmi. Rosarii
 fratrum Praed. Hibernorum
 die 9 Februarii 1745

R. P. Vestrae
 Obsequentissimus ac devinctissimus
 filius ac servus
 fr. Carolus O'Kelly

The Fr. Laurence Connelane or Connillan mentioned in the final paragraph was a student, assigned by the master general to the college of St. Thomas at Rome on 19 December 1744. Father Ripoll had asked for another student-priest, Patrick MacDonogh, but since he had to return to Ireland to visit his sick mother, the General accepted Connelane in his stead⁷⁴. The names of three other contemporary students, missing from our list, may be supplied from other sources. Fr. Louis Walsh of Kilmallock, for instance, is noted in the registers because of a scruple he had about the validity of his profession⁷⁵. Two others, Vincent Nangle and James Bereford, left Lisbon in the first half of 1746 to continue their philosophical studies at St. Sixtus in Rome⁷⁶.

For Holy Cross, Louvain, there is an undated *relatio* which may confidently be dated either in April or May 1745. Father Ripoll replied to it on 29 May by appointing John Mahony as lector of philosophy there⁷⁷. It is better in two respects than the Lisbon document, for it supplies not only the names of the students but even the classes to which they actually belonged. On the other hand, being limited in scope to the members of the *studium*, it tells us nothing, for example, about the lay-brothers attached to the house. The report appears to have been submitted by the master of students, John Maguire, who grouped the professors and students according to their "provinces" of origin: Connacht, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster.

⁷⁴ AGOP IV. 217, p. 88.

⁷⁵ AGOP IV. 217, p. 89. See also a letter (Lisbon, 12 Jan. 1745) from Jn. Fitzmaurice in AGOP XIII. 68098. On the day of Walsh's profession, no copy of the Constitutions could be found, and the prior (unassisted by any other member of the community) performed the ceremony from memory.

⁷⁶ SCAR, No. 53, Liber de Ratione Studiorum (1743-1788), f. 23^v. They reached St. Sixtus between July and September 1746.

⁷⁷ The reply is in AGOP IV. 217, p. 90: the original petition in XIII. 68095. Mahony, as appears from an affidavit (dated at the convent of St. Dominic in Xeres, 29 Dec. 1743) studied, and was approved to teach philosophy, at the Spanish convent of Xeres de la Frontera. AGOP XIII. 68098.

Eximie Pater,

Quoniam secundum statuta ordinis magister studentium debeat statum studii capitulo vel superiori referre, aequum duxi vobis exhibere exactam huius studii relationem.

Omnes professores actuales pacifice de praesenti cohabitant, regularem observantiam studio adiungunt, et ad studium promovendum strenue laborant. Studentes cura et industria quorum interest studiis omnes incumbunt: aliique ex illis egregie progrediuntur in litteris, alii tamen vix ullum fructum afferunt, quorum incapacitates professoribus nequaquam impropere debet. A primo enim die quo novi hunc conventum, studium nunquam sicut de praesenti viguit. Faxit Deus ut cum eodem ardore diutius promoveatur. Ecce catalogus omnium suppositorum ad hoc studium spectantium.

Supposita ex Conacia sunt

- R. A. P. Prior [Augustinus O'Kelly]
- R. P. Petrus MacKeon, regens primarius 3^o anno
- R. P. Thomas Plunkett, S. Scripturae professor. Finit hoc anno.
- P. Patritius Welsh, theologus 4^o anno
- P. Dominicus O'Connor, theologus 3^o anno, sine fructu
- P. Martinus French, philosophus
- Fr. Petrus Kelly, novitius simplex

Ex Lagenia

- R. P. Edmundus Reilly, regens secundarius. Finit hoc anno.
- P. Iacobus O'Heine frustra occupat scholam theologiam a 3 annis
- Fr. Laurentius Fitzgerald, insignis theologus 2^o anno
- Fr. Thomas Dalton, bonus theologus 2^o anno
- Fr. Iohannes Reilly, novitius simplex

Ex Momonia

- P. Nicholaus Quin, magister novitiorum
- P. Dominicus MacGrath finivit per dispensationem Reverendissimi
- Fr. Nicholaus Fitzgerald, inutilis, scholae theologicae a 3 annis
- P. Antoninus O'Ryan bonus theologus 2^o anno
- P. Iacobus Flin nomen dedit scholae theologicae hoc anno

Ex Ultonia

- P. Fr. Iohannes Maguire, magister studentium
- P. Thomas MacIver, philosophiae lector
- P. Thomas Fitzsimons, procurator
- P. Iohannes Dogherty insignis theologus 1^o anno
- P. Matthaeus Higgins, philosophus
- Fr. Georgius Dogherty nondum assignatus: studet tamen philosophiam.

Potest sua eximia Paternitas colligere ex numero et conditione subditorum quod novus Lector Philosophiae necessario instituendus pro cursu inchoando in initio anni scholastici.

While there is no comparable list of this date for the Roman college of SS. Sixtus and Clement, it is no very difficult matter to manufacture one. Using the vestiary book (which is already in print), the two successive registers *De Ratione Studiorum* (1701-1743-1788), the book of receptions and professions, the account-books of the convent, and (if necessary) the registers of the master general, one can compile a complete and relatively detailed list of all the people at San Sisto for almost any given date in the century⁷⁸. The following table, for instance, shows the Irish Dominican community in Rome as it was on 30 April 1745, a date sufficiently close to the Lisbon and Louvain documents transcribed above.

A. R. P. M. fr. Iacobus Fitzgerald, prior		
R. P. fr. Iohannes Rocheford, syndicus		
R. P. Praes. fr. Iohannes B. Lynch, regens primarius		
R. P. fr. Dominicus Morragh, regens secundarius		
R. P. fr. Thomas Hope, magister studentium		
R. P. fr. Patritius MacAmbrose, lector artium		
R. P. fr. Patritius Kirwan, studens theologiae ultimo anno		
R. P. fr. Thomas L. Netterville	} studentes	
R. P. fr. Mathaeus Casey		} theologiae
R. P. fr. Iohannes F. Netterville		} 3 ^o anno
R. P. fr. Dominicus Delamar	} studentes	
R. P. fr. Bernardus O'Hogan		} philosophiae
Frater Barnabas Mangan		} 2 ^o anno
Frater Lucas Armour, studens philosophiae	1 ^o anno	
Fratres conversi: Hermannus Black [Schwartz], Iohannes B. Grollier, Dominicus Marchesi, Mathias Vogler.		

⁷⁸ H. Fenning, *The Vestiary Book of the Irish Dominicans in Rome, 1727-1796*, in *Coll. Hib. No. 10* (1967) 60-71. The first book of studies (1701-1743) is now AGOP XI. 3600: the other is SCAR, No. 53. The book of receptions and professions is to appear in *Coll. Hib. No. 14* (1971).

BISHOP KILLIKELLY'S LAST YEARS, 1745-1783

With the election of his successor, Michael Hoare, on 4 May 1745 bishop Killikelly ceased to rule the province and also ceased to play an active part in its affairs. He was prepared, however, to help his former brethren whenever he was asked to do so. In 1767, for instance, he acted as an intermediary between the archbishop of Armagh and the provincial with regard to the novitiate question ⁷⁹.

Being bishop of Kilmacduagh brought him more honour than advantage, for the diocese contained only nine parishes, from each of which he received one pound sterling a year ⁸⁰. In 1750 he was given the administration of the neighbouring diocese of Kilfenora — a diocese even smaller than his own — and he ruled both until his death. An interesting report of his on the two dioceses (1771) has appeared in print ⁸¹, but he has yet to be the object of an historical study which would do justice to the considerable surviving evidence of his episcopal activity. To judge from his letters, he was a rather dry, direct man of few words who lent his name to many a good cause over a period of forty years. He died on 29 May 1783 and was buried in the Dominican church in Galway. The tombstone came to light in 1890 before the building of the present church, but has since been lost through the neglect of his own brethren.

⁷⁹ Two of his letters on the subject are in Coll. Hib. No. 8 (1965) 88-89.

⁸⁰ The detail comes from the Propaganda discussions of 22 Sept. 1750 when the diocese of Kilfenora was united to Kilmacduagh. APF, Acta 120, ff. 254-256; SOCG 745, ff. 204-211.

⁸¹ Anon., Dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, 1771, in *Mantle* (= Galway diocesan magazine), Vol. IV, no. 2 (summer 1961) 22-30.

APPENDIX I

Notes on convents and their members made by Bernard MacHenry, provincial, during his first visitation of the province, autumn 1734 to autumn 1735. The original document is in the PRO (Belfast), D. 1449/14. For the purposes of this edition, the two separated sections on the Ulster convents have been joined, and the note on the Galway nuns brought forward from the very end to follow that on Portumna. In the original, four Ulster convents (Coleraine, Derry, Gola, and Cavan) are inserted in that order between Galway and Roscommon.

LAGENIA

- Conventus S. Salvatoris Dubliniensis.* Inter multos filios habet unum magistrum et unum praedicatorem generalem. Habent plurima ornamenta, calices, et alia spectantia ad capellam. Non tenuerunt hactenus refectorium. Visitatus est mense Septembri anno 1734. Non habentur cubicula pro medietate communitatis. Ibidem tenetur archivum regni. Bene inserviunt capellae.
- Conventus Sororum Dubliniensis:* Habet multa preciosa ad usum capellae. Sunt circiter 28 numero.
- Conventus S. Mariae de Trim.* Habet domi sex filios: unum praedicatorem generalem et magistrum. Bene regulatus est in cohabitatione pacifica, habens beneficium pastorale et limites non spernendas. Tres calices argenteos et ornamenta pauca.
- Conventus Assumptionis B. M. de Mullingar.* Paucos habet filios. Incipiunt cohabitare sub patrocinio Mathaei Casey.
- Conventus S. Brigidae Longfordiensis.* Filios habet circiter 10 domi et extra. Domus eorum anno elapso eversa est. Calices argenteos habent 7 cum ornamentis, etc.
- Conventus S. Trinitatis Kilkenniensis.* Paucos habet filios regulariter cohabitantes, inter quos unum habet magistrum, praesentatus duos, praedicatores generales duos.
- Conventus S. Dominici Rossensis [Rosbercon].* Filium proprium non habet praeter p. Andream Mulloy. Pauca vel nulla bona habet. Prior modernus est p. Dominicus Mullany. Sunt et alii tres assignati: viz., antiquus Mulloy, [Iohannem] Byrne et [Edmundum] Stone. Habent limites non exiguas.
- Conventus S. Crucis Arkloensis.* 29 Iunii. Filios proprios non habet praeter p. Andream Fottrell. Prior modernus est p. Iacobus Williams; est et p. Ambrosius O'Connor ibidem assignatus et p. [Petrus] Corr.
- Conventus Athyensis.* Unicum habet filium, p. [Christophorum] Coonan.
- Conventus de Achaboe.* Omnino destitutus.
- Conventus Monialium Dubliniensium.* Habet circiter 27 sorores. Habent ornamenta plura aliaque praeciosa ad sacellam spectantia.

MOMONIA

- Conventus S. Hyacinthi Lorhensis.* Filium habet p. Antoninum Carroll et unum novitium Gulielmum Walsh. Habent parva ornamenta, etc.
- Conventus S. Salvatoris Limericensis.* Filios habet Dionisium Gallagher, magistrum [Iohannem] MaGee, Patritium Sarchfield, Iacobum MacNamara, Vincentium Cahill, Michaelem McMahan, Antonium Loughlin. Bona quaedam habent in S. Malo et aliqua in patria.
- Conventus S. Dominici Kilcensis [Kilmallock].* Habet quosdam iuvenes filios. Tres calices argenteos cum vestimento integro et Missali ordinis. Quasdam imagines ex cupro, etc.
- Conventus S. Crucis Glanuriae [Glanworth].* Filios habet Iohannem Dooly, Patritium Hurley, p. Mauritium Gibbons et [Philippum?] Finn, etc. Pauperimus est. Habet tamen duos calices argenteos.
- Conventus S. Mariae de Insula Corcagiensis.* Regulariter vivunt sub directione r.a.p. Iohannis O Brien magistri, habentes domum et sacellum, bona considerabilia in communi et particulari. Filios habet, praeter magistrum O Brien, Petrum MaCarthy praesentatum tit. praed., Albertum O Brien, Dominicum Morrow, Nicholaum Walsh, Iohannem Lynch, Dominicum Curtin.
- Conventus Casseliensis [Cashel].* Filios habet Antoninum Kent praed. gen. tit. missionis, Thomam McLoughlin postulatum in loco p. Iacobi Ferrall, Iohannem Ryan nunc Limerici. Quaedam habent ornamenta et alia bona.
- Conventus S. Salvatoris Waterfordiensis.* Regulariter vivunt et habent bona considerabilia. Filios habet magistrum [Antoninum] Sal, Iacobum Dominicum Ferrall praesentatum tit. miss., et Robertum Elliott.
- Conventus de Tralee.*

CONACIA

- Conventus S. Dominici Athenriensis.* [16 Iulii 1735?]. Filios habet in patria mag. [Colmanum] O Seagnussy, Thomam Burk praed. gen. pro suo conventu, Iohannem Moran praed. gen. pro Portumny, Dominicum Burk praed. pro Tombeola, etc. Absentes vero: mag. Edmundum Burk, Humbertum Burk, Dominicum French praes. tit. scholae. Regulariter vivunt et habent multa bona. Alios habet filios domi et foris. Fundatus per Birmingham.
- Conventus S. Mariae Galviensis.* [14 Iulii 1735?]. Filios habet domi Petrum Killikelly praesentatum, Nicolaum Banks, Stephanum Kirwan, Thomam Geoghegan. Absentes vero: Vincentium Gavan, Dominicum Lynch in Indiis, et alium [Dominicum Lynch] Romae. Augustinum Vaughan, Iohannem Lynch Romae. Robertum Brown Lovanii et Gregorium Joyce. Humbertum Morphey Ulissiponensi. Andream Mory Romae, et [Nicholaum] Kinny in Gallia. Habent ornamenta et alia bona.

- Conventus S. Mariae Roscomanensis.* In patria filios habet Thomam Mulledy praed. gen. pro suo conventu, Thomam Hylan, Petrum Caslan, Antonium Dogherty, Thomam Hanly, Ambrosium O Connor, Dominicum Kelly redeuntem, Petrum Girroraghty, Thomam Egan, Gulielmum Burk, Patri-tium McDermott, Thaddaeum Tully, Thomam Brannan, Petrum Corr, Gulielmum Connelly, et Iohannem Kearny cum multis aliis domi et foris. Habent bona considerabilia. Fundatus est per Carolum Manus Rubrae O Connor.
- Conventus S. Crucis de Cluainseanvill.* Filios habet in patria Bernardum MacDermott praed. gen., Michaellem McDermott, Hieronymum Duignan, Petrum Connaghton, Laurentium Mulloy, cum aliis. Absentes vero: Do-minicum MacMahon, Petrum MacOyny [= MacKeon] Lovanii, etc. Pau-per est. Fundatus est per MacDermott.
- Conventus S. Crucis Stradensis.* Filios habet in patria Dominicum Ruan praed. gen., Iacobum McNicholas, Thomam Roche, Mathaeum Higgins, Thaddaeum Thouly, Iacobum Nunne, Dominicum McNicholas, Iacobum Mannin, Antonium Burk, Petrum Laughnan. Absentes autem Antonium Ruan, Dominicum Gavan. Habent quosdam calices et vestimenta.
- Conventus S. Dominici Urlarensis.* Filios habet in patria Antonium Mac Donnell prm. [!], Hugonem Morelly, Laurentium O Hoyns, Iohannem Costello, Ricardum Jordan, Andream Costello, Petrum Philips, Dioni-sium Daze. Habet quosdam absentes. Pauper est.
- Conventus S. Mariae Borrissoulensis.* Filios habet in patria Patritium Walsh, Iacobum Williams, Thomam Miles, Iacobum Lowell, Ambrosium et Antonium MacDonnel, Dominicum Barrett, Iacobum Keyn, Bernardum Maley, Thomam MaKeal, Franciscum Moran. Absentes autem Edmun-dum Girroraghty in S. Malo, Franciscum MacDonnell, Iacobum Ruan, Iacobum Grevan in Hispania. Iohannem Maley, etc. Habent 10 calices argenteos cum 9 ornamentis.
- Conventus S. Crucis Rafranensis [Rathfran].* Filios habet in patria Domi-nicum Philbin, Thomam O Flanagan, Gregorium Judge, Laurentium Healy, Iohannem O Harte, Thomam Barrett, etc. Dictus Philbin pos-tulatus [est] in loco Francisci Conmy de Sliggo.
- Conventus S. Mariae de Ballindune.* Filios habet in patria Petrum O Connor, Bernardum Connilan, Iohannem Crean, Thomam Higgins in Lagenia, p. Ambrosium Higgins ibidem, Dominicum Mullany, Conn Rorke vagantes ibidem. Absentem p. Dominicum McDermott in Hispania.
- Conventus S. Crucis Sliggoensis.* Filios habet in patria Dominicum Mulfinn mag. tit. missionis, Iohannem Gildea praed. gen. pro suo conventu, Mi-chaelem Kilhaly, Iacobum Fiaghny, Petrum Cluan, p. Felicem Griffin, Ambrosium Gilligan, Michaellem Hart, Danielelem Raughnin, Iacobum Scan-lon, Franciscum King, Iohannem MacHenry, Michaellem Winn, Antonium

McTeernan, Iohannem O Hart laicum. Absentes autem Iohannem Brett r[egentem] S. Sixti et postulatam. Fundum habet 220 libr. sterl. in manibus Domini Iohannis Philips de Ballintoghira, cum aliis bonis apud se.

Conventus de Tombeola. Nunc sub vicario Martino Mulchrone de Borsoule. Filios habet Iohannem Glinn in patria, extra vero Gulielmum Costelo in Hispania. Habet alios 3 vel 4 ultra mare. Pauperimus est.

Conventus S. Petri Martyris Portumniensis 18. [!] 1735. Filios habet domi Hyacinthum Tully, Dominicum Burk, Thomam Maddin, Patritium Danielem Maddin, Michaellem Kelly, Iohannem Dooly praed. gen. pro Galvia loco Gulielmi Kenny. Absentes autem: Petrum Mulloy, Hogan, Antonium Dunne, Edmundum Allan, Eugenium Glinn. Habent praedium, domos, pecora et ornamenta quaedam. Fundatus per Maddin.

Conventus Iesus Mariae Iosephi Sororum Galviae: Sunt numero 24.

ULTONIA

Conventus S. Mariae Culraniensis [Coleraine]. Filios habet mag. [Dominicum] Brullaughan, Dominicum Smith, Bernardum MacHenry theol. praes., Bernardum Brullaughan theol. praes., Patritium Brullaughan theol. praes., Patritium Brullaughan iuniorem, Dominicum Brullaughan iuniorem, Archibaldum Patritium MacAmbrose, et Ill. Kilmorensem [Michaellem] McDonogh. Habent ornamenta, libros, et calices. Fundatus erat prius per O Cahan, 2^o per MacQueelin.

Conventus S. Dominici Derriensis. Fundatus per O Donell. Filios habet p. Iohannem O Donell, patres Antonium Dogherty, Antonium McRory, Dominicum Egan, Patritium Renaulds, Dominicum Colgan, Iohannem Davett, et Iacobum Murry.

Conventus Gaulensis [Gola]. Praeter quaedam ornamenta et calices habet 15 libras sterl. per annum. Filios habet patres [Thomam] Nolan, Thomam MacMahon, Dominicum Corrigan, Iohannem Maguire, Antonium Maguire, Patritium Kieran, et Dominicum Creaghan.

Conventus Cavaniensis. Fundatus per O Reilly. Filios habet patres Ricardum Nugent, Patritium Sheridan, Thomam Fitzsimons, Patritium Becan, et Dominicum Keernan.

Conventus Mariae Magdalenae Pontanensis [Drogheda]. Filios habet in patria Hyacinthum Watson magistrum, Eugenium Lennan postulatam praedicatorum, Iohannem Byrne, Iacobum Watson, Eduardum Samson, Augustinum Fleming. Absentes vero Patritium Dugan, mag. Iohannem Donnelly, lectorem Iohannem Vincentium Meany, Iacobum Hall. Habent plura ornamenta et quaedam alia bona. Fundator fuit Netherfield.

Conventus Carlingfordiensis. Filios habet in patria Dominicum Roddy, Iohannem Smith, [Stephanum] Kearny et [Eugenium] Carroll. Absentes autem

p. Thomasin [= Dominicum Thomas vel McThomas] et [Eduardum] Drumgoole.

Conventus de Villa Nova [Newtownards]. Filios habet p. Thomam Byrne-
praed. gen., patres [Iohannem] Morgan, [Iohannem] Gribbin, et MacIlboy
[= Patritium MacElvay].

Memorandum. Est unus Minorita, Nicholaus O Donel, existens in districtu
Kilociae, etc. Est et unus [Carmelita] Discalceatus qui facit collectionem
ibidem.

[altera manu addita]

Dominican Convents in Ireland in 1738 [!].

APPENDIX II

*A List of Dominican Missionaries sent to Ireland by the Masters General
1721-1745*

This table, compiled exclusively from the registers of the masters general, contains only the names of those formally assigned to the mission by their authority. It continues the earlier list (1698-1721) published in AFP 38 (1968) 351-357 and cited below as List I. Whenever possible, some details have been added from other documents to indicate a missionary's point of departure or the effectiveness of the assignation he received. All references, unless otherwise stated, are to AGOP IV. The following abbreviations have been used.

APF	= Archives of Propaganda Fide.
Coll. Hib.	= Collectanea Hibernica.
Hib. Dom.	= T. Burke, Hibernia Dominicana.
Irish Priests	= W. P. Burke, Irish Priests in the Penal Times.
MacHenry	= List of Irish convents (1734-35) as in Appendix I.

1. Hyacinth Keaghry. 20 Sept. 1721. From Civitavecchia in Italy. 201, p. 109. He was subprior of Athenry by 12 July 1724. List I, no. 77.
2. Thomas Plunkett. 28 Mar. 1722. From Ancona at his own request. 201, p. 111. Reissued on 11 July when he was at Padua. 201, p. 112.
3. Cornelius Egan P.G. 4 Apr. 1722. From Louvain, where the prior is to give him a formal precept to return to Ireland. 201, p. 111.
4. Thomas Burke. 26 May 1722. From St. Sixtus at his own request. 201, p. 112. List I, no. 76.
5. Thaddaeus Tully. 11 July 1722. A deacon and student of philosophy at Pavia. Allowed return to Ireland because of poor health. 201, p. 112. A member of the Roscommon community on 28 Aug. 1728.
6. Dominic Brullaughan. 7 Dec. 1722. From St. Sixtus. 201, p. 114. D. B. junior who was at Coleraine in 1735. MacHenry.
7. Dominic Eugene O'Neill. 16 Dec. 1722. From the convent of St. Dominic, Pesaro, in the province of Lombardy. In poor health. 201, p. 114.
8. John Newman. 30 Jan. 1723. From Forlì in the province of Lombardy. 201, p. 115. He was prior of Kilkenny on 5 June 1731. Coll. Hib. No. 9 (1966) 20-21.
9. Anthony Sall S.T.M. 3 Apr. 1723. From Lisbon. 201, p. 115. In the same year he was definitor at the intermediate chapter in Dublin.
10. Humbert Burke S.T.M. 8 May 1723. 201, p. 115. On ceasing to be prior of St. Sixtus. Appointed rector at Lisbon on 10 Apr. 1728. 214, p. 5. See no. 57.

11. Bernard MacHenry S.T.L. 11 Nov. 1724. Master of students at Louvain, sent to Scotland. 201, p. 126.
Later provincial, 1734-1738.
12. Michael MacDonogh. 9 Dec. 1724. From the college of St. Thomas, Naples. 201, p. 126.
Later bishop of Kilmore, 1728-1746.
13. John Crapton, *melius* Crofton. 7 Apr. 1725. May go to Ireland for three months to convert his brother to the faith. 201, p. 127.
A student at Louvain in 1725. Irish Rosary, Aug. 1927, 604.
14. Michael Banks. 25 Aug. 1725. At Correggio in Italy. Given patents, at his own request, for England, Scotland, and Ireland. Permitted to send to Rome for examination the books he says he has written in English. 201, p. 129.
Presumably Nicholas B. who was at Galway in 1735. MacHenry.
15. Vincent of St. Thomas. 7 Sept. 1725. From Lisbon to Ireland at his own request. 201, p. 129.
Apparently V. O'Heyne S.T.M. who taught at Lisbon from 1704 to 1730. 214, p. 25.
16. Patrick O'Heyne. 29 June 1726. From Cingoli in Italy. 201, p. 131.
17. Charles MacDermott. 6 July 1726. From Malta. 201, p. 131.
On 5 Apr. 1723 he had been assigned to Valetta at the request of the Holy Office. 206, f. 23^v.
18. John Morgan. 6 July 1726. From Marseilles. 201, p. 131.
He was appointed prior of Newtownards on 2 Feb. 1736/37. PRO (Belfast), D. 1449/14.
19. Dominic O'Hart. 20 July 1726. On finishing studies at the Minerva. 201, p. 132.
On 4 Sept. he was dispensed for 4 years from the oath he had taken at the Minerva to return to his province immediately after his studies. 201, p. 134. He was prior of Ballindoon in 1744. Irish Priests, 438.
20. Dominic Lynham. 12 Oct. 1726. From the convent of Gradi at Viterbo, from which he had been recalled by the prior of Dublin. 201, p. 135.
Repeated on 15 Feb. 1727 when he was at Genoa. 213, Lombardia, f. 13^r.
But he was already in Dublin by February 1728. 214, p. 3.
21. Philip Lynham. 12 Oct. 1726. 201, p. 135. Exactly as in the preceding, save that Philip was not yet a priest in October 1729. 214, p. 22.
22. James Dowdall. 20 Oct. 1726. From Rome, with a formal precept. 213, f. 7^r.
On 15 Feb. 1727 the prior of St. Dominic's, Genoa, was told to send him to Ireland. 213, Lombardia, f. 13^r. On 17 Jan. 1728 the master general said he had gone to Lisbon without permission. 214, p. 1.
This priest was nine years a student in Spain before going to London in 1723. After spending more than 2 years there, he was suspended by the vicar apostolic. On 10 Feb. 1727 he was said to be teaching in the Dominican convent at Grasse in France. APF, Acta 97, ff. 74-75, 171-174.

23. Antoninus MacRory. 1 Feb. 1727. From Vicenza in Italy, after his studies. 201, p. 136.
The provincial chapter of 1732 said that he was prior of Derry and had been preaching on the mission for 4 years.
24. John Bodkin. 28 Feb. 1727. 201, p. 136.
Probably from Italy, for on 10 September he was permitted to act as chaplain on a Venetian ship. 213, f. 13^v. See no. 110.
25. Eugene Leonard. 28 Feb. 1727. 201, p. 136.
On 18 March, while he was at Ferrara, this permission was reissued. 213, Lombardia, f. 13^v.
Probably E. Lennan, already at Drogheda in 1735. MacHenry. The chapter of 1732 said that Lennan had preached on the mission for 4 years.
26. Thaddaeus Brullaughan. 26 Mar. 1727. From Genoa on finishing his studies, 201, p. 137.
The provincial chapter of 1734 said that he had been preaching for about 6 years.
27. John O'Connor. 6 Oct. 1727. From Marseilles. 201, p. 141.
A. J. O'C. was made companion of the vicar of the Irish hospice at Bilbao on 8 Mar. 1737. 209C, f. 254^v.
28. Dominic Dulany. 2 Dec. 1727. From France. 201, p. 141.
29. Edward Sampson. 1 May 1728. From the Minerva. 214, p. 5.
Already at Drogheda in 1735. MacHenry.
30. Michael Mulryan. 5 June 1728. From Italy with the permission of the Irish provincial. 214, p. 7.
A missionary in Scotland from 1729 to 1731. Also Ryan.
31. Vincent Mary Ennis, a cleric. 7 July 1728. From St. Sixtus, being in poor health. 214, p. 10.
32. Thomas Keaghry. 7 July 1728. From Pisa, on finishing his studies. He is told to meet the sick student V. M. Ennis at Livorno and accompany him to Ireland. 214, p. 10.
T. K. was professed at Athenry in 1718 and died there in 1759. Coll. Hib. No. 11 (1968) 44, 52.
33. Thomas Teeling S.T.L. 21 Aug. 1728. From Cologne, on finishing his studies and taking his lectorate examination. 214, p. 12.
In 1731 he was teaching at the Benedictine abbey of Meziere in Champagne. 214, p. 43.
34. John Byrne S.T.P. 24 Aug. 1728. On ceasing to be first regent at St. Sixtus. Sent to Dublin. 214, p. 12.
He was assigned to Rosbercon in 1735. MacHenry. List I, no. 78.
35. Melchior Moriarty. 18 Sept. 1728. From Fermo in Italy, on finishing his studies, to his native convent of Tralee. 214, p. 13.
Reissued on 2 October when M.M. was at Macerata. 214, p. 14. The provincial complained in 1731 that he was still in Italy. 214, p. 50.

36. Peter Corr. 12 Oct. 1728. From the college of St. Thomas in Naples, on finishing his studies and taking his lectorate. 214, p. 14.
A son of Roscommon who in 1735 was assigned to Arklow. MacHenry.
37. Vincent Lonergan. 8 Jan. 1729. From Louvain, on finishing his studies, to his native convent of Limerick. 214, p. 18.
Working in the British West Indies in 1743. V. supra, p. 344.
38. Ambrose O'Connor. 11 June 1729. From Louvain, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 20.
A son of Roscommon who in 1735 was assigned to Arklow. MacHenry. Later a parish priest in the Dublin diocese.
39. James of St. John Barret. 9 July 1729. From Italy to England. He had recently been exiled from Ireland after a year's captivity and arrived at Civitavecchia from Spain. 214, pp. 20-21.
40. Michael MacDonagh. 3 Aug. 1729. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 21.
It appears from the notes of Cloud Mercier T.O.P. (in typescript at S. Sabina) that M. MacD. was a parish priest on St. Domingue (Haiti-Dominican Republic) from 1731 until his death on 14 Aug. 1733.
41. Antoninus Phillips. 3 Dec. 1729. From Genoa to Ireland via Louvain. Non compos mentis. 214, p. 24.
The provincial chapter of 1745 noted his death (since 1742) at Louvain.
42. John Bern, *melius* Byrne. 4 Mar. 1730. From Louvain, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 26.
He was at Drogheda, his native convent, in 1735. MacHenry.
43. James Aug. Pius Plunkett. 14 Mar. 1730. From St. Sixtus on finishing his studies. 214, p. 26.
Reissued on 5 Sept. 1733 when J. P. was at Louvain. He then claimed to be a son of the convent of Dublin. 214, pp. 80, 84, 86.
44. James Moran S.T.P. 26 Aug. 1730. From Louvain, on ceasing to be first regent. 214, p. 33.
Because J. M. knew Spanish, he was assigned to the English province on 6 Oct. 1731 at the request of Richard Ean, then grown old, who needed an assistant in the Spanish embassy chapel at London. 214, p. 47.
45. Thomas MacAlpin. 31 Mar. 1731. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 43.
T. William MacA. signed a letter on 6 May 1732 as a member of the Dublin community. AGOP XIII. 68095.
46. James Fitzgerald S.T.M. 12 May 1731. Affiliated to the convent of Cagli in the province of Lombardy. Assigned to Ireland at his own request. 214, p. 43.
The Irish provincial said in 1735 that J. F. was still in Italy. 214, p. 128.
47. Gregory O'Heyne. 7 July 1731. From the convent of Fano in the province of Lombardy. 214, p. 44.
On 3 Feb. 1734 he was assigned to the convent of Centocelle. 213, f. 46^v.

48. Thomas Burke. 24 Oct. 1731. From Nantes to Galway. His assignation by the provincial to Galway had been opposed by the vicar-provincial, Colman O'Shaghnessy. 214, p. 47.
49. Francis Cusack S.T.L. 22 Dec. 1731. From the convent of St. Dominic in Brescia, province of Lombardy, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 52. See no. 117.
50. Bernard Brullaughan S.T.L. 15 Mar. 1732. From Louvain where he was master of students and lector of scripture. 214, p. 58.
B. B. was appointed first lector at Lisbon on 28 June 1732. 214, p. 65.
51. Dominic Andrew Fottrell. 5 Apr. 1732. From Pesaro, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 58.
See no. 115.
52. Anthony O'Dogherty. 28 June 1732. From Louvain, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 65.
In 1738 the provincial chapter said he had been preaching in his native convent of Derry for 6 years.
53. Dominic Burke. 19 July 1732. From Genoa. 214, p. 66.
54. Thomas Vincent O'Kelly S.T.L. 11 Sept. 1732. From St. Sixtus, on ceasing to be first regent. 214, p. 69.
In May 1734 he was secretary of the provincial chapter at Dublin.
55. Thomas MacMahon. 25 Sept. 1732. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 69.
Said to be a son of Gola in 1735. MacHenry.
56. Eugene O'Carroll. 11 Oct. 1732. From St. Sixtus, on medical advice. 214, p. 69.
Already in his native convent of Carlingford in 1735. MacHenry.
57. Humbert Burke S.T.M. 20 Dec. 1732. From Lisbon. 214, p. 70.
Although repeated several times (1733), H. B. was still at Lisbon, suspended *a divinis*, in January 1734. 214, pp. 86, 91, 93. The provincial chapter of 1742 noted his death at Lisbon since 1738. See no. 10.
58. Thomas Moore. 11 Apr. 1733. From St. Sixtus. 214, p. 79.
T. M. was already at Dublin about October 1733. 214, p. 89.
59. Dominic MacDonnell S.T.L. 25 Apr. 1733. From Lisbon. 214, p. 79.
Reissued on 12 September. 214, p. 86. But D. of St. Thomas MacD. was still at Lisbon in 1736. 214, p. 147.
60. Laurence Ford. 12 May 1733. From Ancona, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 80.
L. F. was already at Dublin about October 1733. 214, p. 89.
61. Nicholas Crump S.T.L. 12 Sept. 1733. From the convent of the H. Rosary "apud Gavottas" in Venice, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 87.
On 30 Mar. 1737 the prior of Dublin wished to make room for him there as a son of the convent. 217, p. 4.
62. John Ryan. 12 Oct. 1733. After studies in Italy and France. 214, p. 88.

- Reissued on 30 Jan. 1734 when J. R. was at Genoa. 214, p. 92.
Probably the J. R. at Limerick in 1735. MacHenry. At Cashel in 1756. Hib. Dom. 236.
63. Michael Hoare. 22 Nov. 1733. From Marseilles, on finishing his studies: with permission to transfiliate from Kilmallock to Limerick. 214, p. 90. The provincial chapter of 1738 said he had been preaching for 5 years in Limerick and its neighbourhood.
64. Martin Burke S.T.L. 27 Feb. 1734. From Lisbon, with a formal precept. 214, p. 93.
Reissued on 14 July. 214, p. 105. The provincial chapter of 1742 said that he was prior of Athenry and had been preaching for 8 years.
65. Thomas MacHugo Burke S.T.L. 13 Mar. 1734. From Lisbon. 214, p. 95. He went from Lisbon to Malta that summer, came back to Naples in August 1735, and died at Rome on 5 October 1735. 214, pp. 107, 112, 122.
66. Nicholas Trevers, *melius* Travers. 3 Apr. 1734. From Ancona, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 96.
N. T. was again ordered (from Italy?) to Ireland on 29 Mar. 1749. 217, p. 114.
67. Peter Killikelly S.T.P. 3 July 1734. From Louvain, on ceasing to be first regent. 214, p. 103.
See no. 119.
68. Dominic French S.T.P. 14 July 1734. From Lisbon with a formal precept. 214, p. 105.
Reissued on 13 November. 214, p. 109. Eventually, with the help of a royal decree of exile, he returned to Ireland about 1736. 214, pp. 125, 132, 135. The provincial chapter of 1745 said that he had been 8 years on the mission.
69. John Deane. 14 July 1734. From Lisbon with a formal precept. 214, p. 105. J. D. in 1735 had been 7 years a student at Lisbon. He finally went to Ireland in September 1735. 214, p. 124.
70. Patrick O'Diamond S.T.L. 4 Sept. 1734. From Marseilles where he had taught philosophy and theology for 6 years. 214, p. 105.
Apparently P. Dominic O'D. who left St. Sixtus in 1727 and was prior of Coleraine in 1737. 217, p. 3.
71. Thomas Brennan S.T.L. 14 Sept. 1734. From St. Sixtus, on ceasing to be second regent. 214, p. 105.
He reached his native convent of Roscommon by 1735. MacHenry.
72. Patrick Reynolds. 5 Oct. 1734. From Carpentras to Scotland. 214, p. 107. A son of Derry and a student at Lisbon earlier that year. 214, p. 91. He was in Ireland in 1741, suspended *a divinis*, according to the provincial's report.
73. Michael Forrestal, *melius* Forstall S.T.L. 3 Feb. 1735. 214, p. 112. On 10 April 1736 he was permitted to act as field chaplain to the Antwerp regiment of His Catholic Majesty. 214, p. 132. In 1749, when he be-

- longed to the province of Lombardy, he was permitted to go to Ireland on business. 217, p. 114.
74. Ambrose MacGrath. 7 June 1735. 214, p. 117.
The provincial chapter of 1742 said he had been preaching on the mission for 7 years. He went to the mission from Louvain.
75. John O'Duane. 7 June 1735. 214, p. 117.
From Louvain. He went at once to Ireland but the provincial sent him back to finish his studies in France. He was at Paris on 12 July 1736 when the General assigned him to Douai. Not having enough money to live at Douai, his assignation to Ireland was renewed on 29 Dec. 1736. 214, pp. 136, 147. He was at Boula in 1744. Irish Priests, 428.
76. John Goulden. 9 July 1735. From Louvain, where he had been syndic. 214, p. 117.
Also Goulding. He remained at Louvain until 1740 when the Irish provincial sent him to the mission. 217, p. 58. He died at Drogheda between 1757 and 1761.
77. Francis Fyan. 15 Oct. 1735. From Padua, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 124.
See no. 109.
78. John Lynch. 8 Nov. 1735. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 126.
79. Bernard Laghlen, *melius* O'Loughlin. 29 Jan. 1736. From France, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 129.
The provincial chapter of 1749 said that he was prior of Lorrha and had preached on the mission for 15 years.
80. Patrick Hurley. 18 Feb. 1736. From Louvain where he had studied for 5 years. 214, p. 129.
The provincial reported in 1739 that he was in Munster and was "disobedient".
81. Dominic O'Kelly S.T.L. 14 Apr. 1736. From Louvain, on ceasing to be first regent. 214, p. 132.
Reissued on 1 September. 214, p. 139. According to Cloud Mercier (cf. no. 40), this D. O'K. was parish priest of Grand-Cul-de-Sac on Martinique from 7 July 1743 to 11 Feb. 1745.
82. Andrew Morris. 21 Apr. 1736. From Florence, because in poor health. 214, p. 132.
83. James Sexton S.T.L. 28 July 1736. From Louvain, where he had been master of students for 2 years. 214, p. 136.
In 1743 he had already been at Waterford for 6 or 7 years. V. supra, p. 344.
84. Joseph Lynham. 8 Sept. 1736. From Lisbon. 214, p. 140.
On 27 November he was permitted to act as chaplain on the Portuguese ship Europa going to the Indies: he had once gone on this voyage before. 214, p. 144.

85. Vincent O'Brien, *melius* O'Brien. 2 Oct. 1736. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 214, p. 141.
The provincial chapter of 1742 said he had been preaching on the mission for 6 years.
86. Patrick Higgins. 27 Jan. 1737. On concluding his business at Rome. 217, p. 2.
According to Mercier (cf. no. 40) P. H. was a parish priest on Guadeloupe from 19 Dec. 1731 to 2 Mar. 1736, and again from 27 Dec. 1738 until his death on 12 May 1743. Hence one may take it that his appointment (15 Aug. 1738) as Irish confessor at San Pablo, Seville was ineffective. 217, p. 33.
87. Bonaventure Nagle S.T.L. 16 Feb. 1737. From Louvain, on ceasing to be second regent. He asked to be sent to Ireland in order to restore the convent of Clonmel. 217, p. 3.
The provincial chapter of April 1738 mentioned that he was prior of Cashel.
88. Francis of St. Philip Philips. 24 Apr. 1737. From St. Malo, where he was a vagabond: with a formal precept. 217, p. 5.
His early history is given in the registers (214, p. 109) under date 25 Dec. 1734, when he was permitted to go to France from Spain. About 1727 he had been exiled from Ireland and then spent 7 years in the province of Andalusia, principally in the convent of St. Dominic at Alcalá. He arrived at Louvain in January 1736 and the prior there sent him to Ireland.
89. William Hoban. 24 Apr. 1737. From St. Malo, where he had been a naval chaplain: with a formal precept, 217, p. 5.
90. Patrick Kennedy. 8 June 1737. From Lisbon, where he had been syndic. 217, p. 7.
Reissued three times until P. K. eventually left Lisbon about May 1738. 217, p. 29.
The provincial chapter of 1753 said that he had been preaching on the mission for 16 years.
91. John Maguire. 28 July 1737. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 217, p. 12.
Reissued on 27 Sept. 1738. 217, p. 34. He eventually went to Ireland from Louvain in 1748. APF, SOCG 769, f. 47.
92. Patrick Brullaughan junior S.T.L. 7 Sept. 1737. From Italy. He finished his studies at St. Sixtus in 1729 and then spent some years preaching in the convent of Cornigliano in the province of Lombardy. 217, p. 14.
Later bishop of Derry (1751-1752). Hence he went to London in 1737, and not in 1730 as is stated in Hib. Dom. 511.
93. Dominic Colgan S.T.L. 9 Nov. 1737. From Louvain. 217, p. 17.
D. C. was a missionary in Scotland by 1743. V. *supra*, p. 344.
94. Edmund O'Reilly S.T.L. 9 Nov. 1737. From Louvain. 217, p. 18.
This order was later cancelled (25 Jan. 1738) at the request of the bishop of Meath who said that E. O'R. could not return to Ireland because his

- family was being persecuted there. Hence, on 22 March, he was named lector of philosophy at Louvain. 217, pp. 21, 24. He remained at Louvain until 1755.
95. James Murry. 8 Feb. 1738. From Louvain, where he was syndic: at his own request. 217, p. 22.
He was said to have been imprisoned in Ireland in 1745. V. supra, p. 345.
96. Humbert Murphy. 7 June 1738. From Lisbon, where he had been a student for 6 years. A native of the convent of Galway, who had been sent to Lisbon as a professed novice. 217, p. 27.
The provincial chapter of 1757 said that Hubert M. was prior of Galway and had been preaching there for 15 years.
97. James Crafton, *melius* Crofton. 12 July 1738. From Genoa, on finishing his studies. 217, p. 30.
He was already at Genoa in 1734. 214, p. 107.
98. John Ferrall. 26 July 1738. From St. Sixtus, where he had been for 4 years. *Non compos mentis*. 217, p. 31.
Because of his mental sickness he had been in the conventual prison at St. Sixtus ever since his arrival from Spain in 1734.
99. Vincent Kennedy S.T.L. 9 Aug. 1738. 217, p. 33.
V. K. had been syndic at Louvain since 1735. 214, p. 117bis. The provincial chapter of 1745 said that he had taught for 2 years in Belgium and preached for 6 years at home.
100. Maurice Fitzgibbons. 15 Nov. 1738. From Lisbon, where he was vicar. 217, p. 37.
The provincial chapter of 1749 said that he was prior of Glanworth and had preached for 10 years.
101. Patrick Kelly. 14 Aug. 1739. From the convent of St. Catherine de Formello at Naples, on finishing his studies. 217, p. 48.
102. Vincent John Meany S.T.L. 22 Aug. 1739. From Lisbon, with a formal precept. 217, p. 49.
Reissued in 1740 and 1741. 217, pp. 57, 74. *Non compos mentis*. The provincial chapter of 1761 said that he had been preaching on the mission for 24 years.
103. James Hart. 13 Sept. 1739. From St. Sixtus, where he had studied theology for 3 years, 217, p. 51.
104. Richard Nugent. 13 Sept. 1739. From St. Sixtus, where he had studied theology for 3 years. 217, p. 51.
He was lector of arts at Lisbon in 1745. V. supra, p. 348.
105. Thomas Nangle S.T.L. 13 Sept. 1739. From St. Sixtus, where he had been second regent for 3 years. 217, p. 51.
Reissued on 9 June 1742 when T.N. was still in Italy. 217, p. 77. On 4 Jan. 1744 he was affiliated to the convent of Marostica in the province of Venice. 209A, f. 220v.

106. Richard Stanton. 18 Sept. 1739. From the convent of St. Catherine de Formello in Naples, on finishing his studies. From Connacht. 217, p. 51.
107. James MacNamara. 13 Feb. 1740. From Louvain, where he was second regent: at the suggestion of the provincial who gave him a bad character. 217, p. 58.
Cloud Mercier (cf. no. 40) says that he was in the convent of Troyes, province of Paris, on 12 Mar. 1743 and a parish priest on Grenada in 1754. The identification is not certain.
108. Paul Slattery. 26 Mar. 1740. From Louvain. 217, p. 59.
Reissued on 29 October. 217, p. 69. Subsequently P. S. wandered about until on 15 Oct. 1748 he was ordered from Italy (Maddaloni) to Ireland. 217, pp. 110-111.
He was at Kilmallock in 1756. Hib. Dom. 285.
109. Francis Fyan. 23 Apr. 1740. From Venice. 217, p. 60.
Reissued on 23 July. 217, p. 65. See no. 77.
110. John Bodkin. 14 May 1740. On his arrival at Livorno from Constantino. He may go to England if the Irish provincial agrees. 217, p. 62.
On 26 November he was appointed confessor at San Pablo, Seville. 209A, f. 70v.
The provincial chapter of 1757 noted his recent death in the province of Lombardy. See no. 24.
111. Dominic Farrell S.T.P. 30 July 1740. From Lisbon, on ceasing to be rector. 217, p. 65.
Twice reissued later in the year. 217, pp. 67-68. D. O'Ferral was still at Lisbon in 1745.
112. Michael Sullivan. 17 Nov. 1740. From Nantes, with a dispensation from one year of study. 217, p. 70.
113. John Dougherty. 28 Dec. 1740. From Forlì, where he had been assigned as a priest-student of philosophy. Delicate and totally unsuited to study. 217, p. 71.
J. D. did not go to Ireland but to France (St. Maximin). In November 1747 he came to Centocelle and asked leave to visit Rome. 217, p. 106.
114. Patrick Skerrett. 6 May 1741. From Italy, because of poor health. A first-year student of theology. 217, p. 72.
Reissued on 13 Jan. 1742 when P. S. was a student in north-west Italy. 217, p. 75.
See no. 128.
115. Andrew Fottrell. 17 June 1741. 217, p. 73.
A. F. died at Arklow according to the provincial chapter of 1757. See no. 51.
116. Mathew Bellen, *forsitan* Bellew. 24 Feb. 1742. From Douai, because of poor health. A student of theology. 217, p. 77.
117. Francis Cusack. 28 Apr. 1742. From Parma. On his asking permission

- to act as chaplain in the castle of Parma, the General told him to obey the order given to him 10 years before. 217, p. 77.
See no. 49. F. C., however, obtained permission to work as chaplain at Parma on 11 Jan. 1744. 217, p. 86.
118. Peter MacEnnis. 16 June 1742. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 217, p. 78.
The provincial chapter of 1749 said that he was prior of Kilkenny and had been preaching on the mission for 7 years.
119. Peter Killikelly S.T.M. 19 July 1742. From Rome to France. 217, p. 78.
See no. 67.
120. Thomas Burke S.T.M. 26 Sept. 1742. From St. Sixtus, on ceasing to be first regent. 217, p. 81.
The author of *Hibernia Dominicana*, who returned to Ireland in 1743. *Hib. Dom.* 552.
121. Dominic Dillon. 19 Mar. 1743. With a dispensation from the rest of his formal studies. 217, p. 83.
Apparently from Italy, for he went from St. Sixtus to Ancona in 1739. 217, p. 50.
D. D. was prior of Athy in 1756. *Hib. Dom.* 257.
122. Thomas Commins, *melius* Cummins. 23 Apr. 1743. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 217, p. 84.
T. C. was stationed at Athy in 1756. *Hib. Dom.* 257.
123. James Dillon. 22 June 1743. From St. Sixtus, on finishing his studies. 217, p. 84.
He was lector of arts at Lisbon in 1745. *V. supra*, p. 348.
124. Patrick Sheridan. 30 Oct. 1743. With permission to take his lectorate examination at Viterbo and come to Rome on pilgrimage before going to Ireland. 217, p. 86.
The provincial chapter of 1757 said that he was prior of Carlingford and had been preaching for 10 years in the area of his native convent of Cavan.
125. Thomas Dalton. 25 Apr. 1744. From Aix-en-Provence, on finishing his studies. 217, p. 86.
T. D. was named sundic at Louvain on 30 Mar. 1748. 217, p. 109.
126. George Dogherty, subdeacon. 28 May 1744. From St. Sixtus, where he had proved to be rebellious. 217, p. 87.
A student at Louvain in May 1745. *V. supra*, p. 350.
127. Patrick MacDonogh. 19 Dec. 1744. From Lisbon, because his mother was sick in Ireland. 217, p. 88.
Resident at Sligo in 1757. *Hib. Dom.* 249.
128. Patrick Skerrett. 31 May 1745. From St. Sixtus, where (after studies at Terracina) he had spent 28 days in prison for violence and vagabondage. 217, p. 90.
See no. 114. He was at Athenry in 1767. *Coll. Hib. No. 8* (1965) 96.